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**Unsettled Imaginings:
Australian Novels of Asian Invasion**

by

Catriona Ross B.A. (Hons)

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

University of Tasmania

April 2008

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Abstract

This thesis examines novels that depict an imaginary invasion of Australia by an Asian country. It argues that novels of Asian invasion constitute a distinct body of formulaic literature – a subgenre – within the field of Australian popular fiction. This study undertakes a formative mapping of the subgenre of Asian invasion novels in three ways. It assembles the corpus of texts and provides an annotated bibliography. It delineates the generic form and content of the novels and monitors the resilience and evolution of the subgenre through changing historical and cultural contexts. It considers the ideological implications of the Asian invasion narrative through readings of race, nation and gender.

The first novels of Asian invasion, which established the conventions of the subgenre, were produced during the period of intense nation building immediately before and after the federation of Australia in 1901. The explicit ideological project of these novels was to awaken white Australia to the threat Asia posed to its fledgling nationhood. This initial anxious literary production activated a detailed set of discourses centring on Australian vulnerability and Asian menace that endure to the present day. Generic invasion novels are alarmist, didactic texts that call for a massive strengthening of national defence by illustrating the ease with which Australia could be invaded under the present circumstances. In order to fulfil this pedagogic agenda the texts are often meticulously realist, but are at the same time complete fantasy, for they document not an actual but an imaginary war. This study contends that invasion novels bring together science fiction narrative structures, adventurous plots and realist literary strategies to construct a vehicle for the political ideology of Asian threat.

The thesis charts the development of the subgenre from its inception in 1888 to the present time and locates thirty novels in all. A survey of the subgenre as a whole complements the detailed analysis of specific novels. It argues that these novels are primarily the same dystopian tale of the loss of white Australia told time and time again. On a subtextual level, Australia's very fixation with the fiction of Asian invasion generates a cultural significance of its own. This study explores how the compulsive retelling of the generic prophesy of Asian invasion implicitly suggests specifically white cultural anxieties stemming from Australia's status as a relatively new settler society, itself born of invasion.

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Fig. 1. Cover of the *Bulletin*, 9 October 2007. The headline "Water Wars" refers to the feature article "The Gathering Storm" and its prediction of mass refugee arrivals in Australia due to climate change.

Introduction

The 9 October 2007 edition of Australia's long-standing news magazine the *Bulletin* features a special report, entitled "The Gathering Storm," which details predictions of how catastrophic, climate change driven, upheavals across Asia could see the inundation of Australia's vulnerable north with environmental refugees. Australian Federal Police Commissioner Mick Keelty foresees that lack of rain, rising sea levels, pandemic disease and failing crops may lead to vast movements of populations as people "in their millions" could "begin to look for land and they'll cross oceans and borders to do it." Climate change, he declares, will be "the security issue" for Australia in the twenty-first century (22). This explains the edition's alarming cover: an intense close-up image of a young Indonesian man staring – and pointing a gun – directly into the camera, against a backdrop of blood-red waves. The feature writer, Roy Eccleston, endorses the police commissioner's view: "Mick Keelty's warning is stark and terrifying: Asian masses may one day be uprooted as states are destabilised by climate change.... Keelty has raised the prospect of thousands of boat people hitting northern Australia" (22-23). The Howard government is charged with inaction and complacency in the face of the potential disaster. Keelty, the article asserts, "is clearly in front of the institutional thinking" (23). The remainder of the six-page feature presents the concurring views of various high profile security experts, along with disturbing images of surging Asian crowds with arms outstretched, parched earth, and Chinese soldiers landing on a beach. Boxed statistics in large type proclaim the numbers of millions that could be displaced in each Asian country. The article concludes with comments from Liberal Senator Bill Heffernan that emphasise the importance of settling the north of Australia for reasons of national security:

What we've got to do is develop the north, we've got to settle the north.... Cape York Peninsula is bigger than Victoria, but with just a few thousand people in it. Without being alarmist, it would be better for us to do it than letting someone else. We're not talking tomorrow, but in 50 to 80 years time. If there are 400 million people who have run out of water – Bangladesh or Indonesia – well, if you want to protect your sovereignty, you've got to have a plan.... I can assure you, parts of the [northern] country would appeal to people who have nothing else....

Northern Australia is a soft entry point ... it will be a very attractive proposition. (28)

Those familiar with Australian history will recognise that Senator Heffernan's statements draw on long established fears surrounding the perceived "emptiness" of northern Australia and the pressing need to settle and develop the land lest it attract the "overpopulated" masses of Asia. Indeed, the whole *Bulletin* article – with its predictions of future catastrophe and mobilising Asian populations, its criticism of government inaction in the face of the gathering threat and the exhortation that Australia must protect its sovereignty – is not a new story but rather an old story that has been told many times before. The fearful rhetoric of "The Gathering Storm" draws its discursive force from the historic and deep-seated cultural contention that Australia is at risk from Asian invasion. The contemporary issue of climate change may be taken as the catalyst for the predicted disaster but the substance of the article is a simple reiteration of the narrative of impending Asian threat that has manifested its anxious forecasts throughout white Australian history (not least in the pronouncements of the early *Bulletin* over a century ago that contributed to the push for an exclusively white Australia).

This study focuses on the most substantial and detailed textual expression of Australia's ongoing fear of Asian invasion: the sizeable body of popular fiction novels that depict the actualisation of the invasion event and provide grim warnings of Australia's potentially Asianised future. These formulaic novels flesh out the stock elements of the Asian invasion narrative – a detailed set of discourses centring on Australian vulnerability and Asian menace – to provide instructive tales of a future Australia riven by race war. First emerging in the late-nineteenth century, novels of Asian invasion told of the now stereotypical "hordes from the north" spilling down upon a complacent and undefended white Australia. Although a proliferation of short stories and poems, and some plays, has been written on this subject (predominantly during the Federation era), this study focuses exclusively on novels that imagine the prophesied invasion. This specific focus enables the provision of a formative and comprehensive examination of the corpus of Australian novels of Asian invasion, to map the shared narrative formula that structures the texts and to consider its ongoing cultural implications. For despite the overtly racist discourse central to these narratives, these novels have continued to be written throughout the twentieth century and are still being produced in the present time. In a manner akin to the *Bulletin's* "The Gathering Storm," the texts update their poignancy by conjoining immediate geopolitical concerns with traditional fears of a hostile and overflowing Asia. Yet, despite the continuing relevance of these novels to Australian cultural politics of race, to Australia's status as a postcolonial multicultural nation

and to the study of Australian literature, these texts have received little sustained critical attention.

Indeed, the available scholarship on the subject of Australian novels of Asian invasion can effectively be surveyed in its entirety, as it is limited and - apart from the brief reference to early invasion novels provided in Humphrey McQueen's 1970 *A New Britannia* (59-60) - has only appeared since the 1980s. The first piece of detailed criticism of Asian invasion fiction is historian David Walker's 1988 paper "Invasion Literature: The Yellow Wave: Moulding the Popular Imagination," now recast in his 1999 book *Anxious Nation*. In *Anxious Nation*, Walker examines the early invasion novels of the Federation era as part of his detailed study of Australian perceptions of Asia from 1850 to 1939. *Anxious Nation* is an important work of cultural history and its argument that the threat of Asianisation played a significant part in the formation of Australian nationalism provides a key premise of my literary study of Asian invasion novels.¹ Robert Dixon's 1995 *Writing the Colonial Adventure* considers Asian invasion narratives of the first decade of the twentieth century as part of a broader study of Anglo-Australian romantic adventure novels of the late Victorian/Edwardian era. Dixon fruitfully argues that these often neglected popular fiction texts are an important part of Australian cultural history as they display complex and interrelating discursive formations of race, gender, imperialism and emerging nationhood. Also, as a literary study of early Australian narratives of Asian invasion, Dixon's work provides more theoretically informed analyses than the other historically orientated scholarship available on the subject.² Historian Neville Meaney's chapter "'The Yellow Peril'" - appearing in *The 1890s: Australia's Literature and Literary Culture* (1996) - examines select invasion novels of the Federation era in the political context of Australia's emerging nationhood. Meaney pays particular attention to the political views of invasion novel authors and to the role of race in visions of the ideal Australian community. The work done by Walker, Dixon and Meaney constitutes the most detailed analysis of Australian novels of Asian invasion. Significantly, these scholars concentrate only on the novels of the Federation era.

The other available scholarship is mostly in the form of short articles or book chapters that gather and survey relevant texts rather than subjecting them to sustained critical analysis. In 1982 Van Ikin included a ten-page extract of Thomas Roydhouse's 1904 invasion novel *The Coloured Conquest* in his anthology *Australian Science Fiction*. In his introduction to the compilation, Ikin briefly surveys representative invasion novels from the Federation era to the 1960s. Drew Cottle's 1988 article "The Brisbane Line in Australian Literature" makes reference to two Asian invasion texts: Erle Cox's *Fools' Harvest* (1939) and John Hooker's *The Bush Soldiers* (1984). Ouyang Yu's 1995 article "Australian Invention of Chinese Invasion"

provides short appraisals of novels produced from 1888 to 1988 that depict a Chinese invasion of Australia and emphasises the xenophobic content of the texts. Janeen Webb and Andrew Enstice's *Aliens and Savages* (1998) recovers popular, racially prejudiced texts from Australia's literary past and devotes three chapters to novels of Asian invasion from the 1880s to the 1960s. *Aliens and Savages* concentrates on the connection between race-based politics and popular writing. Much of the text is devoted to the retelling of plots and the outlining of historical contexts with the aim of bringing now forgotten literature back into the public eye. David Reeve's article "Old Fears in New Forms" (1998) discusses the contemporary location of Indonesia as a source of threat to Australia as a new incarnation of older anxieties. Russell Blackford, Van Ikin and Sean McMullen's history of Australian science fiction, *Strange Constellations* (1999), contains a short chapter on invasion novels that details the plots of the majority of invasion texts up to the 1960s and provides some biographies of the authors. Megumi Kato's paper "The Scared Who Want to Scare" (2003) discusses early- and mid-twentieth-century texts featuring a Japanese invasion of Australia and emphasises their pedagogic agenda. In 2003 Enstice and Webb edited and introduced a new edition of one of the first Australian invasion novels, Kenneth Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* (1895). Timothy Kendall's *Ways of Seeing China* (2005) includes discussion of early Australian narratives of Chinese invasion and conducts a detailed examination of John Hay's 1968 novel *The Invasion*. David Crouch's 2006 article "Insane Lane" provides in depth analysis of William Lane's formative text of Asian invasion "White or Yellow?" (1888). Most criticism does not consider texts produced after the 1960s. The exception is the immensely popular *Tomorrow* series by John Marsden. Written for a young adult readership, Marsden's *Tomorrow* series has received some critical attention. This attention, however, is still limited given the series' best-selling status and is mostly concerned with the *Tomorrow* texts as young adult fiction rather than as a narrative of Asian invasion. Adrian Caesar's article "Invasions of the Mind" (1999) is the only work to focus solely on the series and consider Marsden's texts as invasion novels. Other late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century invasion texts have received very little, if any, critical appraisal.

What can be surmised from this body of scholarship is that critical analysis has concentrated on the early novels of Asian invasion produced immediately before and after Federation. This criticism is primarily focused on detailing the historical contexts in which texts were produced, particularly the politics of the time and the specific political views of the authors. Attention to post-Federation era texts is scant and cursory in nature and (with the exception of Marsden) becomes increasingly so the closer one gets to the present time. Mid-twentieth-century novels receive some

consideration, but it is mostly in the form of surveys and the recounting of plots. Invasion novels lend themselves particularly well to this treatment as their overtly racist language renders them shocking and sensationalist to today's reader, and serves as an important reminder of the state-sanctioned racism of Australia's very recent past. It is, however, productive to scrutinise invasion novels in more detail, to examine the more recent incarnations of the Asian invasion narrative and to pose the question as to why white Australia compulsively retells the prophesy of Asian invasion.

There are currently no studies that consider the body of Australian novels of Asian invasion as a whole. This thesis undertakes that task. It examines novels of Asian invasion from their inception in 1888 up to the present time and locates thirty texts in all. When the corpus of texts – spanning over a century – is appraised in total, it becomes evident how remarkably similar these narratives are. Indeed, this thesis argues that Asian invasion novels are constructed according to a clearly discernable formula and that they constitute a distinct subgenre of Australian popular fiction. This study undertakes a formative mapping of the subgenre of Asian invasion novels in three ways. It assembles the corpus of texts and provides an annotated bibliography. It delineates the generic form, content and rhetorical strategies of the novels and monitors the resilience and transformation of the subgenre through changing historical and cultural contexts. It considers the ideological implications of the Asian invasion narrative through readings of race, nation and gender.

An explanation of the title of this thesis and a definition of its terms will help to further illustrate the scope of the study. The phrase "Unsettled Imaginings" denotes the ongoing anxiety and ideological implications attending Australia's status as a predominantly white, relatively young settler nation – itself born of invasion – on the borders of a more populous and indigenous Asia. It refers to fears for Australia's security of tenure and, commensurately, to how invasion narratives actively work to indigenise white settler subjectivities in the Australian land. The narratives are imagined in the sense that the invasions they depict are entirely fictional but also in that, in Benedict Anderson's sense of the term, they help to discursively produce an Australia that is explicitly defined against demonised Asian others. The historically nebulous and problematically conflating descriptor "Asian" is taken to mean those East and South-East Asian countries identified in the novels as the enemies of Australia: in nearly all cases China, Japan or Indonesia.³

The word "invasion" itself implies multi-layered connotations of threat in the body of texts. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "invasion" to mean firstly "The action of invading a county or territory as an enemy; an entrance or incursion with

armed force; a hostile inroad" and secondly as "A harmful incursion of any kind e.g. of the sea, of disease, of moral evil etc." In the obvious and straightforward sense the novels most often depict a hostile military attack on Australia by an Asian country for the purposes of conquest and the resettlement of overflowing populations. But the word "invasion" also encompasses more complex meanings in the logic of the texts to do with the second part of the *OED* definition. The incursion of trespassing Asian-ness – amorphous and indeed sea-like in its tidal overflows of population – is depicted as degrading the Australian nation through racial/cultural contamination. In the early texts a transgressive Asia threatens the racial purity of white Australia through the spectre of miscegenation and the corrupting vices and contagious diseases of "Asiatics." In recent texts the same constructs are (re)presented in terms of an encroaching, culturally alien Asian-ness endangering the superior social values of a culturally white Australia. Thus, the Chinese of the late nineteenth century – the nominated threat in the first novels of Asian invasion – and Indonesian Islamic terrorist groups – Australia's enemy in the novels of the current time – inhabit the same realm of expanding moral evil in the world of the narratives, as do all the incarnations of threat in between.

In order to comprehensively map the subgenre of Australian invasion novels, it is useful as a starting point to consider the broader context in which the novels emerged, so as to situate the texts historically and to understand the cultural and political conditions of their production. I then delineate the methodology of genre theory to be employed in this study before providing an introductory discussion of the ideologies of the texts and signalling the content of the six chapters of the thesis.

A Short Literary History

The first Australian novels of Asian invasion, which were published in the centenary year of 1888, were not isolated textual entities but drew their generic codes from already existing British invasion fiction. Sir George Tomkyns Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking*, serialised in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1871 and then reprinted in pamphlet form in multiple editions, is commonly held to be the foundational text of projected invasion fiction.⁴ Chesney's story artfully documents how a prosperous and complacent England is conquered by a more disciplined Germany, in the hope of imparting an instructive lesson to its readers on the perils of neglecting national defence. British critic I.F. Clarke, in his authoritative compendium of European and American future war literature *Voices Prophesying War*, contends that the success of Chesney's narrative was due to its timely adaption to the new epoch of belligerent nationalism underpinned by Social Darwinist ideals of the "survival of the fittest"

that gripped Europe in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and the emergence of Germany as a major power (37). Clarke explains that while *The Battle of Dorking* was not the first fictional portrayal of forecast invasion, the particularly effective narrative style and extraordinary success of the story, read avidly across Europe, America and the British Empire, established "the tale of the war-to-come as a favoured means of presenting political arguments" (1). *The Battle of Dorking* thus served as an influential narrative model that was emulated mostly in Britain, but also in France, Germany and the United States, and paved the way for many more texts of its kind in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: most notably Erskine Childers' tale of espionage and German threat *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903) and William Le Queux's immensely popular *The Invasion of 1910* (1906).⁵

Australian invasion novels are thus part of a larger transnational body of alarmist invasion fiction and share defining characteristics of their original British counterparts. They detail the militant designs of enemy nations and focus on the internal weaknesses of the home nation, particularly the foolish neglect of military defences, but they also differ in crucial respects as Australian invasion narratives are shaped by their own distinctive geopolitical, historical and cultural contexts. It is of the first importance that, due to Australia's geographic location, the enemy in Australian invasion narratives is represented as Asian,⁶ a characteristic also shared by Californian invasion writing.⁷ The evocation of the racial difference of potential invaders, coupled with the perceived proximity of Asia, and the fragility of white Australia as an emergent settler society imbues the narratives with a far greater degree of hysterical urgency and vehemence than is present in British texts such as *The Battle of Dorking* or *The Riddle of the Sands*. The Australian depictions of brutal conquests by ravening Asian hordes intent on slaughter and rape are a far cry from the civilised German takeover in *The Battle of Dorking*, in which, once the war is lost, the wounded narrator simply walks home to a life of high taxes. In Australian invasion texts the enemy is demonised and the very existence of white Australia is held to be at stake in texts that pivot on the spectre of racial annihilation. Indeed, it is well known that the formation of Australia's national identity and the push for federation was predicated on the outright exclusion of the Asian "races." The fact that the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was the first substantial piece of legislation passed by the newly federated Australian Commonwealth demonstrates the central importance accorded to racial purity in the formation of the nation. This understanding of the Australian self as defined in direct opposition to racialised others is overtly manifest in early invasion texts. The explicit ideological project of invasion narratives of this period was to awaken white Australia to the threat Asia posed to its fledgling nationhood.

Initially, the Chinese were cast as posing the greatest threat to white Australia, as the growing numbers of Chinese arriving in Australia during the gold rushes of the 1850s had sparked fears of an imminent and enormous influx of migrants. In the mind of colonial Australia the Chinese were the "yellow peril," the racially inferior bearers of contagion and moral vice polluting the purity of white Australia. Furthermore it was supposed that the Chinese could survive in the most meagre conditions and could thus pose a degree of economic competition that would undercut Australia's egalitarian ethos. It was feared that with sufficient numbers the Chinese could supplant the white population and the goldminers were perceived as possible forerunners of a migratory or military invasion.

William Lane penned the first Australian Asian invasion novel in early 1888. "White or Yellow? A Story of the Race-war of A.D. 1908" was serialised in the Brisbane weekly the *Boomerang* and depicts a future Queensland swamped by Chinese migrants. In Lane's narrative, the colony is governed by a capitalist pro-British premier, who is covertly plotting to create a new Chinese Australia. Pitted against this threat is John Saxby, a white Australian farmer, and his Anti-Chinese League. Saxby's league rally under the banner of the Eureka Stockade to launch fervent attacks on the Chinese and, in a generically uncharacteristic victory for white Australia, ultimately succeed in forcing them back to Asia. Also in 1888 an anonymous work of invasion literature appeared (recently attributed to Edward Maitland) entitled *The Battle of Mordialloc: Or, How We Lost Australia*. Set nine years in the future in 1897, *The Battle of Mordialloc* tells the story of a joint Russian-Chinese invasion of Victoria following the Australian colonies' declaration of independence from Britain. The short text details the political events that lead to Australia's separation from Britain and places much emphasis on the foolishness of this trajectory. It outlines Australia's ensuing vulnerability to invasion, and concludes with a description of the battle between Victorians and the invading Russian-led Chinese forces, in which Australia is quickly lost. These two foundational texts were followed in 1895 by Kenneth Mackay's *The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia*. In Mackay's novel the year is 1954 and the influence of capital-driven Queensland politicians has seen white Australia undermined by the prevalence of coloured labour and foreign ownership. These conditions have paved the way for the successful invasion of northern Australia by allied Russian and Chinese forces. Unprepared for war, Australia has no adequate military response to the invasion and defence is left to the bushmen of the Queensland frontier. The bushmen of "Hatten's Ringers" fight bravely but are vastly outnumbered and the novel concludes with little hope for white Australia.

In 1903 Joyce Vincent published her novel *The Celestial Hand: A Sensational Story* in which the Chinese invade an ill-prepared Australia for the purposes of using it as a military base from which to conquer the world. It was, however, in the early twentieth century that the locus of threat began to shift from China to Japan. The rise of Japan as an industrial power and friendly visits from an impressive Japanese naval squadron to Australian ports in 1903 and 1906 prompted fears of Japan's military capabilities that were not assuaged by the making of the 1902 alliance between Britain and Japan. Japan's destruction of the Russian fleet in 1904 and victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) heightened Australian anxiety. In Thomas Roydhouse's 1904 novel *The Coloured Conquest* a Japanese victory over Russia is the event that awakes the "coloured world" to the prospect of Japanese-led world domination. Unaware of the impending threat, Australia mocks and ignores warnings of the intended invasion to its peril and is consequently crushed by the Japanese. Ambrose Pratt's 1910 novel *The Big Five* (initially serialised in the *Lone Hand* in 1907-08) returns to a depiction of the Chinese as the enemy, in a narrative centred on a group of bush adventurers' discovery of a Chinese colony in the interior of Arnhem Land. Similarly, in C.H. Kirmess' 1909 *The Australian Crisis* (also previously serialised in the *Lone Hand* in 1908-1909), Japanese invaders meticulously plan and execute the establishment of a colony on the uninhabited coast of the Northern Territory. The absence of British aid and the political incapacity of Australia's parliaments leave only the brave bushmen of the "White Guard" to take action against the enemy invaders. *The Australian Crisis* was the last of the volley of invasion narratives produced in the Federation era as the national interest was subsumed by the onset of the First World War. In 1923 Frank Fox published his invasion novel *Beneath an Ardent Sun*. In Fox's text, the Japanese enemy is replaced by the less politically charged nomination of the "Cambodians" as representatives of a generalised Asian threat.⁸ The plot pivots on the Cambodians' unauthorised colonisation of an island in the Gulf of Carpentaria and concludes with a generically uncharacteristic victory for white Australia.

Japan's increasing militarism in the 1930s saw invasion fears resume their position at the forefront of the public mind. The growing influence of the military on Japanese politics and the adoption of policies of territorial expansion by force – beginning with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the northern Chinese province of Jehol in 1933 – strengthened Australian perceptions of Japanese threat. A.L. Pullar's *Celestia: A Fantasy A.D. 1975*, published in 1933, has Japan launch a bid for world domination and a defenceless Australia heavily occupied by China. In the lead-up to World War Two, G.D. Mitchell's 1937 *The Awakening* returns to a strict adherence to the generic formula of Federation-era invasion narratives and features

an unnamed Asian enemy in conflict with Australian bush guerrillas. Similarly, Erle Cox's 1939 *Fools' Harvest* outlines the successful conquest of Australia by the "Cambasians" (modelled on the Japanese) and highlights the stupidity of neglecting national defence. The entry of Japan as an enemy into World War Two threatened to actualise the nightmarish prophesies of the invasion novelists.

The Japanese attack on Australia in 1942 did not bear out the trajectory of invasion imagined by the novels, but it did confirm some of the major concerns commonly expressed by invasion texts.⁹ As the novels had warned, Britain did not come to Australia's aid. Embroiled in the war with Germany, Britain did not grant the defence of Australia priority status, nor did it want to return Australian troops to defend their homeland. The Australian Prime Minister John Curtin called on the United States of America to help defend Australia and famously announced at the end of 1941 that "Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom" (qtd. in Macintyre 189). Feeling betrayed by Britain, Curtin openly defied the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and recalled Australian troops bound for Burma, to place them under American command in the "Battle for Australia" (189). This strategic realignment of national alliance replaced Britain with America as Australia's defender, in turn terminating the preoccupation with British aid in post-World War Two invasion texts.

In the prosperity that followed the end of World War Two, invasion paranoia again receded.¹⁰ It was not until the late 1960s that Australian cultural conditions were ripe for the re-emergence of the generic invasion narrative. The annihilation of Japan in World War Two and its rebuilding in alliance with the United States ensured that it was no longer considered a threat to Australia. In the context of the Cold War, communism was cast as Australia's new enemy. After the communists won power in China and Indonesia overthrew Dutch colonial rule in 1949, Australian fears reconfigured to combine the "yellow peril" with the new "red menace." Invasion novels of the 1960s depict a Chinese-backed communist Indonesia as the new enemy invader. These novels, published during the Vietnam War, foresee a future where the "domino theory" of the fall of successive South-East Asian countries, and ultimately Australia, to communism has come about. Kap Pothan's 1967 novel *A Time to Die* presents the invasion of Australia by communist "Indoasia." The United States fleet protecting Australia is forced to withdraw, following China's threat of nuclear strikes on American cities. Australia is thus left bereft and defeated, except for the existence of guerrilla groups in the bush around Sydney. John Hay's 1968 novel, *The Invasion*, portrays a post-nuclear invasion of Australia by the communist "South East Asian Republic," again backed by China. The narrative is set on the "Four Hills" homestead in outback New South Wales. The

protagonist John Stanley-Harris, a wise man of the land, is contrasted against Eddie Burke, an arrogant biscuit salesman and despicable refugee from the city who does not possess the necessary skills for survival in occupied Australia. Hay's novel displays a changing conception of race as its Australian heroes are of mixed origin: British, Aboriginal, Polish and Chinese. The villain Burke is overtly racist and the narrative casts him in a disapproving light. Racist discourse is still embedded in the narrative, but the change from overt racism to a more ambivalent treatment of race is notable and reflects the evolution of the invasion narrative in line with Australia's transition from the White Australia policy to a nascent form of multiculturalism.

The dissolution of the White Australia policy and Australia's official reincarnation as a non-discriminatory multicultural society in the 1970s did not, however, signify an end to fears of Asian invasion. Although the adoption of multiculturalism has been portrayed as making a radical break with Australia's racist past, ideologies of white Australia were not simply extinguished with the change in government policy but continue to exist within contemporary Australia. Far from disappearing, fear for the fragility of white Australia and panic at the prospect of Asianisation continues and is, in some ways, exacerbated by non-discriminatory immigration policies allowing Asian immigration. Additionally, popular anxiety over the Hawke/Keating Labor government's vision of intensified Australian engagement with Asia can be linked to the resurfacing of white paranoia in the 1980s and 1990s. In this regard, Ghassan Hage proposes that, while the multicultural conception of Australia and the strengthening of ties with Asia may appeal to a cosmopolitan middle class, it also serves to alienate many white Australians and revive in them "the old paranoid fears of cultural extinction" (61). The attention accorded to the pronouncements of Geoffrey Blainey in the 1980s multiculturalism debates and the election of Pauline Hanson to federal parliament in 1996 bear testimony to the continuation of white panic in sections of the Australian population.¹¹ The ongoing production of novels of Asian invasion in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries further evidences the enduring power of discourses of white anxiety within multiculturalism.

In the period from 1979 to 2003, eight novels and one series were published depicting an attempted or successful Asian invasion of Australia. To a greater and lesser degree these texts continue to draw on the recurring themes of the formulaic invasion narrative begun in the 1880s. From the late 1960s, however, Australian novels of Asian invasion also begin to complexify. Some of these texts are no longer simply didactic tracts pushing a clear political ideology, but are carefully crafted works of literary fiction. The authorial preface, which instructed the reader as to the truthful and prophetic nature of the narrative and was ubiquitous in earlier works of

invasion fiction, is mostly absent. Characters are more developed and story lines are increasingly diverse, complicated and original but the generic tropes of the invasion narrative are still clearly retained within these novels and most continue the subgenre's characteristic xenophobia. Additionally Asian-Australians are sometimes depicted as accomplices in the invasion. Michael Page's 1979 *A Nasty Little War* is a political thriller that casts communist China in the role of enemy. This text is notable for its inclusion of Aboriginal characters, but its treatment of Aboriginality ultimately works to recuperate racist colonial stereotypes. Peter Lyons' 1981 *The China Tape* is also a political thriller which features a Chinese communist invasion of Australia. Both these texts focus on the devious means by which China enables its invasion and they work to perpetuate historic constructs of the calculating and duplicitous nature of "Orientals." Gerald Sweeney's 1982 *Invasion* is a biting political satire which utilises the tropes of the invasion narrative but does so in an essentially comic manner. The novel focuses on the ineptitude of Australian politicians faced with an invasion scenario and parodies political rhetoric. It is light-hearted and definitely not a realist text, yet the satirical nature of the narrative facilitates strident criticism of Australian politics and effects similar censure as do the more pointedly didactic texts.

John Hooker's 1984 novel *The Bush Soldiers* and Eric Willmot's 1991 *Below The Line* are significant within the subgenre for their inclusion of postcolonial ideologies. These two novels supplement the generic invasion story with counter-discursive narrative trajectories in which questions of "belonging" to the land and the relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians are explored with new self-reflexive awareness. John Marsden's bestselling *Tomorrow* series (1993-2000) then returns to a strict adherence to the traditional invasion narrative with a group of teenage bush guerrillas making attacks on unnamed (but clearly Indonesian) enemy occupiers. Less literary is John Harper-Nelson's 1998 novella *The Day They Came*, a staunchly didactic and basic version of the invasion formula. This text is clearly aimed at educating the Australian populace as to the ease with which Indonesia could invade. The narrative is accompanied by documentary-style images of landmarks and buildings referred to in the text, along with incongruous photographs of Indonesian faces. In this overtly racist text, Australian apathy is so great that there is no resistance and the invasion is accomplished in a matter of hours.

Invasion novels of the early-twenty-first century represent a marked shift in the formulations of threat posed by Indonesia. While the novels of the 1960s were concerned with the prospect of a communist Chinese-backed Indonesia, and the novels of the 1990s with a generalised menace posed by an "overpopulated"

Indonesian nation, invasion texts published in the 2000s are specifically concerned with the mass arrival of refugees, recriminations over Australia's intervention in East Timor and Islamic Indonesian terrorist threats to Australia.¹² The fall of the authoritarian Suharto regime in 1998 and the resulting destabilisation of Indonesia – through renewed secessionist movements, increased sectarian violence and the rise of previously suppressed Islamic terrorist organisations – has led to a consolidation of Indonesian threat in the most recent novels of Asian invasion. These texts provide far more detail on the motivations of invading Indonesians than previous novels, which were content with generalised and less historically grounded allocations of threat. These contemporary representations of Indonesia are overdetermined by the discourses of threat stemming from Australia's so-called "refugee crisis," the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States and the 2002 Bali bombings. Colin Mason's 2001 *Northern Approaches* is informed by the current climate of fear surrounding Australia's border protection and the risk of terrorist attacks. David Rollins' glossy thrillers *Rogue Element* (2003) and *Sword of Allah* (2004) depict Indonesian conspiracies to attack Australia. *Rogue Element* takes Indonesia's fury at Australia's intervention in East Timor as the impetus for invasion and, on the edges of the subgenre, *Sword of Allah* represents an Islamic terrorist plot to strike Australia with a weapon of mass destruction. Kerry B. Collison's 2005 novel *Crescent Moon Rising* (also a borderline invasion narrative) takes the Bali bombings as the catalyst for a narrative depicting a nuclear strike on Melbourne by an Indonesian Islamic terrorist group. The new location of fundamentalist Islamic elements within Indonesia as Australia's enemy and reinvigorated fears for national security demonstrate the enduring and adaptive power of the Asian invasion narrative in the Australian literary imagination.

Genre: Mapping the Corpus of Asian Invasion Novels

It is evident even from the brief summaries above that these novels of Asian invasion are remarkably repetitive and share very similar narrative trajectories and ideological concerns. Australian novels of Asian invasion are a specific kind of fiction with their own narrative formula, recurring discursive topos and shared rhetorical strategies; as such they constitute a distinct subgenre of Australian popular fiction. I am using the concept of genre, as David Duff defines it, both in the broad literary sense as "a recurring type or category of text, as defined by structural, thematic and/or functional criteria" and in the related sense "to denote types of popular fiction in which a high degree of standardisation is apparent," for instance (and to list those popular fiction genres relevant to invasion novels) science fiction, adventure and the

thriller (xiii). Australian novels of Asian invasion are not plentiful enough to qualify as a major genre of popular fiction and are instead a subgenre: a type or class of text which is identifiable as a subclass of a larger category (Duff xvi). As a subgenre of Australian popular fiction invasion novels are not so much an offshoot of a larger generic category such as science fiction but rather, as will be discussed in Chapter One, a distinct textual entity that draws on a blend of popular genres to situate specific ideological concerns rhetorically in formulaic narratives.

My focus on mapping this particular body of popular fiction texts does not, for the most part, necessitate detailed discussion of the permutations of prescriptive genre systems analysis or its critics. The theorisation of overarching systems of genre has a long and complex history dating from the enunciations of Plato and Aristotle in antiquity. The reinvigoration of classical taxonomy in the Neoclassical period was followed by the Romantic and then modernist rebuttal of genre before its modified resurgence in the work of the Russian Formalists and structuralist critics. This thesis does not attempt a sustained engagement with historic genre theory nor does it attempt a theoretical exegesis of genre systems, but takes as its starting point more recent reconceptualisations of genre that acknowledge its productive reality, its complexity and, importantly, its dynamism. While acknowledging the legitimacy of the substantial criticisms levelled at the totalising tendencies and the divorce of form from meaning in theories of genre, it is important to consider not only the limitations but also the possibilities enabled by the study of genre. As Duff argues, it is possible to speak productively about genre "without reverting to the Neoclassical delusion of a comprehensive taxonomy of literary kinds, or succumbing to the structuralist fantasy of a total science of the literary system" (18). This study conceives of genre as a recurring type or category of text but also acknowledges its flexibility. Generic structures and boundaries are permeable and elastic rather than totalised or fixed and are constantly evolving. Invasion novels are clearly formulaic, but each novel is an individual and original text at the same time as participating in the subgenre and it may also partake in other popular genres as well.

In this regard, John Frow emphasises the productive dimensions of genre by examining how genres function on the level of semiosis to contribute to the social construction of meaning. Frow asserts that genre is "a form of symbolic action" as the generic organisation of representational frameworks actively shapes social understanding in a manner akin to the workings of discourse; they actively form – in a Foucauldian sense – the objects of which they speak (2). Genre thus works to mould perceptions of existing reality; it is

a set of conventional and highly organised constraints on the production and interpretation of meaning. In using the word 'constraint' I don't mean to say that genre is simply a restriction.

Rather, its structuring effects are productive of meaning; they shape and guide, in the way that a builder's form gives shape to a pour of concrete or a sculptor's mould shapes and gives structure to its materials. Generic structure both enables and restricts meaning and is a basic condition for meaning to take place. (10)

In the case of invasion novels, the subgenre is produced by, and at the same time actively produces, anxiety over the potential Asianisation of the Australian nation. It constructs a plausible reality in which the invasion scenario is continually imminent across a range of historical contexts. It moulds the particularities of Australia's geopolitical context into a detailed and multifaceted rhetoric of Asian threat and potential white victimhood. As Frow contends, "far from being mere 'stylistic devices' genres create effects of reality and truth, authority and plausibility which are central to the ways the world is understood" (2). The subgenre of invasion narratives constructs a "generically projected world" in which the masses of Asia are forever bearing down on Australia's "empty" north, ready to spill down and occupy unutilised spaces (86). It creates an Australia structured by the imperative of exclusionary nationalism and the privileging of whiteness; a world populated by incapable city dwellers, ineffectual politicians, brave bushmen and imperilled women in which Australia's security of tenure is never certain and yet the threat of invasion is rarely heeded until it is too late. The story generally begins with a carefully calculated Asian invasion on Australia's underpopulated and defenceless northern coastline. The invasion is then followed by ineffectual attempts to respond by Australia's city-based political powers, and, finally, by rousing bush guerrillas who take decisive (violent) action against the enemy invaders. The bush guerrillas inevitably fight bravely, but are hopelessly outnumbered, and the majority of novels conclude with the loss of white Australia.

To begin to map this sequential formula, it is useful to initially adopt a structuralist approach, bearing in mind that generic forms both express and shape discourses of ideology. As Frederic Jameson argues in *The Political Unconscious* (in a manner similar to and prefiguring Frow's expression of genre as "a form of symbolic action"), the formal structure of a text is resonant with social and historical meaning: "a genre is essentially a socio-symbolic message, or in other terms ... form is imminently and intrinsically an ideology in its own right" (141). Jameson's argument for the strategic value of genre theory emphasises its mediatory function to illuminate the socio-historic context in which the formal structure of the text is determined. In this vein, following Jameson, Anne Cranny-Francis advocates a model which places the individual text within the history of that particular generic form, identifying the ideological significance of the textual conventions and aligning them with the discourses they encode, and then placing those discourses in relation

to dominant and marginalised voices in society (18). This contemporary conception of genre criticism, which this study employs, avoids the prescriptive pitfalls of earlier genre criticism by considering the generic form of texts as a dynamic part of the greater discursive web of society rather than as separate from it.

Similarly, the related and often criticised structuralist study of narrative or narratology can be recuperated for contemporary critical ends. "Classical narratology," as Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan argues, has been attacked for its assumptions of scientific objectivity and its evasion of ideological concerns such as the production of meaning (141-42). Today "post-classical narratology" is utilised within poststructuralist critical disciplines to achieve Mieke Bal's proposition that narratological description should be a means rather than an end, as its insights can be mobilised to explicate cultural and ideological formations (Rimmon-Kenan 140; Bal 729-30). The oft-cited metaphor used to describe this style of narrative analysis is that of a methodological "toolkit" that, used strategically, enables textual deconstruction and interpretation. Certainly, the archetypal example of the structuralist analysis of narrative, Vladimir Propp's 1928 *The Morphology of the Folktale*, is a study solely of form. Yet Proppian analysis of invasion novels yields the kind of fundamental descriptive information – such as the identification of shared sequential narrative functions and fixed character roles – which proves very useful in establishing the conventions of the subgenre. Janice Radway, in her 1984 study *Reading the Romance*, conducts a Proppian analysis of the generic structure of popular romance novels and her methodology provides a valuable example for this study. Radway's analysis draws on the key techniques of Propp's methodology to glean insights into the shared narrative structure of romance novels that can then be subjected to the kind of ideological interpretation lacking in Propp's strictly structuralist study. To begin, Radway isolates a sequence of thirteen narrative functions present in each romance text, which she terms "the generative matrix of the genre" (134, 120). Radway's concept of a generic "generative matrix" can be adopted to explicate the shared narrative structure of invasion texts.

The "skeleton" of the "generative matrix" of invasion novels can be delineated as follows:

1. Novel set in the future to illustrate the outcome of current political policies
2. Actuality of the carefully planned invasion on the unpopulated coast of a geographically vulnerable site (often the Northern Territory)

3. Australian politicians, unable to comprehend these events, take no action
4. Australian politicians turn to outside nations for help and are rejected (usually to Britain in Federation-era texts and the United States in later texts)
5. Australia's inadequate defences are highlighted (the non-existence of an Australian navy is emphasised in Federation-era texts)
6. Defence is thus left to the bushmen on the front line
7. The bushmen fight bravely but are hopelessly outnumbered by the cunning enemy
8. Novel concludes with little hope for white Australia.

As in Propp's study of Russian folktales and Aristotle's theory of narrative, the characters in Australian invasion novels are often subordinate to the action of the plot. Characterisation is achieved mostly through direct description by the authoritative narrative voice and the stereotypical characters described serve more as enablers of the required narrative events than as complex psychological portraits in their own right. The recurrent character roles or "cast list" present in invasion novels can be identified as:

1. The Australian bushmen heroes (racially fit and supremely masculine in Federation-era texts)
2. The undifferentiated masses of Asian invaders
3. The ineffectual politicians
4. The imperilled white Australian women at risk of sexual attack.

By refining each invasion novel to its key narrative functions and character types and thereby revealing the shared "generative matrix" common to these novels, it is possible to make important general arguments about this body of texts. It enables crucial consideration of the ideological meanings generated by these formulaic texts, meanings made more culturally significant by their compounded textual repetition. Of course, not all the novels subscribe exactly to this narrative formula and the boundaries of the subgenre cannot be rigidly determined or contained. Some novels perform partial aspects of this formula and feature supplementary narrative trajectories, and all the texts are shaped by their relation to changing cultural circumstances. In this regard the concept of the generative matrix can best be conceived as the "prototype" of the invasion narrative; it is the dominant narrative structure employed in the texts but is not always reproduced exactly. As Frow asserts in his discussion of Brian Paltridge's model of genre classification by

prototype: "Rather than having clear boundaries, essential components and uniform properties, classes defined by prototypes have a common core and then fade into fuzziness at the edges" (54). As will be illustrated throughout this study, some invasion novels are more generically conformist than others, yet, although differing in some content and detail, many of these stories are essentially the same tale told time and time again, tracking the same narrative trajectory in different historical contexts. Given this fixation, this continual rewriting of the same story of the loss of white Australia in much the same way, it is important to question why this narrative is so resilient. Why does the Asian invasion narrative maintain its presence in the Australian psyche as if it has burnt its own neurological pathway? To answer this question, the recurring themes, events and character types must be examined as powerful sites of cultural (re)production that activate a multitude of racialised and gendered discourses of nation.

Nationalist Agendas and Anxiety: The Ideologies of Asian Invasion Narratives

To begin with the obvious, these stories of Asian invasion have a clear ideological agenda. They are stridently nationalistic and conjoin discourses of racial purity, militant frontier masculinism and anti-urbanisation to champion the white Australian bushman as the most powerful corrective to an imagined Asian invasion. The crisis of invasion is often attributed to Australia's failure to produce the numbers of militarily capable men required for effective defence of the nation. These novels depict, with the intention of sounding a stern warning, a feminised Australia of soft city dwellers incapable of combating a militant takeover. In many of the early novels, paratextual declarations preceding the text proper detail the authors' contentions that neither the government nor the Australian people realise the peril at hand, and state that the explicit aim of the fiction is to shock Australian readers out of this complacency. They are alarmist, didactic texts that call for a massive strengthening of national defence by illustrating the ease with which Australia could be invaded under the present circumstances, and by detailing the gruesome horrors the populace would suffer at the hands of Asian invaders. In order to convince the reader of the prophetic nature of these tales, invasion narratives are often intensely realistic. They aim to be believable, to act as a means of persuasion, to be accessible popular texts capable of reaching a wide audience to incite nationalistic fervour and enmity against a marauding Asia.

Australian invasion novels can thus be seen to have a dual effect: not only do they highlight the racialised discourses exhibited in the depiction of Asian menace, but they also shed light on the discursive construction of the Australian nation itself.

In this regard Walker argues that invasion narratives say as much about “us” as “them” (*Anxious Nation* 10). But one could go further and propose that most invasion novels enact the classic Orientalist manoeuvre and reflect solely on their authors. After all, as Yu has pointed out, China itself, the main subject of early invasion texts, actually had very little interest in Australia:

Perhaps only one thing needs to be said about the Chinese concern, or rather, non-concern with Australia. Checking through histories of China from its beginning up to the end of last century, it is impossible to find Australia even in the indexes. Most important political essays concerned with foreign affairs and threats in the late Ching Dynasty did not feature Australia at all. (76)

Indeed, the primary purpose of novels of Asian invasion is not so much to glean information on the imagined threat from abroad but rather to delineate what Australia itself must aspire to in order to rebuff such a threat. In some of the novels the Asian enemy is barely described at all. It is instead the sorry state of the Australian nation that occupies the textual focus and correspondingly the assertion of visionary alternatives of an ideal Australia. This ideal is most often a highly militarised, all white, egalitarian paradise in which pontificating politicians are done away with and the community stops crowding into the urban centres and instead embraces the bush ethos, populating Australia’s empty spaces with capable men. Asian invasion texts are thus powerful exemplars of Australian narratives of nation. They articulate and reiterate dominant Australian mythologies – whiteness, the bush, masculinism, the imperative of settlement, an egalitarian distrust of elites – and have much to tell us about the construction of core Australian culture. Crucially, however, the implications of the repetition of the Asian invasion narrative do not always stay within this frame of defining an idealised white Australia against an Asian other. For when colonial invaders write of their own fear of invasion, they enter a fraught narratological terrain, where meanings cannot be contained within intended trajectories.

The portrayal of white Australians as the victims of Asian invasion involves a massive paradox unacknowledged by the novels themselves. In these texts, the violence of the British colonial invasion of Australia, the killing and dispossession of the Aborigines, is never mentioned. Instead, the narratives position white Australians as the victims of Asian invasion and it is the white people who are subjected to killing and dispossession. To explicate this ideologically loaded textual manoeuvre it is useful to adopt psychoanalytic terminology, in the manner of Jameson’s reassignment of psychoanalysis from the individual subject to society in general. Hence, the white Australian repression of its colonial invasion through the fiction of *terra nullius* can be seen to relegate the reality of the invasion to the national

unconscious. The violence of the invasion is thus hidden and unacknowledged; as Jacques Lacan asserts, the unconscious is "that chapter of my history that is marked by a blank or occupied by a falsehood: it is the censored chapter" (55). However, as is frequently noted, that which is repressed can return to the conscious mind, not directly but in altered form through symbolism, symptoms, metaphor and metonymy. In this way, narratives of Asian invasion can be read symptomatically to uncover specifically white cultural anxieties stemming from Australia's own unacknowledged invasion. A comprehensive consideration of narratives of Asian invasion must include an examination of this submerged stratum of meaning, to try to effect a "return of the repressed" to make visible the historical and cultural context concealed beneath the texts' overt ideological project of demonstrating the threat posed by Asia. Accordingly this study adopts a multidimensional reading practice attuned to both manifest and latent discursive formations within the subgenre of Asian invasion fiction.

This project also functions on both micro and macro levels of analysis. It examines the evolution of invasion novels through changing historical and cultural contexts and considers the common and diverging elements of the total textual body. It provides detailed textual analysis of specific novels while at the same time considering the subgenre as a whole. Pivotal, paradigmatic and progressive texts of the subgenre receive a greater degree of analysis and the details of the few texts accorded less attention are provided in the annotated bibliography. The chapters of this thesis are structured thematically to address the recurring discursive formations integral to the Asian invasion narrative, but a roughly chronological structure also informs the logical progression of the study.

Chapter One explicates the different generic modes that inform the construction of the specific subgenre of Asian invasion novels. A consideration of the print culture and political impetus shaping the texts is paired with an analysis of the utilisation of realism as a textual strategy of persuasion. The inclusion of plots of romantic adventure is shown to render these politically motivated texts more palatable to the reader and I conclude with an examination of the science fiction element implicit in any depiction of a future war. Chapter Two examines the gendered discourses of invasion novels in order to tease out their role in the construction of Asian threat and concomitant strengthening of Australian nationalism that is its implicit corollary. I firstly consider the portrayal of white masculinity in early invasion texts before discussing the gendered construction of the Asian invaders. I then appraise depictions of white femininity across a broader time span as the representation of the status of women within the texts undergoes marked transformation over the history of the novels' production. The first two

chapters thus focus on the explicit axes of meaning exhibited in invasion novels; the formal structures, ideological agendas and highly gendered character types that underpin the texts' constructions of nationhood. But on a deeper level these novels are concerned with white Australia's hold on the country, with cementing the legitimacy of white tenure. This prerogative is not only troubled by the threat of Asian invaders but by the complicating presence of the country's indigenous inhabitants. Accordingly, Chapters Three, Four and Five explore the often suppressed relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians in the world of the invasion novels.

Chapter Three provides a detailed reading of Ambrose Pratt's *The Big Five* (1907-08) to exemplify how narratives of Asian invasion evacuate and then discursively produce Australian space through the loci of colonialism and nationalism. I then discuss two atypical invasion novels, John Hooker's *The Bush Soldiers* (1984) and Eric Willmot's *Below the Line* (1991), which present counter-narratives of Australian spatiality that rethink colonialist constructions of the land and offer more complex representations of the relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians. In doing so, these two novels demonstrate the degree of elasticity and diversity within the Asian invasion subgenre. Chapter Four elaborates on the mutability of the subgenre by exploring its relation to historic transformation. The decade of the 1960s is located as the historic juncture at which ways of conceiving Australian race relations opened out from previous discursive constraints. The chapter examines representations of Aborigines in John Hay's 1968 *The Invasion* and Michael Page's 1979 *A Nasty Little War* to demonstrate the historic continuity and difference exhibited by the body of texts. Chapter Five marks a return to the strictly formulaic invasion narrative in contemporary times with a consideration of John Marsden's *Tomorrow* series (1993-2000). Marsden's series is taken as a paradigmatic example of how the vast majority of invasion novels work to indigenise white Australians through the displacement of Aborigines. I also consider the cultural implications of Marsden's reiteration of the old story of Asian invasion in the contemporary context of multicultural Australia.

Finally, Chapter Six examines how the most recently published novels of Asian invasion under examination in this thesis – Colin Mason's *Northern Approaches* (2001), David Rollins' *Rogue Element* (2004) and *Sword of Allah* (2004), and Kerry B. Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* (2005) – recast the generic formula to capture today's anxieties over the boundedness of the nation space in an increasingly globalised world. These texts provoke discussion of the criminalisation of refugees and the positioning of fundamentalist Islam as the new enemy of Australia. Firstly, however, it is important to begin by considering the formative texts of the subgenre.

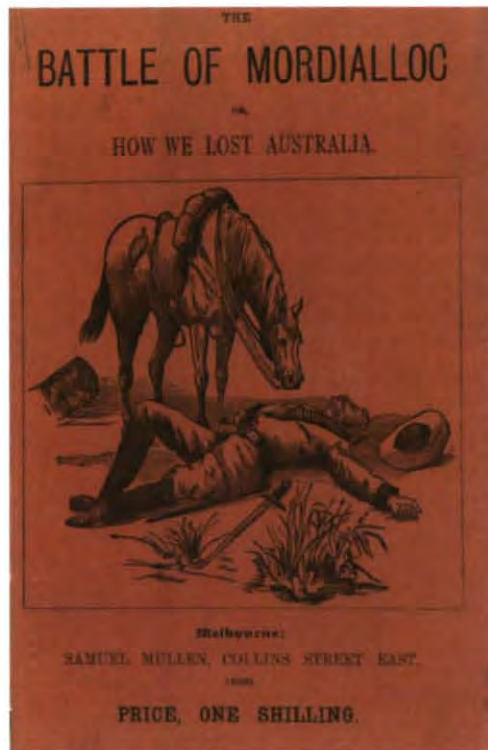


Fig. 2. Cover of *The Battle of Mordialloc* by Edward Maitland, 1888. State Library of New South Wales.

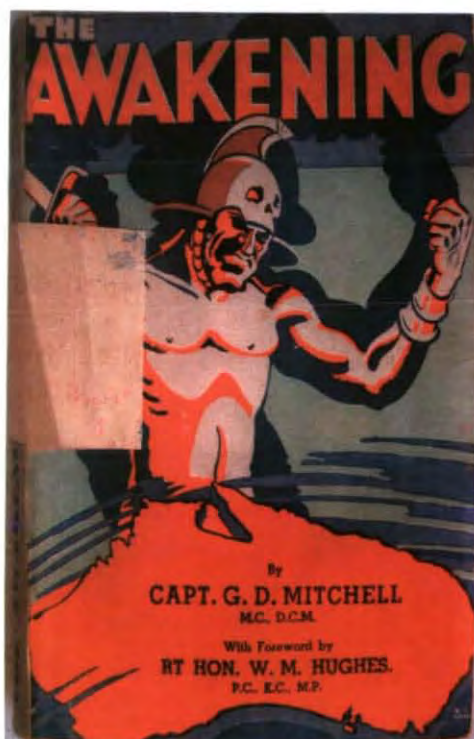


Fig. 3. Cover of *The Awakening* by G.D. Mitchell, 1937.

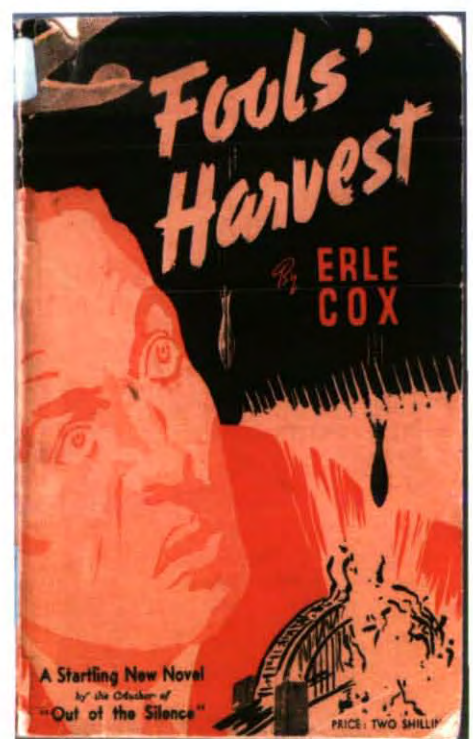


Fig. 4. Cover of *Fools' Harvest* by Erle Cox, 1939.

1

Genre

"Here in the guise of tale is a grim forecast and a warning to Australia"
(Mitchell i)

Australian novels of Asian invasion are popular fiction texts yet they cannot be neatly classified as a single genre. Rather, they contain a blend of generic styles, a mix of realism, science fiction and romantic adventure, the narrative all the time propelled by a near hysterical political urgency. Invasion novels are unmistakeably didactic texts. They seek to document the "reality" of Australia's geopolitical situation and alert the populace to an impending threat. But at the same time they are sheer paranoid fantasy, for they scrupulously document not an actual, but an imaginary, war. They exhibit a peculiar doubleness: they are intensely realist yet commensurately complete science fiction. Arguably, invasion novels evade generic classification because they constitute their own subgenre of Australian popular fiction replete, in Ken Gelder's words, with their own "distinctive logics and practices" (*Popular Fiction* 74).

The diversity of generic styles evident in invasion novels has meant that Australian critics have classified the texts in different ways, mostly choosing to locate them within particular fields of interest. Invasion novels are, then, a flexible body of texts, lending themselves to a number of different categorisations, but never quite sitting squarely within their allocated position. For Robert Dixon, select stories of Asian invasion fall within the rubric of romantic adventure novels of the colonial frontier. Science fiction critics Russell Blackford, Van Ikin and Sean McMullen refer to the body of invasion texts as "undoubtedly" science fiction, as they contain the key science fiction elements of extrapolation and speculation (*Strange Constellations*

37). Conversely, Ouyang Yu denies that invasion narratives are “dystopian” or “science fiction”, and instead places strong emphasis on the politics of the texts (74). For Yu, “Australian invasion literature is shaped by a particular kind of ideology” and “expresses a xenophobia or sinophobia deeply embedded in the Australian social structure and national discourse” (74). Neville Meaney also concentrates on the political nature of invasion narratives and highlights the particular political contexts in which each novel was produced in an effort to influence public opinion. Janeen Webb and Andrew Enstice classify early invasion narratives as “adventure stories and romances” but their study *Aliens and Savages* is more concerned with the relationship between politics and literature (10). It is possible from this brief survey of previous scholarship to see the critical ambivalence inherent in the generic determination of invasion novels. Criticism of invasion novels, so far, has not prioritised the question of genre classification, but rather selected one particular element to proceed with textual analysis. It is also significant that no sustained critical attention has been given to the strenuous efforts to effect realism in Australian invasion novels. A more thorough critical analysis of these intersecting genres is required to map the form and content of the subgenre of invasion narratives, and to determine their location within the field of Australian popular fiction.

To begin teasing out and analysing the various generic strands contributing to the construction of the subgenre of invasion novels, this chapter begins with a brief consideration of the political impetus shaping the texts. As mentioned above, the political context in which the early novels were produced has been well documented by Walker, Meaney, and Webb and Enstice. Accordingly, to move beyond the established historical and biographical material this chapter will simply emphasise the texts’ ability to act as a conduit for political discourses and the popular nature of the mediums of their dissemination. I will then discuss in more detail the concordant utilisation of realism as a textual strategy of persuasion as this is an aspect of the novels yet to receive critical attention. I will conclude with an examination of the action/adventure elements and science fiction narrative structures implicit in any depiction of a dystopian future war. I draw examples from a range of early invasion novels from the 1880s to the 1930s as these texts established the enduring conventions of the subgenre.

Political Agendas and Popular Fiction: Realist Strategies and Tales of Adventure

The majority of Australian novels of Asian invasion have a clear political agenda. They agitate for a greater recognition of the threat posed by Asia and criticise the

governing powers of the day for failing to do so. They are not so much interested in the intricacies of individual character development but with issues of broader society, such as defence, immigration and foreign ownership. In the case of early novels of Asian invasion, published from the late-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the authors were often politically active or members of the military.¹ In selecting the medium of the popular novel, they sought to communicate their political message to the Australian people. It was hoped that an evocative work of dramatic fiction could prove the most expedient vehicle to convince an all too complacent public. Early invasion novels were produced by British and Australian publishing houses specialising in popular and mass produced fiction such as Richard Bentley, Ward Lock, Hodder and Stoughton, Lothian and The New South Wales Bookstall Company. Some invasion novels were initially serialised in newspapers or periodicals with wide circulation, namely the *Boomerang*, the *Bulletin* offshoot the *Lone Hand* and the *Argus*.²

At the turn of the nineteenth century Australians were voracious readers and print was the uncontested communication medium. As recent studies of print culture and reading practices illustrate, Federation-era Australia had a great appetite for popular fiction, newspapers and periodicals.³ Martyn Lyons attests that, although "Australia often constructed itself as a non-reading society in which the outdoor life – vigorous, sporting, practical and straightforward – was not conducive to literary study and contemplation," this "self-image disguised a very active reading culture" ("Reading Practices" 352-53). Despite the symbolic value assigned to this vigorous outdoor life underpinned by the mythology of the bush ethos Australia was, at this historic juncture, already predominately urbanised, prosperous and literate. The establishment of government primary schools across the Australian colonies between 1872 and 1895 provided widespread access to basic education and the successive implementation of worker-orientated legislation – increasing wages and decreasing working hours – led to many Australians enjoying a relatively high standard of living for the world at that time. Thus the literate and leisured Australian population were great readers.

Additionally, Australian literary culture played an important role in facilitating public expression and debate on matters of national importance. In the lead-up to and aftermath of Federation, Australian literature was not yet an object of academic study and circulated freely in the public sphere as part of the national conversation on the formation of the new polity. As David Carter and Kay Ferris explain, the "divisions between criticism and the marketplace, literature and journalism, commerce and public culture were not yet institutionalised" thereby allowing literature to play a central role in the "exchange of public reasons" and the

"shaping of Australian public culture and political institutions" ("The Public Life of Literature" 145, 156, 140). The periodical press – the early *Bulletin* is the prime example but also the *Boomerang* and the *Lone Hand* – juxtaposed nationalist non-fiction and fiction and purveyed an inclusive rhetoric that invited readers to write and participate in deliberations about nationhood. Carter and Ferris accordingly argue that Australian federalism was a "'public thing' in the sense that Alastair Davidson describes: it involved publicly visible deliberation and engaged impassioned speech not least through the mediation of the periodical press and its literary forms" (140-41). The role played by literature in the formation of Australian nationalism fulfils Benedict Anderson's assertion that the novel and the newspaper "provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation" (25). In addition to allowing the expression of nationalist ideas, the novel and the newspaper connect individual readers into a collective body, a unified "community" which conceives of a common national history and destiny. Hence, Federation-era Australians were not only great readers, but their literature functioned to imagine the nation into existence in the broad sense that Anderson describes and in the specific sense that at this time literary culture actively permeated the public sphere before its institutionalisation and aestheticisation by the "new critics."

In this context, the first Australian novel of Asian invasion – William Lane's "White or Yellow? A Story of the Race-war of A.D. 1908" – was serialised in twelve instalments in the Brisbane weekly the *Boomerang* in 1888. Lane, an impassioned journalist and powerful figure in the Queensland trade union movement co-founded the radical *Boomerang* (1887-92) with Alfred Walker. Other notable employees of the illustrated weekly included Henry Lawson and A.G. Stephens. The *Boomerang*, described by Sylvia Lawson as "the *Bulletin's* younger socialist contemporary," was defiantly nationalist (129). It bore the subtitle "A Live Magazine – Racy of the soil," a common phrase at the time suggesting a native Australian literature combining, as David Carter puts it, "the meanings of racially characteristic and organically rooted" ("Critics, Writers, Intellectuals" 261).⁴ Virulently racist, the paper campaigned for a white Australia and the expulsion of Asians, primarily the Chinese, from the colonies. Lane's "White or Yellow?" (written under the pseudonym "Sketcher"), which dramatised the "inevitable" race war that would occur if Asian immigration continued, worked to underscore and empower the paper's political argument. In addition to serialised fiction, Lane also contributed "factual" articles to the *Boomerang* on the degenerate nature of the Chinese race, such as the regular feature "Daylight and Dark" which contrasted the vices of the Chinese with the purity of white Australia, effectively blurring the distinction between fact and fiction

(especially given the highly prejudicial mode of the so-called factual articles detailing such emotive subjects as white Australian girls in opium dens). In this regard, Carter's application of Terry Eagleton's comment on eighteenth century British periodicals to the early *Bulletin* can equally be applied to the varied idioms of Lane's contributions to the *Boomerang*:

The critic as cultural commentator acknowledges no inviolable boundary between one idiom and another, one field of social practice and the next.... The flexible, heterogenous forms of the magazine and periodical reflect this relaxed capaciousness: fictional and non-fictional materials equably co-exist, moral essays slip easily into anecdote and allegory.... (Eagleton qtd. in D. Carter, "Magazine Culture" 71-72)

Hence, in the case of the *Boomerang*, fiction that reads like inevitable fact blends with moralistic "factual" articles to construct a discourse of Asian menace which implores a decisive response from the white reading public. The content of Lane's "White or Yellow?" will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. What is significant here, in regard to this formative text, is the clear political agenda of the author and the mode of expression selected – the accessible serialised novel appearing in parallel with "factual" articles that reinforce the narrative's contents – in order to communicate his polemic to a broad audience.

Although less well known today than Lane (who famously went on to found a racially pure utopian community in Paraguay), Kenneth Mackay, author of *The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia* (1895), was a longstanding politician and military officer. Mackay, a writer of bush verse and founder of the Australian Light Horse Brigade, was elected to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly as a Protectionist in 1895. In 1898 he was returned to office as a member of Edmund Barton's National Federal Party and in 1899 was nominated as a government representative to the Legislative Council. Apart from a period of service in the Boer War, as the commander of the New South Wales Imperial Bushmen's Contingent, Mackay remained a member of the Council until 1933 and continued to be active in the military until his death in 1935 (Burness 294-95). As a politician, Mackay spoke repeatedly on the threat of Asian invasion. In an address to the house on the *Coloured Race Restriction Bill* in 1896, Mackay urged that soon

we shall have to defend our position against some of those Asiatic nations.... I believe that unless some step is taken, racial troubles will take place in Northern Queensland. Unless some step is taken to prevent an invasion of coolies and aliens into that territory, it will be a very poor buffer to put against an invasion of Asiatics in the future. (qtd. in Meaney, "'The Yellow Peril'" 244)

This is the very scenario Mackay portrayed in his novel *The Yellow Wave*, produced by the British publishing house Richard Bentley in 1895 and reissued in a colonial edition in 1897.⁵ In writing a work of fiction to express his political concerns, Mackay

was able to dramatise a successful invasion of Northern Queensland' in all its brutal details to great effect. Similarly, when C.H. Kirmess' invasion novel *The Commonwealth Crisis* (later retitled *The Australian Crisis*) was serialised in the *Lone Hand*, editor Frank Fox proclaimed that this was "something more than a novel" (qtd. in Meaney 259).⁶ Indeed, as Meaney points out, Fox went on to campaign (unsuccessfully) for the novel to be discussed in federal parliament and then included a summary of its plot to illustrate the Asian threat to Australia in his own non-fiction *Problems of the Pacific* (1912) (260). An inspired Fox, who was appointed O.B.E. in 1919 and knighted in 1926 for distinguished service during the First World War and prolific war correspondence work, later went on to write his own novel of Asian invasion, *Beneath an Ardent Sun*, published by Hodder and Stoughton in 1923.

The *Lone Hand* was a nationalistic monthly magazine established in 1907 by former key *Bulletin* staff – editor J.F. Archibald and subeditor Fox – with hopes of recapturing the popular energy of the early *Bulletin*.⁷ The title the *Lone Hand* – which Archibald originally intended for the *Bulletin* – evoked the enterprising spirit of the solitary prospector and announced the celebratory nationalist tone of the magazine. The *Lone Hand*, a post-Federation periodical, was not of socialist republican temper like the early *Bulletin* or the *Boomerang* but propounded a mainstream conservative nationalism in line with Fox's imperial nationalism (Carter, "Magazine Culture" 73). It actively promoted the unrivalled glory of Australia and the presumption that such a land must beckon to the covetous masses of Asia. From its inception, the *Lone Hand* offered readers almost two years of continuous invasion fiction; beginning with the serialisation of popular author Ambrose Pratt's novel *The Big Five* (December 1907 – September 1908) which was then immediately followed by C.H. Kirmess' *The Commonwealth Crisis* (October 1908 – August 1909). The fiction was again bolstered, in the manner of the early *Bulletin* and the *Boomerang*, with "factual" political articles representing the threat posed by Asia, primarily Japan by this time (a more detailed discussion of the juxtaposition of *Lone Hand* articles and fiction appears in Chapter Three with an analysis of Pratt's *The Big Five*). The only readily available statistics indicate that the *Lone Hand* was initially very popular: the first issue of fifty thousand sold out in the first three days and the second issue sold out in just one day (Taylor 16). Although the *Lone Hand* was promoted as a high quality magazine of art and literature, its content was easily accessible and aimed to entertain. It was, in Carter's words, "proudly middle-brow" and never rose above a "genial amateurism" ("Critics, Writers, Intellectuals" 265). This tone of "genial amateurism," however, should not be allowed to obfuscate the forceful politics of the periodical but rather be seen as an enabler for their dissemination.

G.D. Mitchell's *The Awakening*, published by Angus and Robertson in 1937, reiterates the invasion novel's ability to express political discourses surrounding Australia's vulnerability to Asian threat. Mitchell, himself a World War One veteran and distinguished AIF captain who was awarded the Military Cross and the Distinguished Conduct Medal, presents a narrative that reads like a military manual for successful counterattacks. Bolstering its political pertinence, *The Awakening* was endorsed by former Australian Prime Minister Billy Hughes. In an emphatic foreword, Hughes writes that the people of Australia "have been living for years in a world of dreams" and that Mitchell's novel will perform the much needed task of rudely awakening them "to the stern and terrible facts of life" (iv). Political and military connections again remain evident in the formulation of Erle Cox's 1939 novel *Fools' Harvest*. Drew Cottle contends that in preparation for the novel Cox spent two months in the company of General Thomas Blamey, ex-Victorian Police Commissioner and supreme commander of the secretive right-wing Victorian organization "The League of National Security" (7). During this briefing period, Cox and Blamey toured the east coast of Australia, discussing the possibilities and consequences of a Japanese invasion (7). Cox's resulting novel *Fools' Harvest*, initially serialised in the Melbourne *Argus* in 1938 before publication in book form by Robertson and Mullen in 1939, dramatises the swift and successful invasion of Australia in chillingly realistic detail.

In selecting the medium of the popular novel, the writers of invasion narratives were able to communicate their political message to readers "considered unlikely to plough through serious political commentary in factual modes" (Webb and Enstice 10). The writers of these novels often sought first and foremost to warn the Australian populace of what they perceived to be the very real and imminent threat of Asian invasion. They felt that neither the government nor the people of Australia realised the peril at hand. This sense of desperation is evident in the titles of invasion novels that evoke disaster and the horror of realisation come too late, such as *The Australian Crisis*, *The Awakening* and *Fools' Harvest*. These texts were written with the explicit aim of shocking Australia out of its complacency. They vividly brought to life the horrors of an invasion in a far more affecting manner than dry political speeches or tracts. Most importantly, in order to convince the reader of the prophetic nature of these tales, typical invasion novels were and continue to be intensely realistic. They aimed to be believable, to act as a means of persuasion, and to communicate knowledge of the need for urgent concern in the face of impending Armageddon. This pedagogical agenda, the central thrust of many invasion texts, is evidenced in the proclamations that often precede the text proper, such as Hughes' foreword. In the preface to the book publication of *The Commonwealth Crisis*, retitled

The Australian Crisis and first published in 1909, Kirmess similarly declares his intention to deal with "the dangers to which the neighbourhood of overcrowded Asia exposes the thinly populated Commonwealth of Australia" through a work of instructive fiction:

Unfortunately, the Australians, who have the reputation of being a rather imaginative people, seem to have no imagination at all where the future safety of their nation is concerned. The past warnings have been ridiculed as being unwarrantably pessimistic. One more bald statement would probably share the same fate. Apparently the Commonwealth can be roused to a sense of its danger only by patient investigation of its real position in the world and the possibilities arising thence. That has been my purpose. My book deals exclusively with realities. (5-6)⁸

The repetition of "real" and "realities" in Kirmess' preface presses the claim of authentically representing Australia's geopolitical position and tersely directs the reader to digest the book in this knowledge. He states that his narrative unfolds as a matter of "cold, logical necessity" (5). He concedes that the details of the event of invasion and colonisation may vary "but the drift of events would be inevitable in the direction indicated" (5). He deliberately chooses to set his novel in the near future of 1912 to "show what is possible under the known circumstances of the hour almost to-day or to-morrow" and to avoid distracting his reader by "the introduction of a fantastical element" that would result from a distant future setting (6). Kirmess concludes the preface with a note which echoes Fox's aforementioned proclamation and emphasises the urgent need for the narrative to be read: "This forecast romance is something more than a novel: it is a work. So as to secure quicker publication by giving larger instalments, it has been decided not to illustrate 'The Australian Crisis'" (6).

Gerard Genette terms prefaces, and other parts of a book which "surround" and "extend" the text, "paratexts" and argues that their function is to direct the manner in which the text is received and consumed (1). The preface, then, has its own "illocutionary force" as an instrument of authorial control over how the text is read (10). In this regard, Genette proposes that, rather than a boundary or a border, the paratext is a zone of liminality, a "threshold" of transition and transaction: it is

a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that – whether well or poorly understood and achieved – is at the service of a better reception of the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course in the eyes of the author and his allies). (2)

If this paratextual strategy of authorial influence appears to be at odds with the widely accepted poststructuralist dictum of the "death of the author," it must be emphasised that although the book may be addressed to the "docile" reader, the reader may not necessarily be so, and still has the freedom to take a positive or

negative position in relation to it (224). In the case of invasion narratives, statements of authorial intention are common and the narrative itself works hard to persuade the reader of the validity of its claims. For example, a number of invasion novels posture as legitimate historical documents in an attempt to add credence to their pedagogical agendas. These narratives each purport to be factual records of a war occurring in the near future which are then brought to light at a later date.

George Tomkyns Chesney's 1871 British invasion text *The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer* provides the inaugural model of the pseudo-historical narrative structure adopted in many Australian novels of Asian invasion. Chesney's story of the German invasion of England is told by an aging veteran of the invasion battle to his grandchildren fifty years after the event, in the hope that they (and the reader) may profit from the lesson it imparts concerning the imperative of maintaining strong national defence capabilities:

You ask me to tell you, my grandchildren, something about my own share in the great events that happened fifty years ago. 'Tis sad work turning back to that bitter page in our history, but you perhaps may take profit in your new homes from the lesson it teaches. For us in England it came too late. And yet we had plenty of warnings, if we had only made use of them. The danger did not come on us unawares.... We English have only ourselves to blame for the humiliation which has been brought on the land. (3)

The old narrator then tells of how a prosperous and careless England, enjoying the fruits of its colonial empire, neglected its army and scattered its trusted naval fleet abroad, and was thus ill-equipped to defend itself when the invasion came. In order to establish the plausibility of the tale, Chesney's narrator focuses on the realistic minutiae of his personal experience of the invasion as a volunteer soldier. He details the hour-by-hour movements of his untrained battalion around locations familiar to British readers, and emphasises the lack of supplies and the mismanagement of military strategy. In battle, confusion reigns over the unprepared troops and, within this "hopeless disorder" (31), England is lost to the unnamed invaders (who are positioned as German throughout the text and indeed speak German). The narrator concludes, "Truly the nation was ripe for a fall.... A nation too selfish to defend its liberty, could not have been fit to retain it. To you, my grandchildren, who are now going to seek a new home in a more prosperous land, let not this bitter lesson be lost upon you in the country of your adoption" (44). Chesney thus enables the transmission of his pedagogic agenda by realistically documenting the alarming repercussions which could follow from the contemporary neglect of national defence. This narrative method rests on a simple formula which Clarke sums up as "showing what ought to be done by demonstrating the consequences of failing to do it" (91).

Edward Maitland's *The Battle of Mordialloc: Or, How We Lost Australia* (1888) – the first Australian Asian invasion text to utilise the pseudo-historical framework – bears strong similarities to Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking*. In *The Battle of Mordialloc* the body of the text is prefaced by an introduction set ten years in the future and written from the perspective of a British lieutenant who served in the battle to reclaim the lost Australian colonies. It explains that the text that follows is a manuscript authored by a Herbert Ainslie which documents the successful conquest of the colony of Victoria by allied Russian and Chinese forces. Ainslie's manuscript begins in the centenary year of 1888 and depicts a prosperous and complacent Australia, full of pride in its achievements and optimism for the future potential of the country. Commensurate with this youthful exuberance, however, exists a foolish disregard of the importance of remaining within the British Empire and, despite strong anti-Chinese sentiments within Australia, an ignorance of the extent of the dangers posed to the colonies by enemy nations. Ainslie tells how in 1897, the not yet federated Australia, declares independence from Britain and is subsequently invaded by Russia and China. Ainslie then volunteers to join the army and his battalion is dispatched to Mordialloc, south of Melbourne, to intercept the march of the invaders (33). Like Chesney's narrator, Ainslie recounts the unfolding events in meticulous first-person detail:

It might have been about a quarter of an hour or so after we had fallen in again – I cannot pretend to state the time with exactness, though I had mechanically consulted my watch at least a dozen times that morning – when suddenly the booming of heavy guns in the distance sent something like a thrill through our ranks. It was evident we were to be simultaneously attacked both by land and sea. (48)

In the battle of Mordialloc, the Victorians fight bravely but are disadvantaged by their inadequate armaments. Unlike Chesney's British troops who are repeatedly described as being large in number, the small Victorian force are overwhelmed by the masses of invaders. As mentioned, Chesney's depiction of a civilised German enemy in *The Battle of Dorking* is vastly different from the representation of Asian invaders in Australian texts. In *The Battle of Mordialloc*, Ainslie is one of the few to survive the carnage wrought by the incoming Chinese, and gallops back to Melbourne. In the city, law and order have broken down into violence and looting as the terrified population attempts to flee. His account concludes with the ominous arrival of the Chinese into the streets of Melbourne (as yet without the Russians restraining influence) and the suggestion of the horror to follow. A final note set at a later date, that situates Ainslie aboard the ship on which he meets the British lieutenant, then allows for the plausibility of the instructive manuscript's publication.

These pseudo-historical textual devices, like the aforementioned paratextual frames, are part of a strategy of persuasion to enable the successful communication of the political views of the author to the reader. In this regard, Frow argues that such devices – which he terms “textual cues” – are an important part of the workings of genre, in that genre is “one of the ways in which texts seek to control the uncertainty of communication, and it may do so by building in figures of itself, models of how it should be read” (4). Textual cues that refer to the text’s generic frame are then “transactions or negotiations” between writer and reader that seek to secure the authority and plausibility of the text:

They are the ways in which texts seek to situate themselves rhetorically, to define and delimit their uptake by a reader – and, conversely, they are the ways in which readers make sense of these markers, and indeed notice them and respond to them in the first place. Textual cues are thus metacommunications, aspects of the text which somehow stand out as being also, reflexively, *about* the text and how to use it. (115)

In the case of invasion narratives, the textual cues designed to guide readings of the text are highly significant, indeed paramount to the texts’ instructive purpose. As “metacommunications” these strategic textual devices reflexively highlight the imperative of communicating the extent of the invasion threat. *The Battle of Dorking* and *The Battle of Mordialloc* are both of novella length and their textual manoeuvres are relatively simple and straightforward. Later Australian texts of Asian invasion, full-length novels such as Kirmess’ *The Australian Crisis* and Cox’s *Fools’ Harvest*, adopt the pseudo-historical narrative framework but utilise ever more complex strategies of realism to effect the required verisimilitude.

Kirmess’ *The Australian Crisis* is presented as an account of the future Japanese invasion of 1912 written retrospectively from 1922. The pseudo-factual narrative imitates the style of a sombre work of political history replete with the strict notation of dates, statistics and references to official documents and archival sources. The narrative performs a systematic recounting of the perspectives of Australia, Japan and Britain and provides lengthy descriptions of the policies of each nation regarding the invasion and colonisation of a portion of northern Australia by the Japanese. The central part of the novel details a series of attacks on the Japanese colony by a group of white Australian bush guerrillas who call themselves the White Guard (discussed at length in Chapter Two). A brief example drawn from this portion of the text clearly illustrates Kirmess’ efforts to imbue the narrative with a tone of legitimacy and irrefutable fact. Kirmess documents the first campaign of the White Guard via information gleaned from the diary of one of its members, a Thomas Burt. Burt’s probable death then leaves no clear record of the second campaign and Kirmess informs the reader that

Of the second campaign, no well-ordered written record of an eyewitness exists, nothing indeed, at all comparable to Thomas Burt's diary. That able patriot perished in the unknown. Some survivors have given their versions of different phases of the disastrous enterprise, though not quite as lucidly as could be wished, and their reports have been pieced together as well as possible in this account, which therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely correct in every detail. Even the dates cannot be ascertained exactly. It is known, however, that the White Guard left the base in Snow-drop Creek on August 17, 1912. (204)

The White Guard never return from their second campaign against the Japanese colony and Kirmess writes that "Its fate is one of the unexplained mysteries of history" (226). He adds, however, that there is a document in existence which, if "genuine" may go some way in explaining the matter. A party of English tourists, among whom was one of the wounded men of the first campaign, find a faintly marked paper – ostensibly authored by Thomas Burt – enclosed in "a gunmetal watch-case" stowed in a hollow log in the vicinity of what had been the base of the White Guard:

It was merely a crumpled slip of paper bearing the following pencil inscription –

"Again attacked this morning. Enemy attacked our base beforehand. Are still 116 strong. No surplus horses. No stores. Am slightly wounded – T.B."

The writing differs so much from that of the diary that some experts doubt if it was done by the same hand. But it must be remembered that the writer, according to his own statement, was wounded and probably in the last stage of despair and exhaustion. (226-27)

Kirmess then contends that the found document is corroborated by the indiscrete statements of a Japanese domestic servant engaged in a British merchant's house in Hong Kong. He outlines these statements and notes that the suspicious disappearance of the domestic servant following the utterances would further suggest that "he spoke the truth" (228). Kirmess also conjectures that if Thomas Burt's diary of the second campaign was not destroyed by the Japanese along with its writer, "it may be hidden away in some secret archives in Tokio" (sic) (228). Kirmess' detailed explanations of historical sources – written records, experts, eyewitness testimonies and archives – and the specific contexts of their locations, along with his admission of potential inaccuracies and repetitive use of words such as "correct," "genuine" and "truth," works to present the narrative as an entirely plausible train of events, mimetic of real life.

Cox's novel *Fools' Harvest* also goes to great lengths to prove its legitimacy and downplay its fictionality in its depiction of a Japanese conquest of Australia. In this novel pseudo-historical textual strategies are deployed in an even more intensive and painstaking manner.⁹ Cox wrote *Fools' Harvest* in 1938 at the behest of the *Argus*: the august, politically conservative Melbourne broadsheet that had been

in continuous circulation since its beginnings in 1846 (O'Neil 130).¹⁰ The *Argus* drew its name, presumably to indicate its journalistic prowess, from the fabled monster of Greek mythology with a hundred eyes and an all-seeing capacity (Dunstan 1). Although by the 1930s the *Argus* had begun to suffer the financial difficulties that would see its eventual demise in 1957, it was still a Melbourne institution and leading Australian newspaper at the time of the serialisation of *Fools' Harvest*. The potential readership for the serial, appearing on the eve of World War Two, would have been quite substantial.¹¹

Cox begins *Fools' Harvest* with a paratextual declaration that "its intention was to awaken the people of Australia to the tragic possibilities of apathy towards defence measures" (iv). The narrative then consists of a gripping "eyewitness" account of the 1939 Japanese invasion of Australia, recorded by an Australian journalist Walter Burton some ten years later. Burton, an inmate of a labour camp outside Newcastle, sets out to write a detailed record of the invasion with "two highly illicit lead pencils" and whatever paper he can lay his hands on (22). Burton's aim is to write the "truth" of the invasion, to "burn the story into the minds of all who read it," for the benefit of future generations and, of course, the reader (39). He proceeds to chart the events of the invasion methodically, initially hour-by-hour, then day-by-day and finally year-by-year. He is careful to note the sources of information beyond his personal experience and records that a dozen men are risking their lives daily by aiding him in his documentary efforts. In its stark realism, the novel does partly read like a historical document. The narrative style of the novel concurs with Pam Morris' observation that the language of realist texts is used "predominantly as a means of communication rather than verbal display" and offers "rational secular explanations for all the happenings of the world so represented" (9-10). Indeed, a great deal of work goes into demonstrating the historicity of the document through emphasis on the truthful reproduction of "facts", statistics and lengthy validations of sources.

Prefacing Burton's manuscript is an introduction written by the "editors" of the volume, two fictitious history academics from the University of Canberra, writing in the future year of 1975.¹² The editors introduce the text as an important historical document: "In the presenting this transcript of the Walter Burton manuscript for publication, the editors desire to remind the reader that its main value lies in its being the longest of the fourteen authentic personal narratives extant of the Australian debacle of 1939" (7). The pseudo-scholarly prologue written by the editors situates Burton's manuscript within the context of other fictionalised historical documents written decades after the invasion, such as "Major General Marsden's *Australian Tragedy*" and "*The Struggle for the Pacific* by Peel and Everard"

(7). The editors note inaccuracies in Burton's text due to his ignorance of events taking place outside Australia and the difficulty of keeping track of dates within the labour camps. However, they note how remarkably closely "Burton's conjectures do approach the facts" (7). They trace the history of the manuscript after Burton's death and the succession of ownership until its eventual arrival at the University of Canberra. They discuss the condition of the manuscript and the difficulty of transcribing it:

The condition of the manuscript itself bears grim evidence of the days of its origin. There are more than twenty different kinds and sizes of paper, which was probably filched by Burton from any available source.... With the exception of some half a dozen pages in ink, the entire story is written in pencil. This is so faint in places that chemical means were necessary to restore it for transcription. Burton used, evidently as an extra precaution, three systems of shorthand. This, and the condition of the papers, greatly increased the difficulty of transcription and we are deeply indebted to Mr J. H. Stevens, the Government shorthand expert, for the care he has taken in the long and arduous work. (9)

Cox's inclusion of this second paratextual layer of editorial comment serves to reinforce the pseudo-documentary status of the narrative. Having established this framework of "fact", Cox then leads the reader through the narrative, feeding knowledge through the observation of factual details. As the reader progresses through the novel, the rational, detailed explanations function to naturalise the events described. Furthermore, the editors periodically insert parenthetical commentary into Burton's narrative. These editorial interjections continuously interrupt the reading process and encourage the reader to consume the text not as a novel but as a legitimate historical document.

The world represented in invasion novels such as *The Battle of Mordialloc*, *The Australian Crisis* and *Fools' Harvest* is concretely material and logical. As Lilian Furst contends, realist writers prevail on readers "to accept the validity of their contentions and to believe without reservation in the reality of the fictive worlds they created" (9). The aim of realist writing can, then, be to program readers to perceive the text not as an "aesthetic artefact" but as a true record of human existence (12). Hence some realist texts can, as Pam Morris argues, entrap the naive reader into an unquestioning consumption of the text as mimetically "true to life" (39). These are Roland Barthes' "readerly" texts; texts that invite unquestioning consumption of fixed humanist values. The reader is thus reduced to "a kind of idleness," a consumer rather than a producer of textual meaning (Barthes 4). By contrast, Barthes' "writerly" texts position the reader as the active producer of meaning: "the writerly text is ourselves writing" from the infinite plurality of linguistic possibilities (5). However, Furst argues that Barthes' division of texts into

the categories of "readerly" and "writerly" is in itself problematic because there will always be "writerly" qualities present in seemingly "readerly" texts. This is because, as Furst continues (citing David Lodge), realistic writing tends to disguise itself as non-literary writing and "Ironically, its success in covering its own tracks and concealing its artifices has led to its being mistaken as an artless form" (22). Furst concludes that realism is considerably more complex than it wishes to appear (23). Certainly, in the texts of Maitland, Kirmess and Cox, there is no obvious play of literary creativity, yet the factual tone of the novels does not denote an absence of literary artifice. On the contrary, the efforts toward purely realist narratives are based on deliberate literary strategies, just as is non-realist, or even "writerly" writing. It is the very act of concealment, the wish to deny its status as literature, which empowers the pedagogic agenda of the realist text to persuade its reader to accept the reality of its representation. Or, as Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan put it in their elucidation of Colin MacCabe's theory of realism, "realism invites its reader to 'look through' the metalanguage and so 'see' as if directly what is represented in the object language.... Thus the signifiers of the text become effaced as the reader accedes 'transparently' to the signified" (240). This strategy of transparency is a literary art, as Furst would contend, but its effect is nevertheless to present a totally "readerly" text.

In *Fools' Harvest*, Cox employs a number of literary techniques that emphasise the familiar and trenchantly material world of the narrative. Burton's recollection of the day of the invasion, Saturday 23 September 1939, hence known as "Bloody Saturday," consists of reams of comprehensive description of the beginning of the attack on Sydney. Cox anchors his detailing of the devastation and destruction wrought on Sydney in his prolific use of actual landmarks, streets and suburbs:

Then, to add to the terror, fires broke out in a hundred places. By night, in the space of a mile and a half between Circular Quay and the Central Station, and the half mile between the Domain and Essex Street, more than 60 percent of the buildings were destroyed, while all the streets were in flames. Conditions in the densely populated areas from Bondi into the City were infinitely worse. (53)

By consistently invoking the actual geography of the cityscape, Cox presents the reader with an inherently knowable world. The narrative not only depicts the minutiae of detail of the invasion of Sydney but methodically maps the rest of Australia as well, all exhaustively replete with the correct nomenclature. The incorporation of place names is, of course, a longstanding device of realist fiction: a textual strategy aimed at authenticating a fictional narrative as a truthful representation of a familiar world. Furst proposes that the instrumental value of place names is enhanced by their dual position in both actuality and fiction, that is,

in both the external and internal fields of reference (101). In this way place names can act as “a bridge of continuity along which readers may move from one sphere to the other without being conscious of the transition” (102). Place names are sites of porosity “in which readers may engage simultaneously with prior experience and with the text” (104). Indeed, Cox does not describe the streets, buildings or landmarks of Sydney, but instead simply refers to them as self-evident and thus leaves the reader to construct their own understanding of them based on personal experience (109). Knowledge of the Sydney Harbour Bridge is assumed and left to the reader to visualise, because the narrative is more concerned with describing the protagonist’s embattled passage across it during the first panic of the invasion. The narrative details the halting progress of the Spit tram on its way to the North Shore: “By good luck, as I dodged through the fast-growing crowd in the underground station, I found a Spit tram on the point of starting.... As we passed out of the tunnel on to the Harbour Bridge, I turned my eyes down towards the Heads” (36). While Furst contends that readers unfamiliar with regional names will harbour genuine doubts as to whether they are actual or invented, invasion novels such as *Fools’ Harvest* are so laboriously factual that even if the reader can only recognise the most well known locations featured in the narrative, the pedantically accurate reportage of known landmarks directs the reader to accept the validity of unknown geographical sites (107). So too, the strict chronology of the narrative and repetitive notation of dates and time elapsed adds to the attempted verisimilitude of the text. These textual strategies position the reader to be educated through realistic example and to learn – along with the fictional Australian population of *Fools’ Harvest* – the perils of complacency. The novel tries to show that, despite the courage shown by Australians in the face of the enemy, bravery is not enough when military organisation is lacking: “They were learning, too late and at a terrible cost, that courage was no substitute for discipline in war” (143-44).

The pedagogic agendas and realist strategies are rendered more palatable to the reader by the adventurous plots of invasion novels. These texts are mostly constituted by the action of war and all the danger, peril and opportunities for bravery that go with it. These are not novels that depict the mundane comforts of home but rather battles on Australia’s northern frontier or fighting in cities under siege. They are fast-paced, action-based narratives of conflict and violence that employ the conventions of romantic adventure in the earlier novels and increasingly adopt the tropes of the thriller the closer one gets to the present time (as will be discussed in Chapter Six). Dixon argues that adventure novels of the Federation era disseminated ideologies of imperialism and Australian nationalism by inscribing the male reader in tales of regenerative violence on the colonial frontier (*Writing the*

Colonial Adventure 1). Certainly, as will be illustrated in the following chapter, the action of defending Australia against Asian invasion provides the opportunity for daring and courage, for the celebrated masculine archetype to come to the fore. But these are tales of masculine regeneration cut short. Often, the brave bushmen who challenge the invaders are, in the end, exterminated. The narratives present a vision of idealised nationhood, distilled in the crucible of war, only to have it destroyed by an Asian takeover. These utopian/dystopian formulations of Australia's future are tied into the pedagogy of the narratives and also signal the science fictional structure of the texts.

Future War Fantasies

To demonstrate the yet to be realised consequences of a present course of action necessarily requires extrapolation to a future setting. Thus invasion novels are structured at their core according to a defining principle of science fiction. They are essentially speculative fiction told in an intensely realist mode. So while invasion novels may not be classified unequivocally as generic science fiction texts, they necessarily contain crucial science fiction elements. Accordingly, one strain of invasion narrative criticism locates the novels as part of the textual body of Australian science fiction and includes them in historical surveys of the genre. One of the major contributions to the study of Australian invasion narratives is Enstice and Webb's scholarly edition of Mackay's *The Yellow Wave*, published in 2003 in the "Early Classics of Science Fiction Series" by Wesleyan University Press. Significantly, *The Yellow Wave* is the only early Australian invasion novel to be republished in its entirety and reintroduced into the popular domain; the rest only exist in their original editions, mostly confined to library collections (with the exception of the ten-page extract of *The Coloured Conquest* republished in the 1982 anthology *Australian Science Fiction* compiled by Ikin). The inclusion of *The Yellow Wave* in the "Early Classics of Science Fiction Series" situates it among formative works by such authors as Jules Verne. Blackford's review of the scholarly edition of *The Yellow Wave* in the journal *Science Fiction Studies*, also works to position the text within the science fiction genre. Blackford's own historical survey of Australian science fiction, *Strange Constellations*, written with Ikin and McMullen, includes invasion novels but notes their borderline status within the genre. Rightly taking issue with Yu's argument against the classification of invasion narratives as science fiction (a text may be xenophobic *and* structured according to science fiction principles), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen claim that it is obvious that these texts are dystopian and "just as obvious that they are mostly on the margins of sf" (36). The

justification cited is that the invasion novels' "claim to any status as sf lies in their extrapolation of what writers saw as prevailing social trends, for each novel rests upon the If-Then promise: if particular social and global trends continue, then the invasion of Australia will result" (37). In the introduction to *Australian Science Fiction*, Ikin also identifies "extrapolation from present tendencies" as one of the characteristics of science fiction and therefore a "strong and convincing" reason for considering invasion novels as such (xxii). In a similar vein Darko Suvin's influential definition of science fiction is "a literary genre whose necessary and sufficient conditions are the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, and whose main formal device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author's empirical environment" (7-8). For Suvin, Brechtian "estrangement" refers to the element of difference in science fiction texts, a fictional change that estranges the reader from their known everyday world. "Cognition", then, refers to the acquiring of knowledge about this change. It infers understanding gained through rational, or in other words, "scientific" investigation. Suvin's axiomatic conception of the "novum", the deliberately introduced point of difference to historical reality that determines the unfolding narrative, must be able to be explained according to the laws of reason (63). Hence the novum in invasion novels, the change to the world as we know it, is the invasion of Australia by an Asian power and its consequences. For the authors, an Asian invasion was the logical outcome of the prevailing state of affairs. As Carl Freedman puts it, a science fiction narrative depicts "a world whose difference is concretized within a cognitive continuum of the actual" (xvi).

The fictional world of invasion novels is thus centred, as science fiction as a whole is held to be, on the encounter with difference. As Adam Roberts argues, "the key symbolic function of the SF novum is precisely the representation of the encounter with difference, Otherness, alterity" (25). It follows that one of the key tropes of science fiction is alien contact. Clearly, in Australian invasion novels the Asian enemy is cast in the role of alien invader. The texts consistently work to demonise the Asian "races" and position them as all that is other to an idealised white Australia. Within this binary the alien Asian invaders are invariably depicted as effeminate, morally debased, duplicitous and utterly ruthless, while the Australians are supremely masculine, morally upright, straightforward and brave. As Roberts asserts, science fiction's emergence in the latter half of the nineteenth century has engendered it with concordant imperialist ideologies "that difference needs to be flattened, or even eradicated" (65). Given the overt political purpose of early invasion novels to preserve a white Australia, imperialist and nationalist ideologies are evident in an intensely concentrated form and facilitate the construction of utopian (an all-white egalitarian paradise) and dystopian (an Asian-

ruled slave labour regime) future possibilities. They clearly bear out Scott McCracken's assertion that in science fiction "the shock of the alien encounter produces two contradictory possibilities: one of a better place, the other of our worst nightmare" (123).

Certainly the early invasion novels of the Federation era display clear utopian elements, as they were informed by the discourse of nation building and speculation as to what would constitute the ideal Australian community. Meaney contends that in the early invasion novels, "it is possible to detect a search for a vision of community in a newly-established, modernising society" ("The Yellow Peril" 229). So while the description of an idealised society is not the premise of these novels (they are not primarily utopian texts in the mould of Thomas More's *Utopia*), they do contain utopian tendencies. In Mackay's *The Yellow Wave*, a portion of the text is devoted to describing the all-white "co-operative settlement" of Fort Mallarraway (141). Set in Queensland, the narrative details how the state has been corrupted by foreign ownership and "cheap alien labour" which has paved the way for a Russian-led Chinese invasion (81). The only place left in Queensland to offer any real resistance to the invasion is this racially pure utopian community. The depiction of Fort Mallarraway, a pastoral property owned and worked by white Australians, provides important insight into Mackay's vision of an ideal Australia. Fort Mallarraway had come into being when, "Disgusted with existing social conditions, a hundred men belonging to that class who stand midway between capital and labour" had jointly purchased the property and drawn up a democratic constitution under which the settlement was to be run (141). Each man held a full equal share as a proprietor: the democratic ethos of Fort Mallarraway being that "in both work and profit the principle was share and share alike" (142). Recognising the deterioration of Australian horse breeding (in a barely concealed metaphor for the people of Queensland themselves), the racially fit men of Fort Mallarraway run a stud farm in efforts to "get back to that weight bearing stout-hearted" strain of Australian horse rapidly becoming extinct (148). Similarly, in Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis*, a utopian impulse is evident in the celebratory portrayal of the bushmen heroes of the "White Guard." This ideal of a racially, and later a culturally, pure Australia is evident in all generic invasion novels and necessarily forms a counterpoint to the horror of an Asian invasion. It is this horror, the dystopian possibility of an Australia at war and a future under Asian rule, that occupies a greater part of the narratives.

With some notable exceptions (in Lane's "White or Yellow?," unusually, the whites easily triumph), invasion novels are essentially dystopian texts. They demonstrate how Australia's complacency towards impending threat has led to brutal war and conquest. In the majority of the novels the Australian population is

taken unawares by the invasion: many are butchered; women are shown to face a euphemistic "fate worse than death"; and those who survive are usually forced to become slaves to the new Asian elite. Thomas Roydhouse's 1904 novel *The Coloured Conquest*, written under the pseudonym "Rata," opens nine years in the future in 1913 with a vision of Australia enslaved by the Japanese. The narrator Danton is the "only 'free' white man in all the world, now under the sway of the Coloured races" (vii). Published by the New South Wales Bookstall Company, which sold cheap, mass-produced paperback fiction from kiosks in railway stations and ferry terminals (Mills 36), *The Coloured Conquest* presents a sensationalised narrative that gains much of its shocking currency from its depiction of the fate of attractive white Australian girls. In the opening preface, headed "June 1913," the broken-spirited Danton is urged by his Japanese companion Taksuma to write a record of the events of the last ten years in order to supply the Mikado's archives with an account of the invasion from the white man's perspective (vii). Taksuma gleefully dictates to Danton the subjects on which he must write, thereby enabling the reader to learn the horror of the future reality of invaded Australia, where the men have been reduced "to serfdom and the women – to worse" (ii):

Write how we arranged that the white race should be wiped out.

Write how it was decided that nine-tenths of the white men should never see the women of their race again.

Write how it was decided that the other tenth of the white men picked out for their physical attractions, should be wedded to a similar number to the most beautiful women of the white races under certain conditions. (v)

After a good measure of dramatic build-up Taksuma reveals that the "certain conditions" pertain to the removal of children born to the beautiful white couples. Boys are then trained to work for "coloured masters" and girls are brought up, in Taksuma's words, "for the – ah! – harem of some highly placed personage" (vi). This provocative opening concludes with Danton agreeing to write the record and detail the train of events that had "reduced the proud white races to slavery, and placed the wand of power in the hands of the Dark peoples" (viii). The novel then begins in earnest with a repetition of its title and author "Rata" which implies that the pseudonym refers to Danton (thereby reinforcing the plausibility of the manuscript as a "real" description of the invasion). Danton's pseudo-historical account begins with the 1903 visit of the Japanese naval squadron. The narrative methodically charts Australia's downfall from its foolhardy welcoming of the fleet and highlights the nation's stupidity in ignoring Danton's repeated warnings of the building threat. Once Japan invades it segregates the sexes and removes children in a bid to exterminate the white race. But perhaps most alarming of all, especially to an Edwardian readership horrified by miscegenation, is Danton's explanation of how

the most beautiful whites, including his own former fiancée Mabel, are selected as breeding pairs and placed in "Fair Lily Colonies" to provide attractive future "wives" for Japanese officers (114). *The Coloured Conquest's* emphasis on the horror of the "Fair Lily Colonies" signifies the importance of gender in constructions of Asian menace as the sexual assault of white women is symbolically intertwined with the fate of the nation itself (Chapter Two explores issues of gender in detail).

Many invasion novels, especially those with pseudo-historical narratives, are structured to begin with a shocking dystopian reality, and then move back in time to explain to the reader how it came to be. It is through this detailing of the horrors of war, and especially of conquest, that the texts hope to educate readers as to the perils of present military complacency. In David Sisk's words, a "dystopian narrative tries to warn, didactically predicting a coming evil while there is still time to correct the situation" (6). He argues that the dystopian writer seeks to "galvanise" readers by "explicitly depicting how the horrors of an extrapolated future have developed from their beginnings in the readers' culture" and adds that the more "immediate and personal the threat appears, the better for the dystopists' didactic purpose" (11). Dystopias are, then, a form of fiction that implicitly criticises contemporary society and seeks to effect change. But for the text to be successful it cannot overwhelm readers to the point where they feel powerless to act, as then it would be horror rather than pedagogic fiction:

For the fiction to succeed as a didactic warning, readers must be able both to identify the contemporary source of the extrapolated horrors and to feel capable of preventing them. Therefore, it behoves dystopian writers to base their hellish societies on concepts that will make most readers simultaneously feel personally threatened and empowered to resist. (11)

In many of the texts, the Australians are shown to fight bravely but lack military equipment and organisation. Often the point is made that, had Australia possessed comprehensive defence measures, the invasion would have been defeated. This is the dystopian logic of the texts: to try to effect a change in the popular perception of Australia's defensive requirements. In order to imbue readers with a sense of identification with the narrative to the point of feeling personally threatened by the possibility that what it depicts may actually come about, it must, as we have seen, seem realistic and believable. To induce readers to try to change the status quo, so as to diminish the possibility of the dystopian prediction coming true, the narrative must convincingly link the "extrapolated horrors" to their roots in contemporary society. This twin narrative strategy of realism and science fiction is the central logic of the subgenre of invasion fiction.

There are exceptions. Joyce Vincent's *The Celestial Hand* (1903) departs from the generic invasion formula and includes elements of the fantastic drawn from ideas popularised by the Theosophical Society at the turn of the nineteenth century. A.L. Pullar's 1933 novel *Celestalia: A Fantasy A.D. 1975* is politically didactic in parts, but the narrative diverges on tangents and contains numerous deployments of science fiction-style imagery. For example, a large part of England has become a giant airport with a concrete coastline. The remainder has ceased to be industrialised and reverted to agriculture and the feudal order of Georgian times, making it a great tourist attraction for international visitors. People travel by rocket and glider and wars are no longer fought with military might but through athletic Olympiads. *The Celestial Hand* and *Celestalia* both supplement the generic tropes of the invasion narrative with non-typical features and are located at the fuzzy edges of the subgenre. By contrast, *The Battle of Mordialloc*, *The Australian Crisis*, *Fools' Harvest*, *The Yellow Wave* and *The Coloured Conquest* closely conform to the prototype of the standard invasion narrative.

This chapter has been concerned with establishing Asian invasion novels as formulaic popular fiction texts and delineating the political agenda informing their production. It has mapped the generic components of the prototypical texts and concluded that in order to fulfil their pedagogic agendas they represent meticulously realist portrayals of wartime adventure but are also structured according to principles of extrapolation and cognitive estrangement. Yet, it is only at the level of structure that they can unequivocally be termed science fiction, as the substance of the narratives, the individual sentences which make up the texts, can only be classified as realist. Invasion novels thus co-opt science fiction narrative structures, adventurous plots and realist language to construct a vehicle for the political ideology of Asian threat. The result is a specific literary construction, which has been continually produced since the late-nineteenth century and accordingly deserves recognition as a distinct and enduring subgenre of Australian popular fiction. Asian invasion novels clearly enact a certain vision of Australia and work strategically to position readers to accept the reality of this representation. They create an Australia structured by an axis of highly gendered nationalism, an exploration of which forms the subject of the following chapter.

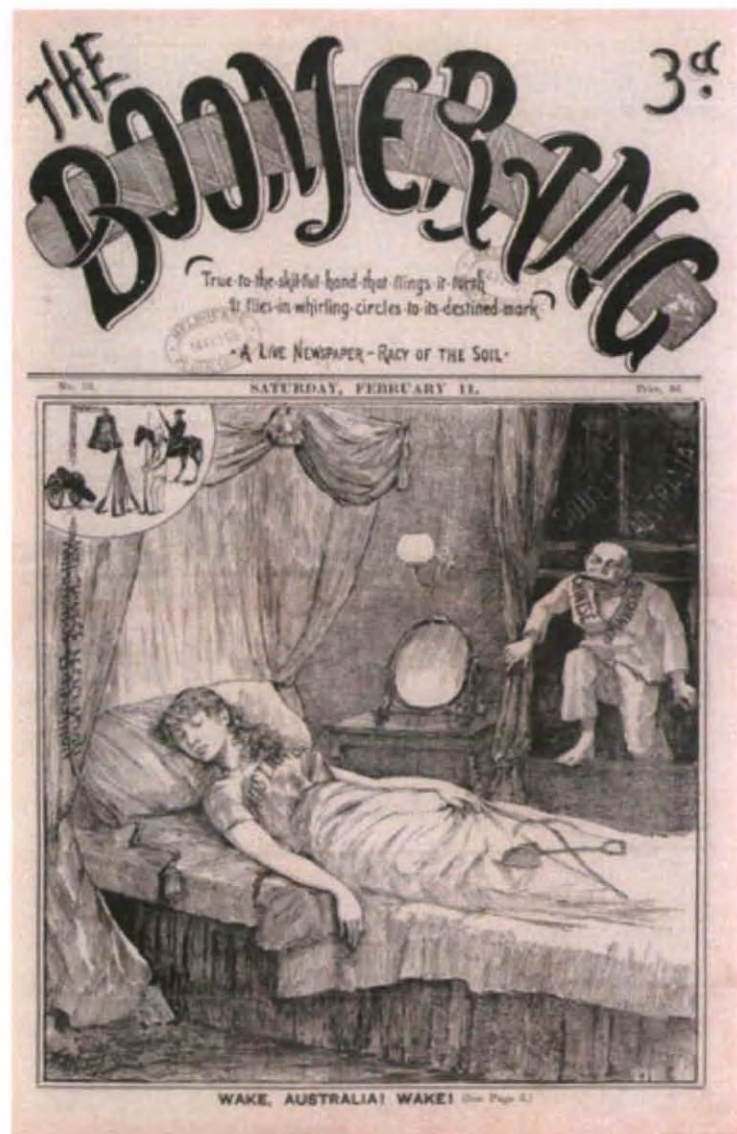


Fig. 5. "Wake, Australia! Wake!" Cover of the *Boomerang*, 11 February 1888. State Library of Victoria.



Fig. 6. "To the Rescue." Illustration from "White or Yellow?" by William Lane, *Boomerang* 14 April 1888: 9. State Library of New South Wales.

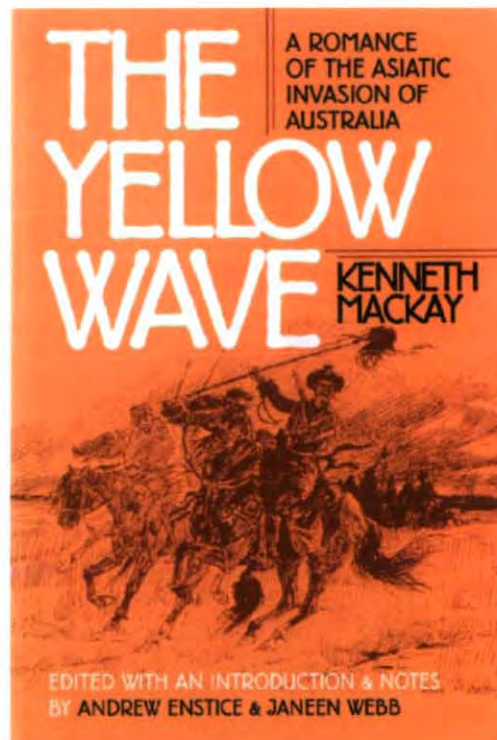


Fig. 7. Cover of the 2003 scholarly edition of *The Yellow Wave* by Kenneth Mackay, originally published in 1895.

2

Gender

The cover illustration of the 11 February 1888 edition of the *Boomerang* depicts a sleeping white maiden with "Australia" lettered across her ample bosom. Climbing through the open bedroom window is a small Asian man with a dagger clenched in his teeth. His eyes are fixed on the sleeping girl and he is marked with the words "Chinese Invasion". By the girl's side lies a long rope that connects to a bell marked "Anti-Chinese Legislation". The bell is surrounded by miniature white men at arms. The caption to the illustration pleads "Wake, Australia! Wake!" The evocative image is imbued with multi-layered connotations of threat, as the male Chinese intruder enters the intimate surrounds of the white girl's heavily draped bedroom. In her nightdress, with long hair spilling over the pillow, the sleeping girl is the picture of innocence and is utterly vulnerable, both physically and sexually, to the Asian invader. As a symbol of the nascent nation, the sleeping girl depicts the perils of national complacency in the face of potential Asian invasion. The feminisation of the Australian nation, the threat of inter-racial rape and miscegenation implied in the Asian's penetration of the girl's bedroom and the white men at arms waiting for the bell to toll, demonstrate the strongly gendered terms in which the fear of Asian invasion was framed in the popular mind of Federation-era Australia.

Novels of Asian invasion deal heavily in discourses of gender, as they play out national fears with a stock cast of manly white men, imperilled white virgins and marauding Asian invaders. To tease out discourses of gender from the general anxiety attending Asian invasion is a difficult and somewhat artificial task. Within the body of invasion texts, discourses of gender, imperialism, nation and race interrelate and conflate in complex constructions of Asian menace to Australia's white patriarchal society. Positioned firmly in the forefront of these texts is the white Australian male, born of the bush and equipped with the survival skills necessary to protect the nation. Championing this masculine ideal is the most prominent

gendered discourse in the narratives. In Dixon's words, these are "paranoid, masculine texts" and plots most often centre on the actions of white male heroes (*Writing the Colonial Adventure* 135). While protecting white women from the horrors of miscegenation is of the utmost importance in these novels, female characters are mostly peripheral to the main story line. As Martin Crotty argues, although it was popular in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Australia to represent the nation as feminine, it was men who were held to determine national destiny (10). In this way the fate of the nation and the calibre of its men became entwined and "crises in masculinity were crises for the nation and vice versa" (10). In Asian invasion novels, as mentioned in my introduction, the crisis of invasion is often held to be precipitated by an urbanised and feminised Australia's failure to produce the numbers of appropriately masculine, militant men necessary for national defence. The masculine ideal of the capable bushman is then held aloft as the example that must be emulated if the white Australia is to survive. In this chapter I examine the gendered tropes of invasion novels in detail, in order to illuminate their role in the reciprocal discursive construction of Asian threat and Australian nationalism. My readings focus primarily on the novels of the Federation era, as it is within these first texts that the gendered conventions of the subgenre are established as the basis of future invasion novels. I firstly consider the portrayal of white masculinity, before discussing the gendered construction of the Asian invaders and then, finally, appraise depictions of white femininity within a breadth of Federation-era, mid- and late-twentieth-century novels. In view of the masculine nature of the genre, I pay particular attention to the presentation of white womanhood within the texts. I also include discussion of more recent novels in my analysis of feminine representation as the status of women within the texts undergoes marked transformation over the history of the novels' production.

"Sturdy Sons of the Australian Bush": Masculinity and Nationalism

The first novels of Asian invasion appeared in conjunction with the period of nation building preceding Federation, and bear the tropes of the masculinising impulse of emergent Australian nationalism. As Australia sought to define its own distinctive culture and assert its difference from Britain, the figure of the bushman with his ethos of mateship and egalitarianism was held to represent Australia's unique identity and values. It is well known that twentieth-century historical scholarship such as Vance Palmer's 1954 *The Legend of the Nineties* and Russel Ward's 1958 *The Australian Legend* locates the decade of the 1890s as the historical juncture at which the Australian national character was forged, as a flurry of nationalist literary production represented the bushman as the ideal prototype of Australian manhood.

Feminist scholars such as Marilyn Lake, Kay Schaffer and Susan Sheridan have, in turn, pointed out that by locating and celebrating the masculinist ideals of the 1890s – as the birth of a distinctive national culture and by ignoring the women and contending masculinities of the era – critics have reinforced the conflation of “manly” masculinity and “national tradition” in the Australian popular consciousness.¹ Keeping this in mind, my purpose here is to examine the construction of the “manly” masculinity of the bush legend and consider why it came to be one of the dominant ideologies of the new Australian nation. Critically, this is well-trodden ground. But situating the historical and cultural conditions from which the first invasion novels emerged is essential in understanding the masculinist bent and the zealous championing of the bushman ideal that saturate these texts.

Paradoxically, the Australian idealisation of manliness functioned both as a specifically nationalist construction and as a part of the broader discourse of British imperialism. From the mid-nineteenth century British masculine ideals based on religious morality had given way to a more muscular conception of manliness. These new codes, emphasizing physical stoicism, courage and militarism, played a central role in buttressing the ideologies of empire and circulated throughout the British colonies. As J.A. Mangan and James Walvin have argued, manliness was not a singular coherent concept linked to one locality, but more of a “portmanteau term,” subject to change and regional interpretations “which, at specific moments appear[s] to be discrete, even conflicting, in emphasis” (3). Hence, in the Australian context, codes of manliness were shaped by geopolitical and cultural specificities and co-opted to bolster emergent nationalist sentiments but commensurately echoed many of the tropes of a generalised imperial masculinism. In line with imperial discourse, Australian conceptions of manliness in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries differed considerably from earlier masculine ideals. Crotty illustrates that, during the mid-nineteenth century, efforts to establish a civilised society out of the brutish barbarism of the colonial frontier gave rise to a formulation of manliness that emphasized religious piety, morality and intellectual development (221). By the 1890s Australia was becoming increasingly urbanised and some commentators, such as those writing in the *Bulletin* (as Lake has illustrated), feared that Australian culture had become too effeminate, too indoors, too restricted by religious morality.² The ideals of raw masculinity and the untrammelled freedom of the bush came to the cultural forefront. The rise of the nation-state in the late-nineteenth century and the influence of the Social Darwinist creed of “survival of the fittest” highlighted the need for Australian men to be able to fight for their country against competing foreign interests. Hence, the mid-nineteenth-century emphasis on religion and domesticity gave way to an increasingly muscular and militant conception of

masculinity forged in the testing ground of the outback bushland. In this vein, Crotty notes that the glorification of the militant masculine ideal moved away from the domain of the feminine in order to cultivate male fighting prowess for the purposes of national defence:

The masculine ideal has thus become a hardened Australian soldier, effective and brutal as a result of his training in the bush, egalitarian in spirit, loyal to his mates, towering over all others physically, and devoted to fighting for his country and empire against the enemies of western civilisation. Such a construction marginalised, rather than embraced feminine qualities, and accorded women only a minor place in the making of the nation. (166)

This masculinist ideal was not only defined against “the enemies of western civilisation” and women, but implicitly against Aborigines and explicitly against those deemed “effeminate” males, those living not in the bush but in Australia’s metropolitan centres: the intellectuals, businessmen and bureaucrats. As Walker argues, the decadence, degeneration and deviant masculinities produced by urbanisation were thought to be sharply at odds with the demands of national survival (*Anxious Nation* 98). Australia’s fledgling society was perceived to need these brutish men from the frontier if it was going to survive in a changing world of competing nationalities.

Invasion novels of the Federation era champion the archetype of the Australian bushman as the most powerful corrective to an imagined Asian invasion. In these texts the fear of Asia acts as a galvanising force in the formation of a vision of an idealised Australian nation, peopled by strong and sturdy bushmen with the will and courage to withstand the Asian threat, unhindered by women or urban, degenerate men. The dominant forms of meaning in early Australian invasion narratives can be roughly characterised within an overarching binary opposition between the bush and metropolitan centres. Deviations from this narrative model do occur, for in some texts urban men play their part in battle, but almost overwhelmingly the bush is privileged as the location of authentic Australian identity. Impotent city-bred politicians and greedy capital-driven businessmen are frequently cast as the villains of these tales, often depicted as impediments to the adequate defence of the nation, or even accomplices in the invasion. It is the bushmen, with their egalitarian values of mateship, courage and self-sacrifice, who are positioned as best equipped to defend the nation in her hour of need and are considered to be representative of “true” Australian values.

Kenneth Mackay’s *The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia* and C.H. Kirmess’ *The Australian Crisis* typify the idealisation of the masculine qualities of the Australian bushman. From today’s perspective the celebratory tone of such narratives is so inflated that it borders on parody. But at the

time of writing these were earnest, didactic texts, carefully detailing the qualities to which Australian men should aspire if they were to ensure national survival. In Mackay's *The Yellow Wave*, Australia's city-based political powers are helpless in the face of a Russian-led Chinese invasion of northern Queensland. Defence is thus left to those on the front line, the bushmen of the Queensland frontier. Taking matters into his own hands, the hero of the story, white horseman and cattle station owner Dick Hatten, founds a mounted guerrilla troop. "Hatten's Ringers" are described as a "stout-hearted, irregular force, formidable in numbers and splendid in physique and courage" (267). Hatten himself is a "sunbronzed" son of the Australian bush, "brought to absolute perfection by constant saddle work," skilled in bushcraft and fiercely patriotic, he is the "beau-ideal of a guerrilla leader" (37, 147). With the government unable to provide weaponry, Hatten's Ringers use their ingenuity and bushcraft to fashion lances from straight sticks with sheep shears riveted to the ends. They fight bravely, but, although in possession of a "natural dash" not shared by the invaders, the Australians are too vastly outnumbered and outclassed in both discipline and weaponry to have any chance of success (285).

Similarly, in Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis* the Australian government does nothing to stop the founding of a clandestine Japanese colony in the Northern Territory and it is left to the bushmen to take action. The narrative details how, while the metropolitan centres of the Commonwealth are consumed with political squabbling, the bushmen of the frontier recognise with natural simplicity "that force, brutal force, alone could save them" (143). Kirmess writes:

Far removed from the law bewitched nerve-centres of the population, there lived a more aggressive type of Australian. Away in the back-blocks on the borderlands of savagery, the skin-hunters, drovers, station-hands, prospectors and other adventurous vagrants heard the rumours of the invasion. (144)

As these hardy men meet, they exchange "ideas of revenge and retribution with kindred spirits" and evolve the "bold project of a raid against the Japanese" (144). They call themselves the "White Guard" and are fearless despite the distance and hardships which have to be overcome during their journey across the interior of Australia to face the enemy. Kirmess' rapturous descriptions of the qualities of the White Guard present the bushmen as ideal Australians: "A finer body of men never took to the field to do battle for Aryan ideals. It was composed of the sturdy sons of the Australian bush set off by just a dash of a more refined cosmopolitan element.... All the members were in the prime of manhood and health" (146-47). The Japanese have not reckoned on the formation of such a volunteer movement, as they had carefully investigated the nature of Australian society, but only "turned their attention to the centres of population and national power" (148):

And they found there all the symptoms of indolent culture, love of play, indulgence in luxuries and careless national pride.... The Japanese agents may have reported all they saw. But apparently they did not penetrate under the surface and overlooked the hardy pioneers who wrestled with and conquered hostile nature in the arid heart of the continent, the selectors, stockmen, miners, drovers, carriers and other bush workers who loved an uncrowded life on the borderland of civilisation ... [who displayed] pride of battle and triumph in the face of disheartening difficulties; fierce devotion to the boundless sweep of virgin country which every bushman regards as the priceless inheritance of his race; and an unconquerable love of freedom as the pre-requisite of life. (148-49)

Here the redemptive power of those living on the periphery is strikingly contrasted with the degenerate paralysis of the coastal cities. As the embodiment of an ideal Australia, the manly men of the White Guard are also imbued with a democratic spirit and its leaders are selected by "the equal vote of all" (154). When the fighting begins it is clear that the Australians are totally outnumbered and face insurmountable odds. Yet the "patriotic rough-riders" decide they must fight to the end against "the ever increasing swarms of Asiatics" and eventually sacrifice their lives in defence of white Australia (226). The significance and honour of their martyrdom is emphasised by Kirmess: "The short and hitherto uneventful history of the youngest continent has been ennobled by one sublime episode which ranks equal to the proudest traditions of Old World nations – the Death Ride of the White Guard" (223). Disturbingly, race war is thus depicted as a moment of sublime transformation enabling the Australian nation to reach the same level of maturity and legitimacy as "Old World nations." As Dixon points out, key tropes of Australian nationalism are clearly emergent in the "Romance of the White Guard;" the manliness, mateship and mythologising of military failure and self-sacrifice point forward to what would become the Gallipoli legend (*Writing the Colonial Adventure* 150). Idealisations of the "manly" qualities of the Australian bushman, later transmuted into the mythology of Anzac, are evident in all generic novels of Asian invasion, as the recurring tropes of white masculinity form the central structuring principle of these overtly nationalistic narratives. The masculine values distilled in the prototypical invasion narratives of Mackay and Kirmess – muscular fitness, courage in the face of adversity, direct action and plain speaking – thus remain constant across the history of the subgenre.

Cunning Orientals and Ravaging Hordes: The Split Gendering of Asian Invaders

Given the textual emphasis placed on the white male experience of invasion, surprisingly little time is devoted to describing the invaders themselves. Indeed, in some texts descriptions of the enemy are almost totally absent save the deployment

of the broadest of racialised stereotypes, the focus being more on the Australian response to the invasion. Typically, the Asian invaders are portrayed as a faceless and overwhelming mass, an engulfing wave of horror, rather than individual characters. It is, then, the odd individual and the totalised mass of invading Asian-ness which are subject to gendered representation. Within these texts, white Australia defines its superior self, time and time again, against the difference of the debased Asian other. The constant textual repetition of standardised racial imagery clearly demonstrates Homi Bhabha's assertion as to the fixation and anxiety attending the deployment of colonialist stereotypes. Bhabha proposes that the stereotype functions as a phobia and as a fetish – as a means of facilitating the colonial fantasy of racial purity and cultural priority – in which “the *same old* stories of the Negro's animality, the Coolie's inscrutability or the stupidity of the Irish *must* be told (compulsively) again and afresh, and are differently gratifying and terrifying each time” (74, 77). Invasion narratives are certainly notable for their compulsive reconfirmation of established Asian stereotypes. In order to localise Bhabha's observations to the Australian milieu, it is useful to follow Mrinalini Sinha's directive to attend to the particularities of historical and cultural context in the construction of colonial stereotypes. In her discussion of the stereotype of the effeminate Bengali, Sinha proposes the need to go beyond Bhabha's analysis, so as to address adequately the range of historical developments that overdetermined the construction of the “effeminate babu” in late-nineteenth-century India (18). Similarly, to understand white Australian constructions of Asian masculinities, Bhabha's important but overarching work on colonial stereotypes needs to be supplemented by consideration of Australian contexts.

In these novels Asians are invaders, rather than subjects of colonial rule. Furthermore, they are almost always victorious invaders, militarily superior and utterly ruthless. Accordingly, the novels construct the Asian invaders according to a split and contradictory gendering process where they are simultaneously conceived as both masculine and feminine. They are masculine in the sense that they are merciless conquerors who succeed in penetrating Australia's borders and thus, by extension, threatening Australia's women. Yet they are also described as possessing the kind of dangerous qualities often assigned to women, such as duplicity, cunning and sensuality. Hence, in the logic of invasion narratives there is a clear disjunction in the conception of the Asian invaders as the fear of masculinised threat collides with established Orientalist conceptions of feminised Asian identities. The contradictory nature of these Asian stereotypes bear out Bhabha's emphasis on the fraught and ambivalent nature of colonial stereotypes. Historically, the late-nineteenth-century conception of an “awakening East” suggested an Asia emerging

from its passive slumber into a new masculinised awareness of the modern world. Walker argues that, at this time, Orientalist stereotypes of an unchanging feminised East began to give way to new notions of an awakened and potentially militant Asia: "Where the feminine East suggested a recumbent world of sensual pleasures, the masculine East stirred fears of the terrible energies set free by rampaging hordes. It brought to mind flashing scimitars and great warriors like the merciless Genghis Khan" (*Anxious Nation* 3). Asian invasion novels thus construct a version of enemy Asian-ness that combines the violent threat of the war-like masculine hordes with the dangerous feminine qualities attributed to the East.

In Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* the image of the newly awakened, rampaging horde dominates the portrayal of the invading Chinese. The Chinese, or "Mongols" as Mackay terms them, are depicted as a terrifying and infinite mass of savages intent on slaughter and rape:

The Mongols, after a sleep of centuries, had awoke at last. Still brave as lions, enduring as dogs, and rapacious as wolves, they had shaken off their death-like stupor and again taken up the glorious traditions of the past ... they were coming under the old banners of blood and fire to avenge past insults and win new possessions. (160)

The invasion is swift and unchecked and the narrative details how the Chinese sweep through Queensland leaving destruction and carnage in their wake. The predatory masculine nature of the invading horde is accompanied in *The Yellow Wave* by the feminised depiction of "Commissioner Wang," the only Asian invader in the text to receive individual characterisation. Commissioner Wang is constructed according to Orientalist stereotypes and is described as a "passive" and "effeminate Chinaman" (168, 292). His face is that of a "sphinx" but for the "scarce veiled cunning that lurked beneath his oblique, half closed eyes" (167). His costume is feminised – "a yellow silk coat heavily bordered with fur and with a chain of priceless pearls hanging over his breast" – and he is depicted as an effeminate coward (168). With such connotations of inscrutability, sensuous indulgence and a love of soft luxury, Commissioner Wang is positioned as the polar opposite of the hardened Australian bushman, but is at the same time linked by the text to the rampaging hordes despite his effeminacy. Correspondingly, in Lane's "White or Yellow?," the "unctuous" Chinese villain "Sir Wong," is depicted in feminising Orientalist terms and is at the same time presented as masculine:

Sensuality was stamped upon his heavy lips and drooping eyelids and upon the expressionless mask wherewith Mongol like, he veiled his face. Yet he was a man, a man with a strong jaw and broad forehead and piercing eyes; a man who spoke well and understood human nature.... (18 Feb. 1888: 9)

In the rubric of invasion narratives Asian masculinity is thus a more complex and fraught construction than the "manly" masculine Australian ideal. Asian masculinity involves elements of the debased female other while at the same time achieving a superior militarism (at least in terms of numbers and organisation) and posing a male sexual threat to white Australia's women and girls. The ideal Australian male is granted an unquestionable masculine purity while the invading Asian male, as the demonised enemy, is allocated a militant masculinity that is fractured by the feminine stereotypes of Orientalism.

In Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis* the descriptions of the invading Japanese are heavily informed by the feminising stereotypes of Orientalist discourse. The narrative repeatedly emphasises the artful duplicity of the Japanese and their "wily," "Oriental cunning" (47, 51). As an early precursor of twenty-first-century invasion novels that feature the possibility of invasions being carried out under the guise of arriving refugees, the Japanese war strategy in *The Australian Crisis* rests on convincing Britain that it is not an invasion but rather the resettlement of needy famine victims. Britain is told that the refugees are fleeing famine in Japan: "starving exiles" willing to become loyal subjects of the King (47). The reader is made aware that this is not at all the case, but the British had "not grasped the working of the Japanese mind nor its method of cloaking iron tenacity under bland, seemingly yielding civility" (282). The sensible, manly men of the White Guard and their successors, however, see through these "creeping tactics" (319). They are not surprised when the seemingly peaceful villages established by the Japanese turn out to be "well contrived fortification[s]," and that previously unknown villages "teeming with population" lie concealed behind tracts of wilderness (173, 303). In the ensuing battles, narrative statements such as "the enemy was not afraid to strike in the dark, from the back" and the "Asiatic mind ever prefers to move in curves rather than in a straight line," highlight the unmitigated treachery of the invaders (303, 307). Kirmess' relentless evocations of the duplicity and stealth of the Japanese culminates in a vision of artful monstrosity: "It was as if a monster had made the wilderness its lair and was lying in wait there, playing its warriors like pawns in a game of chess, without compassion, without fear and planning all the time the destruction of White Australia" (186). In contrast, the Australian men are presented as wanting to fight fairly in a straightforward and honourable manner.

The *Australian Crisis* further aligns the Japanese with the feminised Orient in its paradigmatic likening of the invaders to "floods" and "swarms." It talks of a "steady inpour of invaders," "swarming multitudes," "ever increasing swarms" and describes the Australian men as trying to push back "the brown flood" (179, 220, 224, 323). Walker proposes that the bushman in invasion novels is "solid and unyielding"

while Asia is presented as “fluid, changing and difficult to contain.” Flowing Asia, he contends, thus has “characteristics in common with the tidal emotions and fluidity associated with womanhood,” namely “volatility, irrational conduct and inscrutability” (“Shooting Mabel” 1, 4). In *The Australian Crisis* the Japanese are indeed depicted as a fluid mass, intent on treachery and possessing a duplicitous cunning, but commensurately they are pursuing a methodically planned strategy of masculine conquest which is successfully achieved. Hence, they are also presented as extremely rational and controlled in the utterly ruthless pursuit of their goal. In the total demonisation of invading Asia in these early texts, the mass character of the enemy thus acts as a repository of monstrous stereotypes drawn from both genders.

In invasion novels of the Federation era the invading force is always entirely male, so Asian women are almost completely absent from this discourse. Only when the prospect of post-invasion colonisation is raised are Asian women mentioned. However, these references are slight and centre on the women’s role as breeders of Asian populations. Asian women are not silenced presences within the narratives, as we expect in colonial discourses, but are effectively physically absent from the world of the texts. Within the structure of the generic invasion narrative there exists a tripartite schema of gendered race relations between white Australian men, Asian men and white Australian women. The women of white Australia, even though they are comparatively marginal to the white males, play a vital part in the invasion scenario.

Protecting the Purity of the White Race: Constructions of Australian Femininity

The emphasis on masculinism in emergent Australian nationalism, the mythologising of the bushman as the distinctive Australian character, and the emphasis on fraternal “mateship” and muscular fitness did not allow the same degree of cultural value to be assigned to Australian womanhood. In her study of the “masculine bias” attending discourses of Australian national identity, Kay Schaffer observes that

Wherever one looks – in the *Bulletin* of the 1890s, in the stories of Henry Lawson, in the commentaries on the *Bulletin* and Henry Lawson, in the cultural studies by Palmer, Hancock, Ward and Phillips, in the writings of literary critics, historians and sociologists throughout the twentieth century – the texts are notable for the absence of reference to women.
(30)

Schaffer proposes that, while women have been marginalised from the Australian nationalist tradition, they are burdened with metaphorical associations of Australia itself. In Federation-era novels of Asian invasion women are indeed mainly peripheral to the storylines depicting military contest, yet they are assigned symbolic value in their function as a sign of the Australian nation. Constructed according to

discourses of empire, women in invasion narratives act as a metaphor of white civilisation and the purity of race. As child-bearers, women are imagined according to the stereotype of the "mother" of the race or nation, and are assigned responsibility for the reproduction of the white population. In Susan Sheridan's words the injunction upon white women was to "breed pure" to ensure the quality and quantity of future generations (115, 116). In early invasion novels the female characters are most often cast in the role of "sweetheart": virginal maidens passively awaiting marriage and childbearing, if Australia survives the race war. As Sheridan points out, within the discourse of "race mother" white womanhood becomes "the sexually vulnerable property of white men," the protection of which is used as justification for racial violence (116). Or, as Jenny Sharpe argues in her analysis of the discursive construction of inter-racial rape in imperial India, "A discourse of rape – that is, the violent reproduction of gender roles that positions English women as innocent victims and English men as their avengers – permits strategies of counterinsurgency to be recorded as the restoration of moral order" (6). In the Australian context, female characters in invasion narratives must be protected at all costs from the Asian invaders. Sexual violation would constitute the symbolic loss of white Australia by evoking the horrors of the mixing of blood, miscegenation and racial degeneration. In these fictions, rape at the hands of an Asian invader is thus considered to be "a fate worse than death." The preferable course of action is for the hero to be prepared to shoot his sweetheart before she can be subjected to such "dishonour."³

In Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* the squatter's daughter Heather Cameron is positioned within this rubric of female vulnerability. Heather is presented in terms of her classical beauty; she is blonde, "white skinned and hazel-eyed, with the hair and form of the Queen of the morning" (59). Deeply loyal to her aging father, Heather refuses to flee the coming invaders and go south to Brisbane. Instead, she stays by his side, despite the specific threat posed to herself as a woman. The narrative lauds her filial love and self-sacrifice and describes her as possessing "that supreme self-abnegation which makes certain women divine" (249). Heather and her father take shelter in the white stronghold of Fort Mallarraway, but, as it becomes clear that the Chinese will take the fort, the fate of the women becomes of great concern. Orders are given to the men "to save the women if possible: if not, to shoot them rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy" (238). The women are instructed, if such circumstances befall them, to take their own lives "so that protection from worse than death may be assured" (206). Heather asks the bushman hero Dick Hatten to perform this "mercy" killing if necessary:

'Dick,' said the girl almost in a whisper, 'I want you to promise me something.'

But knowing what it was the man never said a word.

'Mr. Musgrave has told us that if the worst comes we must kill ourselves.... If I must die, let it be by your hand....'

For a long time he stood silent, looking out into the blazing west; then he said slowly: 'If I am alive I will do as you ask.' (209)

Fortunately, Heather is saved when a Mongol fiend carries her towards "a clump of low scrub," but others are not so lucky (244). Mackay places particular emphasis on the killing and sexual assault of white women and children by the Chinese invaders. In one instance Australians attempt to flee from the invaders on the last train south to Brisbane. But the Chinese intercept and "thrust their bayonets into passing trucks," spearing children and tossing them "from point to point in wanton delivery," at the same time, struggling women are dragged "by their hair from the still open doors" (201). Later, in the grisly aftermath of the siege of Fort Mallarraway, the conflicted Russian-Australian character Philip Orloff, gazes into the black depths of a nearby river and turns away with a shudder, for in "its foul bed he knew many a woman lay who had sprung into its cold embrace with the bloody fingerprints of the ravisher staining the white freshness of her wind-tossed robe" (219). Inside the ruined fort Orloff finds the bodies of young girls, "their white limbs bruised and bloody," from one "the spoiler's lustful hands had torn aside all covering" leaving her "naked and dead" before his eyes (220). The repetition of the word "white" in these descriptions emphasises the strong racial component involved in the textual construction of sexual violence.

Mackay's descriptions of the desecration of white women and girls evokes the imperial memory of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, in which British women were held to be systematically tortured and raped by Indian sepoys. As Sharpe argues, the British understanding of the Indian rebellion was so closely imbricated with the violation of white womanhood that the Mutiny has been remembered foremost as a barbaric attack on innocent white women (2). In particular, the Cawnpore massacre of two hundred British women and children and reports of their brutal defilement resonated powerfully in the British imperial consciousness. To avenge the events at Cawnpore the British army undertook a morally sanctioned campaign of retribution against the Indians, involving horrific and widespread atrocities. The representation of English women as innocent victims of native attack was thus instrumental in re-establishing the structures of colonial authority (65). Sharpe contends that within colonial discourse, rape acts not as "a consistent and stable signifier" but one that "surfaces at strategic moments" to galvanise imperial power (2). She points to further moments of political instability in colonial Indian history in which the memory of the Mutiny was revived and used as a rallying point for the re-assertion of colonial rule. She proposes

that the racialised rapist is not the source but rather the effect of the discursive production of an imperilled colonial order, and in this way "a crisis in British authority is managed through the circulation of the violated bodies of English women as a sign for the violation of colonialism" (4). Sharpe's observations are paralleled in novels of Asian invasion in which the threat of inter-racial rape to white Australian women functions more on the metaphoric level of breaches to territorial integrity than on the impact of women themselves. Australian women in invasion novels thus exist on a reified symbolic plane rather than as embodied characters with active agency within the narrative.

In Lane's "White or Yellow?," the white Australian heroine Cissie Saxby plays a pivotal role in the storyline because she dies defending her honour against the villainous Sir Wong. Treasured by her father and loved by her sweetheart, the blond-haired, blue-eyed Cissie is the embodiment of innocence and kind-hearted goodness. The discovery of Cissie's bloodied corpse in a paddock ignites the flames of race war as the men of white Australia rally over the attempted desecration of female honour. As Walker has observed, Cissie becomes the murdered virgin whose death lends inspiration to the white cause (*Anxious Nation* 103). In a move uncharacteristic of invasion narratives, Lane depicts a victory for white Australia against the Chinese, and when the war is won Cissie's sweetheart looks upon her open coffin: "She lay there like the virgin Nationality which had found its life in her death; lay there as if smiling for the triumph of the anti-Chinese cause; lay there typical of the faith and purity and holiness of thought which had lent strength to the upheaval" (28 Apr. 1888: 9). Cissie's iconic status as "the virgin Nationality" grants her symbolic value within a masculinist national economy that allows her more agency in death than had she survived. As Sharpe argues in the context of Indian Mutiny fiction, white womanhood is invested with "such extraordinary value that the lives of the women themselves are devalued" (100). Death must be chosen over dishonour as women are required to save their chastity over and above their lives (73, 102). In Lane's narrative, Cissie's value lies in her function as a sign of racial purity and national integrity rather than in any practical contribution she could make through living.

In these novels, the sexual attack on the white woman is not described as it happens, nor is it told from the woman's perspective. Rather, the narrative is voiced through the white male subject who discovers the ravished corpse and implies the horrors that have occurred but must remain unsaid. In each narrative the unspeakable details of the rape or attempted rape are withheld or are suggested through euphemisms. In Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* it is a male character that comes across the bruised and bloody bodies of the girls. In Lane's "White or Yellow?," Cissie's corpse is discovered by her father and her sweetheart. Sharpe proposes that

by “operating behind a screen of decency that demanded it withhold details, the English press generated a narrative desire around what it did not say” about the events of the Mutiny (61-62). In this way, the English newspapers “invited readers to visualise the unspeakable acts that could only be disclosed in fragments” (62). Similarly, in invasion novels, the reader is required to actively fill in these gaps in the narrative. In Cox’s *Fool’s Harvest*, the details of the fate of Australian women are self-consciously omitted completely. The fictional editors whose comments frame the body of the text declare that “After careful consideration” they “have decided to suppress” portions of the manuscript detailing the treatment of women:

In taking this step, we are influenced by our opinion that the appalling character of the disclosures may cause great distress to people now living.... While there are some episodes of the struggle that must never be forgotten, there are others which, for the sake of humanity, must be obliterated from memory. (9-10)

It is thus left to the readers to imagine what depravities the women suffered. While the intention of invasion narratives was to shock and to horrify, the invitation to visualise the mistreatment of women at the hands of Oriental fiends also contains an eroticised element. As Sharpe argues of the Mutiny reports, allusions to rape serve to objectify women as eroticised and ravished bodies (66). This objectification is compounded by the absence of female narrative voices, as emphasis is placed on white males’ furious indignation at the violation of white Australian womanhood. By extension, of course, this is in effect the violation of white Australia itself. There are rare exceptions; Eric Willmot’s *Below the Line* (1991) features a female protagonist and opens with a protracted and graphic description of her brutal gang rape by Indonesian soldiers.

As a late-twentieth-century text, Willmot’s *Below the Line* differs considerably from earlier invasion novels.⁴ It still contains the generic tropes of the invasion narrative but its storyline is multifaceted and original. *Below the Line* is the first invasion novel to feature a female protagonist: the fair-haired white Australian Angela Steen, and presents a complex mystery story centred on her experience of the Indonesian invasion of northern Australia. Beginning in an Indonesian prison camp in New Guinea where the expatriate Angela is an inmate, the opening pages provide lengthy descriptions of Angela’s violent beatings and multiple rapes by the Indonesian prison guards. As well as emphasising the physicality of the violent rapes, the narrative closely follows Angela’s state of mind during the abuse, detailing the thoughts and feelings that enter her stream of consciousness. In contrast to earlier invasion narratives, Willmot’s rape scene locates the trauma of assault in the subjectivity of the woman. Also in marked contrast to earlier novels in which death is preferable to dishonour, Angela is determined to survive the rapes

and to stay alive, to submit in order to minimise the violence being inflicted upon her. *Below the Line* depicts rape as a violent sexual assault upon an embodied character, rather than as a euphemistic metaphor about territorial integrity, and it makes for unpleasant reading.⁵ The question must be asked as to what the inclusion of such a graphic rape scene achieves in the novel.

Recognising the trauma of sexual assault on women during times of war has rightly become a political imperative, but sustained attention to the seriousness of sexual violence is not borne out in the rest of Willmot's text. The horrors of the opening pages are forgotten remarkably quickly as Angela is freed from the camp and the fast-paced narrative moves on to other events. The novel as a whole is easily criticised for touching on many significant themes without developing them, as the story ricochets across a variety of conflicting ideological positions which imbue the text with a number of unsatisfying disjunctions. Despite the promising inclusion of a female protagonist, this invasion narrative is not a feminist text. Angela is allowed agency and self-determination over her own life, but arguably only achieves wholeness when she falls in love with the archetypal bush soldier. The novel concludes on an unsettling note as Angela realises she will be happiest living in Indonesian occupied northern Australia despite the sexual violence she has suffered at the hands of Indonesian soldiers.

By considering the corpus of invasion novels as a whole, beginning in the 1880s and running through to the present time, it is possible to trace improvements in the status of women in Australian culture. In the first novels of Asian invasion – such as those by Lane and Mackay – women are cast only in the role of victim and are loaded with the heavy symbolic burden of race and nation. Even their assault is viewed as more of a tragedy for their white male counterparts than for the women themselves. In the spate of invasion novels appearing in the 1930s – such as Cox's *Fools' Harvest* and Mitchell's *The Awakening* – women are assigned productive value in the war effort, most carrying out important work nursing casualties. In Mitchell's novel women even participate in the military action. However, the text treats the participation of women in battle with deep ambivalence. The hero of the story, Cromwell, does his best to prevent the women from fighting. The women do prove to be efficient soldiers but their inclusion in the narrative is also based on their titillating role as wilful and attractive vixens. At one point Cromwell has to "fight an impulse" to put the leader of the women, Betty, over his knee and "spank her soundly" (173), at another he has to "forcibly" wrap her in a fluffy blanket (263), and if Cromwell and Betty had survived the war they undoubtedly would have married. Hence, even while fighting, the female characters are presented in ways which

emphasise their sexual attractiveness to men, existing more as objects of male appreciation than subjects in their own right.

Of the late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century invasion texts, Willmot's *Below the Line* and Marsden's *Tomorrow* series break with tradition to feature female protagonists. Willmot's text is significant in its treatment of female subjectivity on the trauma of war, but the heroine Angela finds empowerment only through her union with the idealised bush soldier, who masterminds their escape to freedom with an ingenuity and capability that Angela is denied. Marsden's female protagonist Ellie is supremely capable and militant, but she is constructed according to the standardised tropes of the heroic bushman. Ellie may be female but she is cast in the mould of the masculinised bush soldier, and embodies identical attributes of courage, physical fitness, love of country and fighting prowess that were characteristic of her male literary predecessors. Thus, the evolution of the status of women within the body of texts does not suggest an unproblematic progression from oppression to emancipation. The status of women within these fictions does markedly improve but is nonetheless subject to ambivalent treatment as progressive perspectives are tempered by lingering stereotypes, or in Marsden's case his heroine simply masquerades masculine ideals and continues to validate the traditional values of the Asian invasion narrative. The tropes of idealised manliness required for national survival remain constant throughout the production of the subgenre.

As novels based on the delineation of Asian threat to white Australia, invasion narratives utilise rigidly constructed gender stereotypes to promulgate ideologies of race and nation. Characters within the early texts are most often two-dimensional and function more as symbols of gendered racial types than as psychologically complex individuals. Images of the idealised Australian bushman, the demonised Asian invader and the sexually vulnerable white woman are compulsively deployed time and time again within these generic texts. The idealised bush hero may be just as inflexibly stereotyped as the debased Asian other or the female victim, but he is assigned far more cultural and political value, as evidenced in the textual layering of unending adulation. Conversely, the Asian invaders are the repository of all that is deemed immoral and treacherous, as they are demonised to the same extremity as the heroic bushmen are idealised. Within these texts white women exist within the restricting discourses of racial purity until recent novels allow them a partial escape and access to limited self-determination. These are not novels that work to destabilise conventional gender roles. Indeed, most seek to uphold and strengthen them, in narratives that are jingoistic and unashamedly nationalist. The only way in which the forcefully gendered and racialised systems of meaning deployed in the texts are undermined is through their own hyperbole. The

extremely heavy-handed compulsive repetition of gender stereotypes within the narratives easily appears to contemporary readers as parodic. From this perspective, it is the very vehemence of the narratives that could be their undoing, as the hysterical rigidity of the gendered stereotypes serves to expose their own constructedness.

Masculinist discourses of Australian nationalism, nevertheless, remain at the forefront of more recently produced novels of Asian invasion. The subgenre as a whole is undoubtedly masculinist. The vast majority of Asian invasion novels – from the adventure-romances of the late nineteenth century to the thrillers of the early twenty-first century – centre on masculine action in the context of war. They feature physical violence: assassinations in the lead up to war, the details of brutal conquest or bloody descriptions of outright battle as Australian men fight in defence of their country. Many include lengthy accounts of armaments and military strategies and all contain evocations of fierce national pride. The repeated representation of the stock characters that populate the generic Asian invasion narrative helps to construct a highly gendered and racialised understanding of Australian nationhood. The glaring absence in these narratives, in their constructions of Australian national identity, is that of Aborigines either male or female.



Fig. 8. "The Unfinished Commonwealth." Cover of the *Lone Hand*, 1 February 1909. State Library of New South Wales.

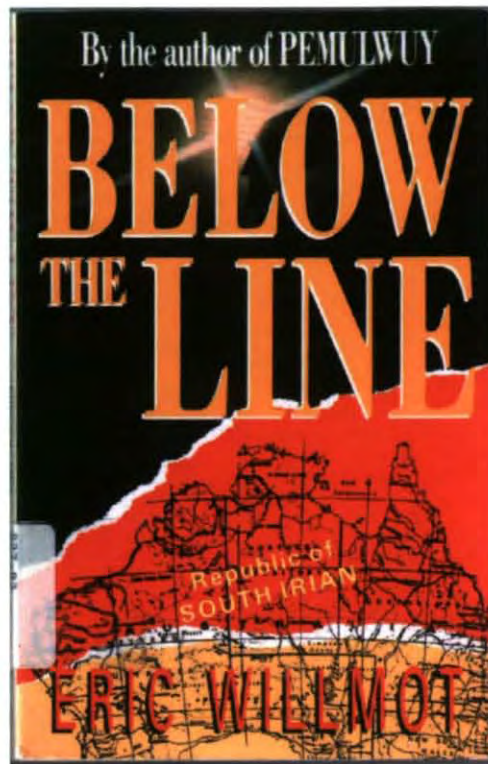


Fig. 9. Cover of *Below the Line* by Eric Willmot, 1991.

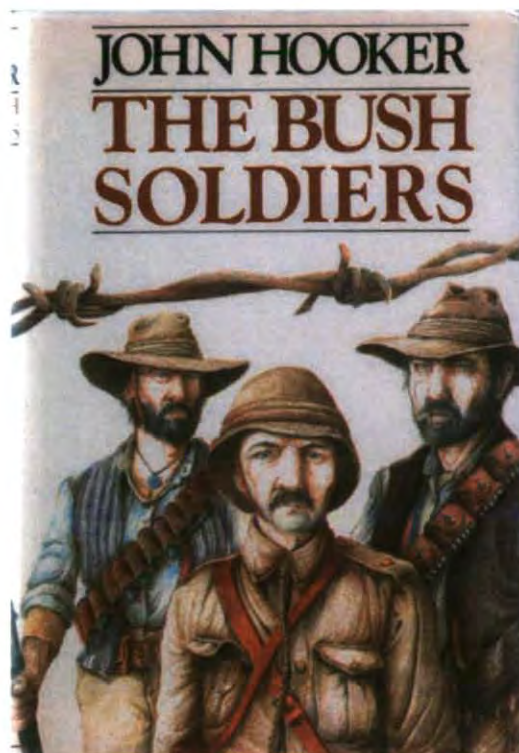


Fig. 10. Cover of *The Bush Soldiers* by John Hooker, 1984.

3

Land

Control of the land – both physical and discursive – is axiomatic to Australian novels of Asian invasion. These are texts that pivot on the place and displacement of white Australia and bring into play the anxieties of belonging and tenure that haunt a settler nation far from its imperial centre. For the most part, these novels loudly, perhaps too loudly, proclaim the legitimacy and authenticity of white Australia's claim on the continent, but also warn of its vulnerability to military overthrow. Yet in these texts white Australians are not only pitted against the Asian invaders but implicitly against Australia's indigenous inhabitants. In this way, too, novels of Asian invasion are not so much about Asia as they are about Australia itself. The stories in these texts imagine settler Australia into being. They discursively produce Australian space through the locus of colonialist and nationalist ideologies to represent a landscape resonant with cultural meaning.

Invasion fiction consolidates a number of settler mythologies of the Australian landscape: the vast emptiness of the continent, the heroic nature of its discovery and exploration, the need for settlement and development to demonstrate possession of the land and of course its vulnerability to invasion if territories are left unoccupied. These are concerns born of a specifically colonial consciousness bent on grounding a white settler society in its new land. In Elleke Boehmer's words, "Colonialism involves the consolidation of imperial power, and is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern [or displace] the indigenous inhabitants" (2). Invasion novels are clearly colonialist texts concerning colonial expansion and are "informed by theories concerning the superiority of European culture and the rightness of empire" (3). This chapter examines the colonialist construction of the Australian landscape through a case study of a representative invasion novel: Ambrose Pratt's *The Big Five* (1910). This chapter will also consider John Hooker's *The Bush Soldiers* (1984) and Eric Willmot's *Below the Line* (1991) as texts which present counter-narratives of

Australian spatiality that rethink colonialist constructions of the land and offer more complex representations of the relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians. In this way Hooker and Willmot's novels can be considered postcolonial, as their narratives critically question colonialist discourses of land settlement and its cultural implications.

There is, however, no teleological progression from colonial to postcolonial modes of thinking within the body of invasion novels. The vast majority of the novels, including very recent texts, continue to reiterate colonialist constructions of Australian space, evidencing the continuing power of the colonial ethos in the Australian imagination. As Boehmer states: "Rather than simply being the writing which 'came after' empire, postcolonial literature is generally defined as that which critically or subversively scrutinizes the colonial relationship" (3). By departing from the traditional colonialist invasion narrative, Hooker and Willmot's texts forge new conceptual trajectories in understanding white Australia's relationship to its country and to Aboriginality. In doing so these two novels also demonstrate the degree of elasticity and diversity within the subgenre.

Colonialist Discourses of Australian Landscape in Early Invasion Novels

Colonialist evacuations of Australian space – typified in the backdated designation of *terra nullius* – have become a recognised part of Australia's spatial imaginary. This strategic erasure of Aboriginal ownership of the land rendered the continent a blank slate awaiting colonial inscription. The exploration and mapping of Australia took place during the nineteenth century, in what Paul Carter terms the "spatial history" of Australian settlement: the processes by which the landscape was actively produced through exploration, mapping and the bestowal of names (xx-xxi). Yet while some parts of the continent were successfully settled, other regions such as central Australia and the tropical north remained relatively "empty" in the white Australian imagination. According to the logic of empire this failure to settle significant portions of the Australian landmass was eminently undesirable.

Traditional narratives of Asian invasion are propelled in part by the fearful imaginings aroused by these vast open spaces. Shaped by the imperatives of colonial enterprise, the early novels berated a complacent population for amassing in the coastal cities and failing to settle the entire continent. They prophesied the dangers of leaving the land "empty" and thus vulnerable to invasion. Often the narratives demonstrated how Australia's industrious northern neighbours could usurp the neglected land and put it to productive use, even without white Australia realising. As Walker notes, European settlement in the north was "miserably slow" and by the late nineteenth century "accusations of inertia, ineptitude or downright

incompetence were routinely levelled at the politicians and bureaucrats responsible for the Territory" (*Anxious Nation* 113). Furthermore, within the small non-indigenous population that did inhabit the Northern Territory, the Chinese constituted a major contingent, even after the implementation of the White Australia policy. It appeared that colonialist imperatives to populate and develop the land were not being fulfilled. In this vein, as Dixon has discussed, the cover of the February 1909 edition of the *Lone Hand* displayed a map of Australia with the Northern Territory left a disturbing blank. The caption read "The Unfinished Commonwealth: Australia's Danger" (*Writing the Colonial Adventure* 120). This arresting visual image suggested that the boundaries of the new Australian nation were yet to be solidified against external threats.

From early 1907 to late 1913 the *Lone Hand* featured numerous articles articulating the perils of leaving northern Australia empty (Walker, "Invasion Literature" 17). The August 1907 edition presented an essay by the first leader of the Australian Labour Party, J.C. Watson, entitled "Our Empty North: An Unguarded Gate." Watson declares in ominous tones:

'Beware of keeping your North empty, and remember that an unmanned nation invites disaster.' So wrote President Roosevelt to a touring Australian a little time ago, and the warning should not go unheeded.... An immense area, practically unpeopled, unguarded, stretches there at our most vulnerable point, while, distant a few days' steam, cluster the myriads of Asia, threatening ever to swarm across to the rich fields of land, attractive in all respects.... (420)

To fend off the clustering "myriads of Asia," Watson makes a case for increased white settlement in the Northern Territory to fill the empty space and effectively guard the gateway to Asia. He recounts in great detail the positive findings of an expedition he mounted to survey the area in order to convince prospective settlers of the natural wealth of the north. His conclusions are summed up in the epigraph to the article that demonstrates the importance of conceptions of "climate" to the issue of settlement in northern Australia: "The Northern Territory has a climate in which the white man can live and work, and the white woman can rear a healthy family. It has great mineral, pastoral and agricultural resources" (420). Here Watson seeks to rebut the then commonly held Social Darwinist view that the tropics were unsuitable for white bodies as the humid climate could lead to racial degeneration. As Warwick Anderson notes, this "geographical pathology" was seen as a very real impediment to "the whitening of the whole continent" (5). Overly optimistic assessments of the fertility of the north and projections of population capacities were also problematic, however. As Walker explains, the view that the Northern Territory was coveted by Asian nations led some Australians to believe that the land was a "valuable acquisition" capable of supporting millions of people, as poor understanding of the

land's resources left "commentators free to imagine any kind of development that suited their interests." Such untrammelled optimism led to highly inflated hopes for population capacity, "particularly as there was a growing imperative to quickly fill one of the world's empty spaces" (*Anxious Nation* 118). Four months after Watson's article, the *Lone Hand* began a fictionalised serial that dramatised these themes. *The Big Five* by Ambrose Pratt is an adventure story that depicts an expedition to explore the unmapped interior of Arnhem Land and concludes with the discovery of an Asian settlement busily exploiting the mineral wealth of the land.¹

The Big Five: Narrating the Australian Landscape into the White Imaginary

The novel opens with the firm friends who constitute "the big five" meeting for a last drink at the Australia Hotel before they go their separate ways. Having bonded on the western gold diggings, the men of the big five embody the physical stature and practical ethos of the "coming Australian." All are at least six feet tall, muscular and massively built, with the central protagonist Jim McLean boasting an impressive "forty-two" inches in chest measurement (13). As they say their reluctant farewells McLean is approached by an effeminate English gentleman, Sir Philip Trevor, who is keen to discuss McLean's explorative feats. Having established that this is indeed the Jim McLean who discovered "a new overlanding route between east and west Australia," opened up "the Yank Creek Diggings in the Northern Territory" and discovered "the Cope Reef at Wood-lark Island," he invites McLean and friends to accompany him on an expedition (21). Sir Trevor has purchased a vast and "absolutely unexplored" tract of Arnhem Land and is to make "a scientific and prospecting exploration of the country" (23, 26). Declaring his "thorough sympathy with the Australian ideal of a White Australia," Sir Trevor's aim is to assess the suitability of the land for white settlement (26). The big five happily accept the offer to join the explorative party. Arriving by boat in Port Darwin, McLean is struck by the beauty of the landscape and articulates, for the instructive benefit of the reader, the folly of Australia's neglect of the region:

It was hard to realise this wondrous place an undivided part of my native land, and that the people of Australia are content to let it lie neglected; its tremendous potentialities ignored, its inexhaustible resources undeveloped – yet calling, calling, calling – a curse upon such infamous inertia and ineptitude at the instance of the Asiatic hordes so perilously near. (86)

More didactic meditations follow on Australian apathy and the proximity of the "teeming millions" of Asia, who are ready to "take this land so shamefully neglected by the whites, and hold it and develop it, and show the world that there is not another country on the globe more marvellously rich in natural wealth" (88). In these

speeches the masculine archetype McLean acts as a conduit for the colonialist discourses of imperial expansion and economic development expressed in the non-fiction articles of the *Lone Hand*. In this regard, as Dixon also notes, the fictional text of *The Big Five* works intertextually with the "factual" texts of articles such as Watson's "Our Empty North," reinforcing the discursive power of the "truths" of Australian space being created (*Writing the Colonial Adventure* 140).

The party then travels inland as McLean and his colleagues begin the work of exploration. The text intersperses tracts of landscape description with incidents of high adventure involving encounters with Aborigines and wild animals. Much of the narrative emulates the meticulous documentary tone of nineteenth-century Australian explorers' journals and bears testimony to the power of exploration mythology in the Australian imagination. In *The Big Five*, the explorer McLean is presented in the heroic terms of an active agent of empire, penetrating and conquering uncharted territory, and taking possession of it in the name of white Australia. Initially, McLean leads the party through country that has been roughly mapped by an "unlettered bushman," but at length they venture into the unknown: "At daybreak we resumed our march, and always mounting we approached the thirteenth parallel through country till that moment no white man's foot had ever trodden" (128, 164-5). Here, McLean's remark recalls explorer Charles Sturt's now ubiquitous statement of 1849: "Let any man lay the map of Australia before him, and regard the blank upon its surface, and then let me ask him if it would not be an honourable achievement to be the first to place foot in its centre" (1). Like Sturt, McLean steps into unknown territory, bringing the landscape into being in the colonial mind, mastering the landscape through surveying and mapping and transforming it into an imperial possession. Upon reaching the borders of Sir Trevor's property, the "business" of surveillance begins: "It was Dr. Bates' business to examine and analyse the chemical properties of the various soils we encountered ... and mine to make a careful prospect on our line of march for minerals" (179). McLean is also careful to record the topography of the area, the number of streams crossed, ranges of hills and mountain spurs (180). This narrative of mapping suggests the production of an authoritative and transparent representation of the "real" landscape.

Yet the text works so hard to create the imagery of a fertile landscape that its hyperbolic representations propel the narrative into the realm of the sublime. In its emphasis on surveying and rational observation, the narrative of *The Big Five* mimics the factual style of the explorers' journals, but differs in the respect that practically all the land encountered is wonderfully lush and ripe for settlement. Even though much nineteenth-century exploration of inland Australia had discovered

disappointingly arid and inhospitable country, McLean and his party find an abundant natural paradise born of imperial fantasy. Pratt's descriptions of the fertility of the land are numerous, lengthy and rhapsodic: "The ground underfoot was a fairly stiff and remarkably fine black loam – the richest alluvium that one could well conceive of, and capable of growing anything if cultivated" (127). Later the country is described as being "of unexampled natural fertility" with "grass so fine, pastoralists would thrill to own it" (144, 165). As the novel progresses, praise for the country increases, until they enter a land of "superlative loveliness" where the "soil was obviously a prodigy of productivity" (194, 180). The party's progress through the country is relayed by McLean in the language of the picturesque: "we crossed an open black soil plain, threading our way among a wonderful network of lagoons and billabongs and then we plunged into a forest covered region of rolling hills and dales" (194). In *The Course of Empire*, Dixon discusses the profound influence of Edmund Burke's meditations on the beauty and sublimity of landscape scenery: "Sublime objects include vast plains, extensive prospects of ocean, dark woods, ancient trees, cataracts and perpendicular cliffs of great height. Beautiful objects include the sinuous lines of a stream and the smooth slopes of hill and dale" (48-49). The parallels between the paradigmatic account of idealised nature articulated by Burke and the way in which Pratt describes the pleasing landscape of a fictionalised Arnhem Land are clearly discernable, indicating how Pratt utilises European aesthetic ideals in an effort to render the Territory a desirable place for white habitation. But the novel is not simply a one-dimensional advertisement for the Northern Territory. It is also shaped by the literary conventions of romantic adventure and accordingly the land holds many dangers. There are crossings of crocodile-infested rivers, an encounter with an enraged buffalo, and numerous attacks on the party by "treacherous blacks."

Paradoxically, the supposedly empty and uninscribed land contains a very large Aboriginal population. In the Australia Hotel, before the party depart, Sir Trevor tells McLean that nothing is known of the land except that "it is thickly inhabited with warlike and unfriendly blacks, whose numbers are variously estimated at from 20,000 to 100,000" (23). Indeed, it is not long after the party sets out that McLean sees thirty Aborigines in canoes racing towards him "bent on mischief" (110). To deter them McLean shoots and kills three men, but is careful to justify his actions: "I wasn't a bit proud of having deprived of life three unfortunate aborigines, and that I should not have done it but for the hateful duty of having to kill to save" (113). Once on land the party is attacked continuously, leading to numerous massacre scenes. The Aborigines are described as being as "thick upon the tableland as flies" and in the final confrontation McLean announces that "our bullets mowed

them down like corn before the sickle" (170, 190). McLean's analogous descriptions, which liken Aborigines to "flies" and "corn before the sickle," demonstrate the colonialist view of indigenous people as part of a landscape that must be subdued for white acquisition. Denied the status of a fellow human, the Aborigines are conceived in terms of insect and plant life so as not to problematise the legitimacy of the European invasion of their territory. Yet the very representation of all the conflict and killing establishes that the land is indeed occupied, and occupied by people who clearly feel ownership of the country and want to defend it against unauthorised intruders. The logic of the narrative falters here as its commensurate claims that the land is empty yet contains an estimated population of up to 100 000 people are hard to reconcile. The physical presence of Aborigines is demonstrated by the same text that posits the land as uninscribed.

Buoyed by the values of imperialism and superior military technology, the big five are given a clear advantage over the "unfortunate blacks." A far more powerful threat to white Australia is located as coming from the Asian other, a cunning and intelligent foe who understands the value of industry and enterprise, perhaps more so than white Australians. Indeed, deep in the country of "superlative loveliness" the party stumbles across an Asian settlement. The prophesied invasion is already underway: "the Chinese had quietly and stealthily stepped in and had actually founded a thriving little colony in the richest part of Arnhem's Land" (200). The discovery of the Asian settlement has parallels to the narrative structure of "lost race romance" novels, popular at the turn of the nineteenth century, in which explorers come across mythic civilisations deep in the Australian interior.² But in *The Big Five* the Asian colony is conceived in geopolitical terms; the Chinese "coolies" work the settlement's gold mine, while Malays provide security, and the Japanese are on their way. Positioned as racially inferior and yet a legitimate force to be reckoned with, the Malay soldiers outnumber the whites and their party is quickly overpowered.

The final part of the story takes on the form of a captivity narrative, in which McLean and Lady Trevor are held prisoner in the midst of the Asian colony, enabling McLean to make extensive observations on the debased nature of his Asian captors (Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure* 128). In addition, the captivity allows the Malay leader to talk freely with McLean about the colony and its highly profitable gold mine. He explains the intent of an Asian conglomerate, named the "Kunsi," on seizing Australia's unused lands:

The white men have let it lie idle for a century, rich as it is. They do not want it. The Kunsi know this, and are prepared during the next ten years to send out men in thousands.... It is their intention to occupy if possible the whole northern coast, almost to the limits of your settlement, before the white men know. Then when you do know what can you do? (236)

The repetition of the word "know" emphasises the importance of knowledge and awareness in the discourse of Asian invasion. The Asians somehow innately "know" the value of the land: complacent Australia on the other hand does not, nor does it recognise the Asian threat. Communicating this knowledge is a key motivation of the narrative. McLean is taken on a tour of the gold mine and pages of narrative are devoted to detailed descriptions of the methods of extraction. This recourse to the language of science and industry again imbues the narrative with a factual tone, thereby increasing the plausibility of its argument. The riches of the mine are vast; it is "beyond all question" a "positive Golconda" (269). Unusually for the subgenre, the novel concludes with the destruction of the Asian settlement. Yet the didactic message of the text remains clear, as McLean announces in the closing paragraph:

It is further within my province to declare that there is now not a single coolie, Jap or Dyak on the lately discovered and curiously named "Big Five" River in Arnhem's Land, where the marvellously rich Kassim Gold Mines are being opened up by British and Australian capital and worked exclusively by white Australian labour. (300)

In the fictional world of the narrative, the imperialist claim that the region is "lately discovered" involves the erasure of two prior occupations: the Aborigines and then the Asians. Having emptied the land of its prior history, through the massacre of Aborigines and the destruction of the Asian settlement, the region is presented as new. Washed clean of its past, the landscape is brought into existence as if for the first time.

The act of naming the "Big Five River" imprints the emptied space with the cultural codes of colonial Australia. As Roslynn Haynes argues, "the most fundamental possession ritual of British exploration was the naming of geographical features, on the assumption before the advent of Europeans they had no local name, or none worth perpetuating" (55). The violence of the appropriation of the country is effaced as the region begins its history from the point of its naming. In Paul Carter's terms, the cultural place where spatial history begins is in the act of naming: "For by the act of place-naming, space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, space with history" (xxiv). The complex history of the region up to this point is suppressed by the fiction of colonial discovery. The gold mines, already in existence, are discovered anew, to be "opened up" by the colonial powers and "worked exclusively by white Australian labour." Through this tactical process of disavowal the white settler is then positioned as the original and authentic inhabitant of the country. As Alan Lawson argues, "It is in narrative that the settler subjectivity calls itself into being" ("Anxious Proximities" 1216). He proposes that settler narratives have strategic material effects which "rearrange the circumstances of our history and

of our social relations" (1216). Certainly *The Big Five* reveals such processes at work. The narrative details the violent removal of the prior occupants of the country and then enacts the erasure of these events through an insistence on the region's recent discovery and new development.

The novel may present an exemplary tale of the successful "discovery" and development of one of the Northern Territory's "empty" zones. But the pedagogical, colonialist premise of the text is complicated by paradoxes within the narrative. The land is conceived as empty, but is at the same time not empty, as much of the narrative explicitly details the expunging of racialised others already occupying the country. The land is also conceived as marvellously rich and ripe for easy settlement. The climatic extremes of the north and the challenges they pose go unmentioned. The pseudo-scientific language of exploration and cartography employed by the narrative naturalises these contentions, giving the fiction of an uncomplicated Australian north the appearance of fact. Similarly, at the historical juncture in which *The Big Five* was produced, proponents of imperial enterprise remained optimistic about the riches of the Australian interior and the prospects for mass white settlement. Within this logic, it was laziness, apathy and a self-indulgent desire for metropolitan centres that was hindering the development of the country. What was needed to rectify the situation was the settlement of the frontier by millions of practical, muscular white Australians like Jim McLean. As Walker points out, the complicating fact that much of Australia is desert was yet to be acknowledged (*Anxious Nation* 156).

Postcolonial Discourses of Australian Landscape in Asian Invasion Novels

If colonial narratives of Australian space are structured around the possession and mastery of the land, the erasure of indigenous ownership and the imposition of the authenticity of the white settler, then postcolonial narratives of Australian space can be conceived as comparatively open-ended modes of textuality characterised by the process of negotiating differing discursive constructions of Australian space. Such narratives perform a rethinking of imperialist constructions of space and history by addressing the unresolved relationship between white and indigenous Australians and by posing questions about the way in which the land has been explored, annexed and settled (Genoni 17). Hooker and Willmot's postcolonial novels of Asian invasion draw on the generic structure and recurring tropes of the colonial invasion texts but supplement them with additional and contrasting discourses concerning the meaning and implications of a white Australia. Both novels depict travel into the centre of the continent as a journey into the Australian psyche where questions of

belonging to the land and the relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians are explored with a new self-reflexive awareness.

The initial high optimism of imperial endeavours to settle the entire continent in the manner of Europe or America gradually gave way in light of the increasing realisation of the arid fragility of much of the Australian landmass. Ross Gibson has framed this cultural change in the perception of the Australian landscape in the terms of a "diminishing paradise." The disappointing results of explorations of the Australian interior, the unsuitability of the land for settlement, and the failure to discover the imagined inland sea worked to revise antipodal fantasies that a southern land would mirror Europe with its inland river systems and dense populations. As Walker argues, in 1910 it was still widely believed that Australia needed many millions of white settlers and that the country's "emptiness" belied a failure of colonial endeavour. However, by the 1930s belief in Australia's unlimited potential had begun to wane and estimates of the optimal population sharply declined as a significant change in the understanding of Australia's emptiness was underway: "Australia now became a continent of vast open spaces and eerie silences, a harder, drier, browner land, requiring settlers able to withstand its climatic extremes, immense distances and great loneliness" (*Anxious Nation* 154). This contrasting formulation of Australian geography focused not on apportioning blame for the failure to populate the country but rather on the fortitude of settlers who had managed to survive in a difficult and inhospitable land.

This perception of the Australian landscape had also been signalled in the evolving narrative style of the explorers' journals, as expeditions that failed to discover fertile regions were consciously recast by the narratives, to be presented not as expeditions met by defeat but as journeys of heroic struggle against a demonised landscape. Within this spatiality the land was not the paradisiacal country delineated by Burkean aesthetics, but harsh, intractable and unforgiving (M. Morris 243-44). Central Australia could not be subdued and settled; it was instead an overwhelming landscape that refused to be contained by colonial enterprise and the land began to be assigned power in its own right. Gibson terms this construction "the Australian Sublime" (*South of the West* 17). In this transfigured conception of sublimity, Gibson identifies a secondary stage of white Australian mythology in which "stories of heroic failure were required by postcolonial society to help make its peace, conditionally, with the continent it could not defeat" (17). Within this discourse the awesome and incomprehensible centre of the continent is conceived in metaphysical terms as a repository of truths of the land and national belonging.

Patrick White's paradigmatic 1957 novel *Voss* is the forerunner to later texts that depict symbolic journeys into the Australian centre. Inspired by the explorers'

journals and in particular the disappearance of Ludwig Leichhardt, White's narrative describes the expedition of the fictional explorer Voss into the unknown Australian interior and maps the permutations of European consciousness as it is tempered in the crucible of the metaphysical desert. As Gibson argues, "White depicts the interior as a theatre in which the inadequacies of alien European civilisation may be exposed, and in which some 'native' knowledge about how to survive and flourish in the strange new world may be revealed to the white newcomer" (*The Diminishing Paradise* 201). White's depiction of the colonial explorer's encounter with the truths of Australia in the testing ground of the desert resonates throughout the texts of Hooker and Willmot, as their protagonists' own journeys to the centre of the continent suggest that Australian belonging is implicitly tied to understanding the overarching power of the land itself.

The Bush Soldiers: Journey into the Sublime Centre of Australia

In Hooker's novel *The Bush Soldiers*, published by Collins in 1984, discursive constructions of landscape, exploration, British imperialism, Australian nationalism and Aboriginality are counterpointed within a narrative of Asian invasion. *The Bush Soldiers* is a more literary novel than the majority of texts in the invasion subgenre, which employ the easy reading conventions of popular fiction (the fast pace, lack of sustained characterisation, an emphasis on action and sensationalism and the like). The text of *The Bush Soldiers* moves slowly and appears more considered. It incorporates every element of the generative matrix of the prototypical invasion narrative but it supplements the formula with alternate narrative trajectories. The only Australian novel of Asian invasion to be set in the past, rather than the future, *The Bush Soldiers* is set primarily during World War Two. The novum, the point of departure from historical accuracy in this otherwise intensely realist text, is a Japanese victory in the Battle of the Coral Sea and the subsequent invasion of Australia in 1942.³

The protagonist, the archetypically masculine Australian Geoffrey Sawtell, is a member of the Australian Volunteer Defence Corps and is carrying out the official scorched earth policy in the wake of the invasion. Sawtell is accompanied by four other men: two native-born Irish Australians, young horseman Kevin O'Donohue and the rough working-class Frank Counihan; and two older, more refined British military men, Major St. John Jackson and the muscular Christian "Padre" Sergius Donaldson. Together they travel on horseback from Bourke to Broken Hill for the purpose of sabotaging a mine worked by the Japanese. The party then flees into the Australian interior in the footsteps of the old explorers. During the journey, the

tension between the men over the relatively uncultured nature of the Australian "colonials" demonstrates what has been termed the "doubled" status of the settler subject as both colonised and colonising. As Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson point out, settlers in British colonies were frequently characterised as "ungovernable" and "uncultured" and denied the same access to political power and moral authority as was granted the inhabitants of the "home" country. These factors produced the feeling of being politically, culturally and socially colonised, but at the same time the settler acted as an agent of colonial rule over the indigenous population (363). This doubled dynamic is particularly distinct in the narrative of *The Bush Soldiers* as the Australian men chafe against what they perceive to be the assumed authority of the Britons, but at the same time exert brutal power over the Aborigines they encounter as they travel inland.

The plot of *The Bush Soldiers* is split into two, beginning with the dystopian reality of invaded Australia in 1942, and then going back in time to the young Sawtell fighting in the trenches of World War One. The two narratives are juxtaposed chapter by chapter, alternately tracing the years leading up to 1942 and the day-by-day details of the military party's journey from Bourke into central Australia. In the conclusion of the novel, the past catches up to the present and the final chapters depict the bush soldiers' losing battle with an increasingly hostile landscape. The reflective quality of the text's split narrative structure allows the construction of a nuanced and complex psychological portrait of Australian manhood in the veteran Sawtell: a tall, strong and fair-haired practical man of few words, a hero who won the football grand final for Richmond in 1921, and a man who embodies colonial values. Sawtell "had fought, he had got a job in the Depression, he had worked his guts out.... He had helped build this country" (259). He believes in "Looking after things, making the country work, clearing it of pests whether they be roos, rabbits or blacks" (223). By providing detailed insight into the workings of Sawtell's mind, the narrative is at once sympathetic in its close account of the cultural forces shaping Sawtell's character and motivation, but also effectively illustrates the flaws and fallibility of the colonial archetype. The veteran Sawtell is painfully isolated by his wartime experiences and lack of communication skills. He is lonely and in many ways dysfunctional. In a body of texts characterised by its unmitigated championing of white Australian masculinity, Hooker's complex characterisation of Sawtell constitutes a radical departure.

Similarly, the multiplicity of views of the landscape creates a complex image of Australian space. In contrast to the early novels of Asian invasion, Australia's empty spaces are now considered a positive element in national security, acting as an impediment to invasion; Counihan "thought of the size of Australia and took

heart: it could never be occupied, it was too big" (95). The Australians of the party understand the land and feel a sense of pride in its vast dry expanses, but the two British men find the landscape empty and horrifying, an alien geography bearing little resemblance to England or other more populous colonial outposts of India or South-East Asia. Early in the novel, as they ride through the relatively fertile country of the Darling River towards Menindee, the two perspectives are already markedly opposed: "St John Jackson looked at the gum trees as they rode by the river, this was indeed a most dismal countryside. The river was nothing more than a ditch and there were no villages here. Where were the mountains and the glacier-fed rivers?" (135). On the other hand, "Kevin O'Donohue knew this country well.... There was good hunting here, loads of ducks and geese, freshwater crayfish and wild cattle. They would live off the land; there were no worries until they left Menindee" (135). The Major's view of the Australian landscape echoes the sentiments of the first British settlers confronted with an unfamiliar antipodal land. O'Donohue's view is of an Australian-born national who knows the land intimately and feels at home. By showing the two contrasting perspectives, and by detailing the history and psychology shaping each character's view, the text illuminates how their understanding of the land is conditional on their particular cultural location and thereby undercuts notions of any one essentialised version of the Australian landscape.

In *The Bush Soldiers*, Aboriginal Australians are depicted through the locus of the colonial gaze, but are commensurately granted an authenticity beyond the discursive parameters of colonialism. The narrative is created through the thoughts and words of the five white men who are shaped by the racialised ideologies of their time. But the text is simultaneously self-aware, as it is imbued with an awareness of the prejudices of its characters and is inflected with a degree of irony. Approaching the Aboriginal camp outside of Bourke the Padre ponders the "Australian blackfellows:"

He seemed to recall that someone, some English explorer, had called the Australian blackfellows the most miserable race on earth; and he was right. They were, he was sure, doomed to extinction; it was tragic, but there it was. Unlike the Indian natives, the blackfellows had no civilisation, they had no common language, they had no crops and no domestic animals.... But, above all, the blackfellows seemed to lack any fighting spirit. (91)

The Padre's musings draw on the imperialist view of Australian Aborigines as a "doomed race" and show him to be a product of his historical and cultural location. Unlike generic novels of Asian invasion, Hooker's text does not endorse the convictions of its main characters; it merely presents them. There is no ideologically driven omniscient narrator instructing the reader. The narrative lacks the pedagogic,

didactic tone that characterises the majority of invasion novels. Instead, events are interpreted through the cracked lenses of the individual characters. When Counihan sees the Aboriginal camp, he thinks "Jesus ... those black bastards could learn nothing; they were incapable; the place had been invaded and they were on the piss" (45). Yet one of the prime motivations of the white men is their own never-ending search for alcohol in the ruins of abandoned settlements. Adhering to military orders to destroy anything that might be of use to the enemy, the bush soldiers take it upon themselves to obliterate the Aborigines' water supply. In an ugly scene, Counihan smashes the bore with a sledgehammer, leaving the people to fend for themselves. In country supposedly invaded by the Japanese, the land seems more "empty" than occupied. Aborigines sit round fires in the main streets of abandoned towns and the Japanese are nowhere to be seen. In Wilcannia, a young Aboriginal man is caught going through their belongings. Sawtell breaks his jaw as punishment and Counihan dumps him symbolically on the town war memorial. The text does not pass judgement on the bush soldiers' actions; it details their perspectives in the manner of detached observer, but (as will be discussed below) the narrative concludes by illustrating how these unnecessary events contribute to the white men's downfall.

For the majority of the text, however, the bush soldiers' battle is not against the Japanese or the Aborigines but against the landscape itself. The novel begins and ends with a map marked with the route the men take from Bourke to Menindee and Broken Hill and then north-west across the Barrier Range to Cooper's Creek and beyond. The names of these places, which also form the titles of each chapter, resonate in the Australian consciousness as locations visited by nineteenth-century explorers. References to Burke and Wills are scattered liberally throughout the text, as Sawtell and his men endure the same hardships as the famous men who have gone before them. Victims of their own scorched earth policy, they travel from homestead to homestead often to find that men like them had already been there, poisoning the precious water and ransacking buildings. As they travel deeper into the interior every day is a test of survival.

Indeed, the invading Japanese cease to figure as any tangible threat as the landscape is instead cast in the role of enemy. As a Briton, and unaware of the perils of the Australian landscape, it is the Major who makes the first mistake, losing his horse in a salt lake. This is a great defeat for the party and "Sawtell knew that the country had tricked them for the first time: it was the enemy behind their back" (234). Past the ruins of the small outback town of Tibooburra, the Padre feels he is truly at the frontier as he "gazed northward at a flat endless, horrifying plain. There were no trees and no river line.... There was no wildlife he could see. If it couldn't support animals how could it support men?" (365). Even for the stoic Sawtell the

country begins to defy all logic, consisting of nothing but sandhills and salt pans with no points of reference: "They worked their way over the sandhills, from creek to creek, but there was no water, no kangaroos, nothing to kill and eat. There was nothing to say and they crawled like insects across the land" (393). They suffer from malnutrition, painful boils and sores and the two British men temporarily lose their sight. As the heat intensifies, the horses collapse one by one and the men are forced to jettison their military equipment. Sawtell hears "a noise somewhere in the iron hinterland, red rocks were splitting and breaking in the heat. The prehistoric land, like the men, was exhausted and it seemed like nothing grew and nothing could live" (394). The image of the land is manifold: it is at once the enemy at their backs; it is a great void; "prehistoric" and elemental, a furnace of red rocks and iron plains, it is a terrifying place of awe and sublime realisation. Here, pushed to his physical and psychological limits, "Sawtell got out his compass and struggled up an outcrop. He looked at the land he had cursed: the endless vistas of stone, the glittering clay pans and the dark tablelands. It was horrifying and beautiful: something strange was happening, he was glad he had come here, even if he should die" (405).

In these final days before Sawtell's death – where he is, in Alan Lawson's phrase, actually "consumed by the land," thereby achieving authentic belonging – he has an epiphany ("Anxious Proximities" 1220). In the sublime landscape of central Australia Sawtell questions for the first time his received beliefs about Aborigines. The transformative scene occurs at the oasis of Cooper's Creek, a place of significance in the Australian memory as the location where Burke and Wills died (also swallowed by the land). The bush soldiers are taken by surprise by a young Aboriginal man armed with Coughlin's Luger submachine gun. Having been isolated for so long in their own company and battle for survival, the arrival of an outsider is profoundly shocking. The Aboriginal man has been following them the entire way, seeking revenge for the harm done to his people:

He coughed, moved a little and the spurs on his boots rattled. His voice was steady.

'You, mister, busted our water tank at Bourke.' He turned on Sawtell, 'And you, boss, broke me brother's jaw at Wilcannia. I picked him up off the war memorial.'

'Who are you?' St. John Jackson said. He wanted a cigarette, but dared not reach for his tobacco.

'I'm a blackfellow, boss.' (417)

The intrusion of the Aboriginal man into the world of the five white men collapses the subject/object binary that structures colonial discourse. The Aboriginal man is no longer the objectified native fixed in colonial discourse but a subject, speaking back to the colonisers and seeking compensation on his own terms. This is in stark opposition to the generic invasion narrative in which Aborigines are not allowed a

voice and whites are never called to account for the violence they inflict on Aboriginal peoples. Contrastingly, in *The Bush Soldiers*, the white men are called to account for their actions, and two pay with their lives. By granting the Aboriginal man the status of a speaking subject, the colonial gaze is reciprocated by that of the indigene and the colonialist values of the bush soldiers are called into question. Here the text demonstrates its postcoloniality by fracturing the discursive boundaries of colonialism through the demonstration of other, divergent subject positions:

‘Why don’t you piss off?’ Counihan said. ‘And put that bloody gun down. We’re the Australian army. What’s one water tank? You’ve got the whole bloody country.’

‘It was *our* tank, mister.’ The blackfellow inhaled and blew smoke slowly from his nostrils. (419)

In the ensuing violence, the Aboriginal man kills Counihan and the Major, and is then killed himself by Sawtell. In the days that follow Sawtell thinks deeply on the events and realises that he has made mistakes, that there was no reason to act as they did in Bourke and Wilcannia. He grants recognition to the legitimacy of the Aboriginal man’s perspective and tells the Padre “It wasn’t the Japs, it was the blackfellows we got wrong,” and admits, “We underestimated those people” (424). Sawtell’s epiphany is subtly dealt with by the narrative, but nonetheless constitutes a key moment in the text.

In the body of Australian novels of Asian invasion, Sawtell’s realisation represents a paradigm shift from colonial to postcolonial ideology. By recognising the legitimacy of Aborigines as Australians in their own right, the text departs from the colonialist imperatives of mastery of space and the erasure of racialised others that structure the vast majority of Asian invasion novels both past and present. *The Bush Soldiers* is thus an exceptional novel within the body of invasion texts. Rather than remaining within the generic invasion narrative, the text of *The Bush Soldiers* takes the subgenre into new territory. By retracing the footsteps of the colonial explorers, the narrative works through the foundation myths of white Australia, opening them out and allowing questions to be asked. In the manner of White’s *Voss*, the physical journey into the heart of the continent is at once an exploration of the white Australian psyche and a means of creating new myths of Australian belonging that acknowledge both white and indigenous realities.

Below the Line: Exploring White Australian Belonging

Eric Willmot’s novel *Below the Line*, published in 1991 by Hutchinson, both incorporates and departs from the generic invasion narrative to explore questions of home and belonging in postcolonial Australia. *Below the Line* is the only novel of

Asian invasion to be written by an indigenous Australian.⁴ Willmot, a respected public figure and speaker on Aboriginal affairs, has also written an historical novel depicting the British invasion of 1788. His 1987 text *Pemulwuy* tells the story of the Eora peoples' resistance to white settlement in the Sydney area. The novel takes its title from the leader of the Eora resistance – the Bidjigal warrior Pemulwuy (1750-1802) – and the narrative focuses on the inter-racial violence that accompanied the expansion of the colonial frontier. Willmot's conscious recognition of the British invasion of Australia also infuses the text of *Below the Line* to create a narrative markedly different from the generic formula.

In this text, the fictional event of an Indonesian invasion – conceptualised as the second invasion of Australia – acts as a catalyst for an exploration of the relationship between settler subjects and their adopted land. The story takes the form of a fast-paced mystery thriller and is set in the early-twenty-first century. Indonesia has invaded and the continent has been divided along the Brisbane line: to the north is the Indonesian-affiliated nation of "South Irian" and to the south is what remains of Australia. The white Australian protagonist Angela Steen (discussed in the previous chapter) has been interned in a brutal Indonesian prison camp for the duration of the war, and upon her release knows nothing of what has happened, nor does she understand why she is being pursued by both the Australian and Indonesian authorities. Originally from Townsville, now north of the line, Angela feels displaced in the new world order and the narrative follows her quest to discover how and why Australia was invaded and where she truly belongs. *Below the Line* has a complicated and tangential plot that touches on many themes. It is in some ways an unsatisfactory text as it skates across the surface of a multitude of matters with frenetic haste (this is particularly the case with the event of the rapes Angela suffers). But in other ways the fractured postmodern structure of the novel reflects the unresolved and ongoing process of negotiating white Australian belonging. From this perspective the shifting nature of the text eschews certainty, preferring instead to focus on the range of possibility. It is a postcolonial text that lacks the dogmatic didacticism of the generic invasion narrative because it poses questions rather than providing answers, and opens spaces for renegotiating the meanings of Australian identity.

When Angela is liberated from the Indonesian prison camp in New Guinea, she is faced with the reality of an invaded Australia and the question of whether it is still her home. Her husband Frank has seen the white settler societies of Rhodesia, South Africa and Australia "fail" – either overthrown by native populations or absorbed by an indigenous neighbour – and wants to emigrate to Canada, to find a country where there is "no huge, populous nation next door claiming the place":

'A real homeland, Angela. If that's not possible, then I'll go back to Holland and see if they will have me. At least I belong there.'

'Frank,' Angela pleaded, 'we are going to get Australia back.'

'Bullshit, Angela. It's not your country. Look at yourself, you are a European like me.'

Angela began to cry. 'You look at me Frank – I have no other place to go. All my dreams are of Australia. I was born there. I am an Australian.' (34)

Angela chooses to return to Australia without her husband. However, post-war Australia, south of the line, must constantly defend its border and has become a high security totalitarian state. It has become "a different kind of Australia" (48). The mythic concept of home and the security and purpose it entails becomes the locus of desire in Angela's imagination. Her sense of displacement propels her to different geographic locations, first to a central Australian "line town" on the infamous Birdsville Track, and then across the line with her soldier lover Oliver into South Irian. Their journey through the central Australian landscape is a spiritual search for lost origins that remain elusive for the two non-indigenous Australians.

In South Irian, it is revealed that the Indonesian settlement of the arid Australian interior has failed. The Indonesian settlers have been forced to relocate to the more fertile coastal areas and central Australia has been returned to its original inhabitants, the Aborigines. From the outset of the story Angela has been haunted by a mysterious dream, based on an early childhood memory of desert landscapes and barren soil. In the dream her family are leaving their farm and her father makes the enigmatic statement that "Only the Chosen Ones can stay" (14). The unexplained refrain of "the Chosen Ones" haunts Angela until her arrival in South Irian and her meeting with the Aboriginal man Chocko, whereupon the meaning of the dream becomes clear:

'You stay a while,' he said sitting down. 'We got plenty tucker.... Other fellas all gone now, our land again.' He waved his hand about. 'This place take it all back again for us.'

Suddenly Angela stopped in her stride. Oliver looked at her. 'You okay?'

'Yes,' she said, her eyes alight. 'The Chosen Ones. They are the Chosen Ones.' (132)

The "truth" that has been haunting Angela's white Australian subconscious is now realised: the indigenous Australians are the land's chosen people, and it is only they who belong in the country. Within this discourse the land itself is ascribed sentient power and is positioned as the "third player" and eventual victor in the war. Its harshness forces the second wave of invaders out and allows only its chosen people to stay and survive. Angela spends an idealised few days in the company of "the Chosen Ones." But the Aboriginal connection to country is posited as an authentic state of belonging which she does not share. The Aboriginal woman Ellery explains

to Angela: "This is my place. I belong here...not moving around like you...looking, looking" (142).⁵ She throws sand into the breeze to demonstrate the ungrounded nature of white Australians. As a displaced settler subject, Angela belongs neither to Britain nor to Australia. In Johnston and Lawson's words the settler occupies an uneasy, in-between space, "caught between two First Worlds, two origins of authority and authenticity" (370). Angela thus exists in a fraught, liminal space, compounded by her homeless state, and must constantly renegotiate her position between the contending authorities of authentic "First World" cultures (370). As she is unable to wholly identify with the Aboriginal family and must continue to evade her pursuers, Angela's journey moves on at pace. She finds herself in her home town of Townsville, which surprisingly has hardly changed: "a few more Asians than before, but somehow not that different" (170). Significantly, Asianised Townsville is represented as more appealing than the new Australia south of the line. Angela's flight from the authorities, however, compels her to keep moving and the novel concludes with her waiting in limbo in Hawaii, with her new life still yet to begin.

Below the Line does not provide any sense of closure to Angela's quest for a place of origin. As Alan Lawson comments, the doubled predicament of the settler subject produces narratives which "cannot conclude" ("Difficult Relations" 58). Indeed, the trajectory of the novel compounds her indeterminate position and feelings of dislocation as a non-indigenous Australian. The text does not provide any easy solutions to the uncertainties that haunt white Australia's sense of belonging to what is still, in many ways, an alien land. Notably, *Below the Line* posits indigenous Australians as the only people who legitimately belong to the country. Its narrative may be criticised for idealising Aboriginal culture, but in the context of the generic colonialist invasion narrative that routinely performs a systematic erasure of Aboriginality from the Australian consciousness, it provides an important counterpoint. The novel also complicates the image of Australia as "empty." The "failure" of the Indonesians to settle the interior of the continent is presented in positive terms as the means by which the land is returned to its original inhabitants. When Angela says to an Indonesian woman, "You have not successfully settled this place. The drought has emptied the inland," the woman replies, "It is not empty. The people who have always owned it live there now" (172). Indeed, *Below the Line* is atypical of the subgenre because it suggests that the Asian invasion of Australia is, in some ways, a positive event. It portrays the Asianised portion of Australia to be a more pleasant society than the homogenous white Australia south of the line. It is a significant text within the body of Australian invasion fiction because, like *The Bush Soldiers*, it takes the subgenre to new textual spaces of cultural engagement and facilitates different modes of knowledge and consideration.

The Bush Soldiers and *Below the Line* do include the prototypical matrix of the generic invasion narrative, they rehearse the discourses of Australia's emptiness and lack of defences, but they commensurately activate a logic of supplementary subversion. They utilise the framework of the traditional Asian invasion narrative to critically question received colonial discourses of Australian settlement. Indeed, in these novels the Asian invasion functions as little more than a narrative device to facilitate the exploration of the relationship between whites, Aborigines and the land. This is important work because colonial discourses – which enact the erasure of indigenous peoples and encode anxieties over the threatening implications of population discrepancies between Australia and Asia – are not limited to early texts like *The Big Five* but maintain their urgency across time and continue to be manifest in the most recent novels of Asian invasion. *The Bush Soldiers* and *Below the Line* perform the generic narrative for their own strategic ends, not to convince readers of the imminence of invasion as in *The Big Five* and its generic counterparts, but to pursue specifically postcolonial concerns, and by doing so they demonstrate the complex and open-ended nature of the subgenre.



Fig. 11. Cover of *The Invasion* by John Hay, 1968.

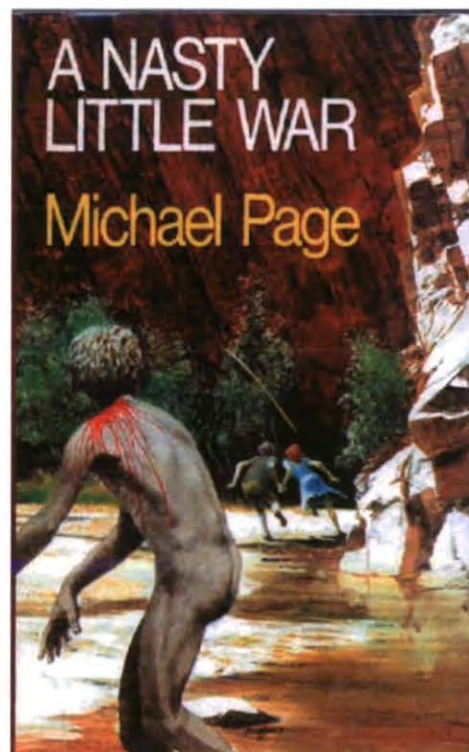


Fig. 12. Cover of *A Nasty Little War* by Micheal Page, 1984.

4

Historicity

The central argument of this thesis rests on the proposition that Australian novels of Asian invasion are remarkably similar and repetitious, but it is also important to acknowledge the differences between some of the texts, and to explore the potential for historical changes in cultural conceptions of race to impact on the ideological formations deployed in the narratives. A major characteristic of the subgenre is the elision of Aborigines from the worlds of the novels. By failing to recognise the existence of Australia's indigenous people, these narratives work to indigenise white Australians and cement their claim to the country. There are, however, some atypical novels within the subgenre that do include important Aboriginal characters. The discussion of the three invasion novels in the previous chapter – *The Big Five*, *The Bush Soldiers* and *Below the Line* – highlighted how historical change can affect the politics and possibilities of Aboriginal representation. As an early-twentieth-century novel, *The Big Five*'s colonialist logic is markedly different to the postcolonial narrative trajectories pursued in the two late-twentieth-century novels. This contrast in possible formulations of the Asian invasion narrative demonstrates the subgenre's mutability and openness to historical transformation. The late 1960s can be identified as the point at which this transformation became evident in the subgenre. At this historic juncture, changes in cultural conceptions of Australian race relations allowed for the production of texts that departed from the overtly racist logic of the traditional invasion narrative and facilitated the recognition of the existence of Aborigines within the Australian population. The invasion texts which are notable for their treatment of Aboriginality, in addition to *The Bush Soldiers* and *Below the Line*, are John Hay's 1968 *The Invasion* and Michael Page's 1979 *A Nasty Little War*. An analysis of the formative representation of Aboriginal subjectivities in these two texts through the locus of the historicity of genre forms the basis of this chapter.

The Dynamism of Genre: An Historical Poetics

In order to realise the complexities and possibilities of Asian invasion novels the historicity of the subgenre must be granted detailed consideration. Most of the novels within this textual body are very much alike and enact the same ideological and narrative formations time and time again. But there is also an important minority of novels within the subgenre which differ from this generic norm to present alternative ideals and narrative outcomes. For genres are not, as traditional genre theory asserts, fixed for all time and impervious to change, but are historically dynamic. The Aristotelian taxonomy of genre and its Neoclassical revival of static universal categories and systems of rules may now seem archaic but the perception of genres as fixed and deterministic entities remains widespread. It is this inflexible and rule-based conception of genre, also invoked by structuralist studies of genre systems, that Jacques Derrida seeks to undermine in his essay "The Law of Genre." Derrida writes: "As soon as the word 'genre' is sounded, as soon as it is heard, as soon as one attempts to conceive it, a limit is drawn. And when a limit is established, norms and interdictions are not far behind: 'Do,' 'Do not' says 'genre,' the word 'genre,' the figure, the voice, or the law of genre" (221). Derrida's playful evocation of the "law" of genre emphasises the rigid authoritarian character of traditional genre theory. Derrida's deconstruction of the limits of genre is usefully taken up by Frow in his proposition of an open-ended and reflexive model of genre in which texts both perform and transform the genres in which they are shaped (25). Whilst no text is ever unframed by genre, "Texts work upon genres as much as they are shaped by them, genres are open ended sets, and participation takes many different forms" (28). Rather than being fixed, genres are open to transformation and modification. As Frow continues, "Genres have no essence: they have historically changing use values" and must be considered in their "full historicity" (134). Hence, rather than being confined to a continual reproduction of the established narrative format of the traditional invasion novel, the subgenre is at once subject to change though a complex relation to history while maintaining the enduring framework of the fiction of Asian invasion. The subgenre thus commensurately embodies historical continuity and difference. In this vein, Frow argues that an adequate description of genre will involve a fusion of a systematic account of structures and an account of historical change to create what he terms an "historical poetics" (68). He suggests that such an approach will avoid the "systemic inclusiveness" of traditional genre theory and the "systems building of early structuralist theory" by bringing together "the categories of a poetics with those of historical event" (69, 71). Frow's conception of an "historical poetics" enables a productive discussion of the invasion subgenre's relation to

historical change because it attends to both generic continuity and elasticity. As the central ideological element and structuring point of Asian invasion novels is race, changes in cultural conceptions of race that became politically visible in the 1960s resulted in changes within the subgenre.

Before the 1960s Aborigines were almost wholly absent from the generic world of invasion novels. Only a very small minority of pre-1960s texts refer to Aborigines and these references often encode the inevitability of their passing. Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* includes a marginal and highly stereotyped Aboriginal character: Billy the stockman and station-hand who is childlike in his earnestness and simplicity. But the novel also states that in its dystopian future setting of 1954 the "blacks" had "to all intents and purposes" been "swept ... out of existence" (121). Pratt's *The Big Five* details the colonial hero big Jim McLean's expunging of "treacherous blacks" during his exploration of Arnhem Land. Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis* makes a fleeting reference to bushman hero Thomas Burt's "black boy" in the opening pages. Then, later in the novel, brief mentions are made of the two successive groups of Aboriginal men enlisted to help the "White Guard" in their campaigns against the Japanese. Equally brief are the details of their ends. The first group presumably dies in battle but when members of the White Guard find the second group of eighty Aboriginal men smoking the tobacco of the enemy, collaboration is inferred and the "unfortunate blacks" are "suddenly surrounded and shot down" (218). These casual references to the massacre of Aboriginal people, so suggestive of white Australia's unacknowledged history of violence, are rare, momentary asides in what is otherwise a body of texts that is silent on the existence of Aboriginal Australians. The novels are, of course, taking part in broader colonial discourses of the silencing and effacing of indigenous Australians. It was from the 1960s that the possibility of counter-discursive representations of Aboriginality became more accessible and some Asian invasion texts began to present embodied Aboriginal characters as an ongoing part of the Australian population and important presences in the invasion scenario.

The 1960s: Shifts in Discursive Formations

The decade beginning in 1960 was marked by a quickening of change in the Australian politics of race, as evidenced by the *Bulletin's* removal of its subtitle "Australia for the White Man" in 1961. Movements towards less discriminatory conceptions of race within Australia – whether for humanitarian or economic reasons – were part of transnational shifts in race politics, broadly involving the untenability of discourses of racial hierarchy and biological determinism in the

aftermath of the horror of the Jewish holocaust and the formulation of the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948, the decolonisation of European empires and the growing civil rights movement in the United States. The gradual dissolution of the White Australia policy – begun by the post-World War Two assimilationist-based acceptance of southern and eastern European migrants – was hastened at this time by the implementation of the transitional integrationist policy paving the way for the introduction of a “non-discriminatory” immigration policy and official multiculturalism in the 1970s. An unprecedented emphasis on the rights of Aboriginal Australians also marked the 1960s as an historic period of social and political transformation. In 1962 discriminatory legislation against Aborigines' right to vote in federal elections was repealed (Markus 19). In 1965 social activists mounted the consciousness-raising expeditions, the “Freedom Rides,” into country New South Wales and campaigned for Aboriginal rights. The granting of equal pay in the pastoral industry to Northern Territory Aborigines the same year was followed in 1966 by the Gurindji people's much publicised strike that turned into Australia's first land rights claim (Shoemaker 5). In the 1967 referendum on Aboriginal citizenship ninety percent of Australians voted to include Aborigines in the national census, and officially recognise indigenous people as part of the Australian population. It was a time of rapid improvement in the status of Aborigines within Australian society and signified, in the Foucauldian sense, a shift in the discursive formations governing white Australian understandings of Aborigines: from conceptions of Aborigines as a “doomed race” destined to die out or breed white – actively aided by settler violence and assimilationist governmental policies – to a recognition of the continuing and active presence of Aborigines in Australian society.

Although much of the promise of these events remains unfulfilled, and Aboriginal lives continued to be marked by entrenched racism and inequality, the 1960s nevertheless were a relatively emancipatory historic period, in which some white ways of thinking about Aborigines expanded beyond previous constraints. Traditional narratives of Australian history that marginalised or ignored Aborigines were famously questioned by anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner in his 1968 ABC Boyer Lecture “The Great Australian Silence.” Stanner's pronouncement that “inattention on such a large scale cannot possibly be explained by absent-mindedness” but is instead a strategically limited view, “a cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale” (25), inspired historians such as Henry Reynolds to write new kinds of Australian history that recuperated Aborigines back into the national story and criticised orthodox representations of Australia's peaceful settlement.¹ Indeed, Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra term the period from the 1960s onwards a phase of

"Aboriginal Resurgence" in Australian culture and assert that from this point Aborigines started to be written back into Australian history (50, xiv). Obviously, such revisionist histories have been the subject of great controversy (as the "history wars" of the 1990s and 2000s attest) but they do provide alternative narratives of nation that highlight Australian race relations. Certainly, it was at this juncture that the first, and so far the only, invasion novel to feature an Aborigine as one of its main characters was published. John Hay's 1968 *The Invasion* is highly significant because it was from this text onwards that the subgenre altered to include narratives that propose alternatives to an all-white Australia.

It is, however, definitely a minority of invasion novels that depart from the letter of the traditional narrative formula and its colonialist logic. The majority of the post-1960s texts still, although sometimes more covertly, champion an all-white Australia as the national ideal. Terry Goldie, following Michel Foucault's anti-teleological stance, warns of the danger of judging contemporary material successful in contrast to past failures. He rightly asserts that it is ideological rather than chronological difference that must be emphasised (7). Despite the possibility of exploring new conceptual terrain in the area of race relations, most of the post-1960s novels do not opt to do so. There is no straightforward progressive continuum from the silencing of Aborigines and the occasional objectification of savage "treacherous blacks" to more enlightened portrayals of Aboriginal subjectivities in this body of novels. As Clare Bradford says of the history of representation of Aborigines in Australian children's books, "just as the history of race relations in Australia is characterised by ruptures and contradictions, so representations of Aboriginal culture in children's literature argue against a neat ameliorist line" (5). Most of the recent invasion novels continue to draw on and recast racist colonial discourses and remain within the bounds of the traditional narrative format. Furthermore, while Hay's *The Invasion* and Page's *A Nasty Little War* do break from the generic norm and portray Aboriginal subjectivities, these representations are far from unproblematic.

The crucial point here is not only that Aboriginal subjects are being represented in these texts but also how they are being represented. As Bradford states, the fact that contemporary texts thematise Aboriginality "is not necessarily a good thing in itself; by far the more important question is *how* Aboriginal culture is represented and how readers are positioned" (10). The representation of Aboriginal subjects by white writers is, of course, an ideologically fraught enterprise. Hay and Page's recognition of Aboriginal perspectives and their inclusion within the Australian populations of their novels are salutary. Readers may be positioned to appreciate the efforts of the texts to present Aboriginal viewpoints in a sympathetic

light. But the specific ways in which Aboriginality is constructed in the textual detail of the two novels are highly ambivalent.

The Invasion: Trying to Move Beyond Racial Prejudice

It started out as a typical western morning, quiet, with the galvanised iron roof of the old Four Hills station homestead already crackling and stretching under the sun's rays. But for John Stanley-Harris all semblance of normality ended when the radio suddenly died in a roar of static; when the first survivors of the nuclear attack which had obliterated Australia's cities and suburbs began arriving at the homestead. And in their wake, pushing through the dusty red plains, came the invaders ... the Armada of the South East Asian Republic. (Hay i)

The Invasion, as indicated by this evocative quotation from the inside cover of the novel, is the story of a group of Australians that survives the nuclear devastation of the nation's cities and the occupation of what remains of the country by the communist forces of the South East Asian Republic. Rather than an all-white band of bushman archetypes, the characters are of mixed origins, a kind of prototypical sample of emerging multicultural Australia. Practical man of the land, white Australian John Stanley-Harris, closely approximates the traditional masculine ideal. Stanley-Harris' measured sensibility is contrasted against the despicable white suburbanite Eddie Burke, who is accompanied by his materialist wife Shirley and young daughter Marcia. The group of survivors also includes the Chinese station cook Chee, the "New Australian" Stefan Bezjak and the Aboriginal "half-caste" Jimmie Lucas, his wife Alice Blue Gown and their two young boys. The iconic cattle station of Four Hills acts as a stage upon which the loaded inter-personal dynamics of this "hotchpotch of humanity" are played out as they try to survive the Asian occupation (71). The narrative shifts between the various perspectives of the different characters, penetrating their individual consciousnesses and giving insight into their contrasting views of unfolding events. The points of view of the invaders are also featured, principally those of the "slim little Sumatran" Captain Atmadi, who is highly unpleasant, and the female Chinese Major Mi-Yan who is sympathetic to the Australians and forms a romantic bond with Stanley-Harris (53). In these regards the novel is again atypical, in its depiction of an inter-racial romance, in its portrayal of individual characters within the invading force and in the relatively large amounts of narrative that are devoted to detailing their views and showing how they are themselves victims of their own communist authorities.

The opening of the novel introduces the cast of Australian characters and its exploration of race relations through the representation of their arrival at the Four Hills homestead. The Burkes are the first to arrive, having been picked up by Lucas

when their car broke down. Upon delivering the refugees from the city to the homestead, Lucas announces that he is heading back to the local town Go Broke to look for his wife and children. Stanley-Harris warns Lucas of the dangers involved in going back into the war zone and tries to stop him from leaving. The ensuing discussion is worth quoting in full as it establishes the narrative construction of these characters and its treatment of (overt) racism. Lucas responds to Stanley-Harris' warning as follows:

"What d'yer want me to do, leave them three to be raped by them yellor bastards? I can make out with them in the bush, yer know Mr. Harris like me spindle-legged old man used to do – spearing wallaby and that sort a business," he added sarcastically.

"Oh, let the black go," said Eddie Burke, now tired of the conversation. "Probably they won't touch him, being coloured."

The half-caste studied the pudgy passenger's face hard, then grated the gears into position and the truck rolled off ...

Eddie Burke turned and looked at the station owner and saw that he was biting his lip hard. "Well he asked for it, didn't he? Been sneering at us all the way from the highway."

"Yes, who'd he think he is?" the woman interrupted.

But a glance from the station owner quietened them both. (15-16)

The narrative depicts the "half-caste" Lucas as glowering and embittered. His sarcastic rebuke to Stanley-Harris parodies the white man's conception of Aboriginality and masks Lucas' concern for his wife and children. The rough Australian vernacular of Lucas' speech further consolidates his difference from the well-spoken whites but his cutting sarcasm also indicates intelligence. It is, however, the "pudgy" white man Burke who is presented in the most negative light along with his adjunctive wife. Station owner Stanley-Harris is, true to his type, a man of few words and the figure of reason in this interchange. Imbued with an authority not granted to the other characters, his tacit disapproval of the Burkes' racism goes (in this instance) uncontested. Significantly, in contrast to all previous invasion novels, this idealised white man of the land is uncomfortable with overt racism. But, as will be discussed below, the designation of Lucas by the descriptor "half-caste" and some modes of his characterisation, inscribes the narrative itself within racialised discourse at the same time as the text is trying to effect more positive representations of Aboriginality.

The characterisation of Eddie Burke partakes in anti-urbanisation sentiments central to the subgenre but now racial prejudice is added to the litany of undesirable characteristics of the degenerate metropolitan male. The irreverent Burke, with his "important early stomach" and "soft hands," had been a head salesman with Cobber's Cookies, a profession that leaves him useless in the event of the invasion (47, 23). The "innumerable club dinners, the perpetual 'queer jokes' and the fraction thin bonhomie of the air conditioned salesman in search of a percentage" have not

equipped Burke with the practical or psychological skills necessary for survival and he does indeed perish before the conclusion of the novel (24). The practical ethos and bush skills of the Chinese cook Chee and the "New Australian" Bezjak elevates the worth of these racialised characters above that of the white man Burke. While the representation of Chee is in some ways highly discriminatory, the fact that he is "bushwise" (57) and can provide food in the wild positions him as superior to the incapable Burke who can give nothing but offence, as illustrated in the following extract:

The bush was preparing for sleep when the four of them came to the Billabong.... A trail of black, red beaked water hens scuttled by, one by one into the undergrowth.

"We eatem all right?" Burke asked the cook in loud bastard pidgin English with which he had ordered many a Chinese gastronomical delight in Sydney. (58)

The connotations of the city-bred over-indulgence in fine food, the flippant rudeness and ignorance of survival in the bush all combine here to present Burke as a loathsome character. He is similarly offensive to Bezjak, the "New Australian" of Polish origin who is a skilled engineer. Of the racialised characters, Bezjak is treated most sympathetically by the narrative (perhaps due to his whiteness): the stupidity of the racism he encounters in Australia is made clear, particularly the non-recognition of his engineering skills learned in Europe. Notably, Bezjak's positive characterisation is not marred by the racial stigmas attributed to Chee and Lucas, which complicate the text's emancipatory project.

In the second part of the novel, the Asian invaders' occupation of the homestead acts as a foil against which the Australian-ness of the multicultural group of survivors is mobilised. The homestead is turned into the local headquarters of the South East Asian Republican army and the station is renamed as "Number One Mao" (39). The area is prized because Stanley-Harris' vision of irrigation has transformed what had been near desert into lush farmland and it is declared to be a "potential rice basin" (97). Predictably, the intention is to cultivate the area intensively and eventually resettle large tracts of population from the islands of the South-East Asia which are already "at bursting point" (97). The Australians are immediately taken prisoner, all except Lucas who has the ingenuity to escape. During their imprisonment in the pigpen, Stanley-Harris and Bezjak form an alliance and concoct a plan for the Australians' eventual escape. Chee is included in the discussion but takes a peripheral role, merely nodding in agreement. The plan is based on the men's intimate knowledge of the land and its climate. They know that every five years there is a major flood and in winter it will be five years since the last one. They decide to co-operate with the enemy and wait for the flood when they can

escape to the hills. Stanley-Harris' rousing speech is typical of the generic invasion narrative except that the Polish immigrant Bezjak, to whom it is addressed, and to a lesser extent the peripheralised Chee are now included in its sentiment:

It's our country. We worked for it in isolation and suffered its loneliness. It's been flooded and burnt for a thousand years, and reborn to survive. We must do the same. The cities have produced a physical and mental flabbiness. The Asian peasant is a product of a hard environment. We'll see how good he is. (86)

Unbeknown to Stanley-Harris at this point, and in another departure from the generic norm, the commander of Number One Mao turns out to be female. Major Sui Mi-Yan of the Chinese Peoples' Republic is sent to oversee the South East Asian Republican army's development of the station. From the outset of her arrival the narrative constructs an opposition between the dignified, reasonable and (western) educated Major and the cruel and illogical Sumatran Captain Atmadi, who is second in command. Stanley Harris and Bezjak make themselves useful to the Major, suggesting ways to develop the settlement, which they know will maximise the impact of the coming flood. Meanwhile, Lucas, having managed to evade his captors, is living in the bush surrounding the station.

The narrative portrayal of Lucas' perspective, its representation of his thoughts and emotions works to humanise him and position him in a more sympathetic light, than if the text solely consisted of the other characters' reactions to his surly exterior. Lucas is fully introduced to the narrative when he leaves the station to head back to Go Broke to search for his wife and children. His full name is, ironically, James Empire Lucas and suggests missionary origins. He has had an education and has worked as a shearer for Stanley-Harris. Driving through the red dusty plains on the way to Go Broke, Lucas feels like "an individual instead of a black man living on the outskirts of a white town" (18). He thinks of his family, of his wedding to Alice, and the hypocrisy of the priest who proclaimed that God saw all his children as equal but conducted racially segregated services:

Lucas thought the Lord must have misinformed the priest, because he gave the time of the service and the white people were always waiting to go in when their Mass finished. Lucas had asked the old Father about this but he just became angry and more pompous, until Lucas stopped asking.... James Lucas knew the sham of it all. (19)

The narrative is sympathetic in its detailing of the injustices of Lucas' life. It explains his bitterness and sense of separation from the other Australians at the homestead. But Lucas' mistrustful and abrasive manner in his interactions with others still works to present him as a somewhat disagreeable character. His membership of the Australian communist party signifies not much more than his dissatisfaction with the injustice of white Australian society. When the communist invaders at Go Broke

capture him, his party membership may have stopped him being beaten to death, but ultimately does not count in the eyes of the South East Asian Republic. Lucas manages to escape his captors and the graphic details of his pain, his hunger and thirst again work to cement his humanity. This may seem an obvious point from a twenty-first century perspective but this novel was the first in the invasion subgenre to grant complex subjectivity to an Aboriginal person and indeed to simply depict Aborigines as human beings. The narrative descriptions of his physical state serve to ground his character in embodied actuality:

He had turned on the tap, trickling at first, and drunk till he panted with the exertion of holding his head at the peculiar angle. Then a sudden wave of nausea churned his stomach and his head ached from the heaviness of the blood and the beating. It reminded him of a game he had played as a child, when he whirled round and round to the strange sensation of lightheadedness and his limbs uncontrollable. (41)

The reference to a sensation of childhood imbues the subject of Lucas with a sense of life history and a corporeality to which reader can relate from the shared experience of the childhood game. The reader is positioned to sympathise with Lucas as he flees from the invading enemy. He is one of the Australians and suffers, just as a white Australian would do, from the torment of the unknown fate of his wife and children.

The narrative treatment of Lucas as an escapee living in the bush does, however, enact a potentially problematic scenario in which he “reverts” to what can be construed as a primitive state. The implications of this textual manoeuvre are complex, because on the one hand the ability to survive in the bush is highly valued in the logic of the text, as evidenced by the scathing depiction of the incapable Burke. But, on the other hand, Lucas’ reversion to the ways of his ancestors partakes in notions that posit authentic Aboriginality as essentially primitive and located in an idealised past. As Lucas runs through the bush from the invaders, he realises that he is in the Boolonong reserve and thinks of the “Old People” who lived here, “hiding when the drovers’ teams came into sight, and settling down again when they left” (42). His remembrances of the “Old People” lead to an epiphany, where Lucas decides that in order to be fulfilled he must live as a traditional Aborigine:

The Old People. As Lucas thought of them again he experienced a surging wave of loneliness and desire to end the tug of war between assimilation and the past. A desire to revert. Revert to eking out a living from the countryside, and the lilt of the hunting corroboree he remembered the Old Men performing at the camp.

And his blood was suddenly afire, as if in the blanket of his memories a split had appeared letting in warmth and light. The challenge of living. (42-43)

The problem with this narrative portrayal of Lucas’ realisation and reversion is that it suggests that as an Aboriginal person Lucas’ only options are “assimilation” or

"the past." It does not allow authentic Aboriginality to exist in the present time. So as the text tries to move beyond racial prejudice by depicting Lucas as an embodied subject in his own right, who has a history and dreams and a love for his family, it also participates in the established racist manoeuvre of entrapping Aboriginality within the essentialised framework of the primitive.² The narrative continues: "As he ran forward in the crouching run of his ancestors, a thousand years had vanished and were nothing but mere cycles and the world was again the hunter and the hunted" (43). The "world of the hunter and the hunted" is not, however, limited to Lucas' personal reversion to a primitive state: it is also engendered by the state of war existing in invaded Australia and the ability to survive is the paramount concern of all the Australians. In this regard, Lucas' decision to live off the land is problematic in terms of its evocation of an idealised primitive state of Aboriginality, but it is also a highly practical response to the occupation and is the goal of the other non-Aboriginal Australians imprisoned at the homestead. The heightened sense of living evoked by Lucas' reversion is also referred to in other invasion novels in terms of the context of war stripping all the superfluous concerns of life to lay bare what really matters, that is one's own survival and the survival of loved ones (see for instance Marsden). Hence, Lucas' actions are based on the simple need for survival but they are framed in terms of racialised discourses of Aboriginality that emphasise the primitive, the savage and an innate tendency to violence.

Several months after his escape from the invaders, the reverted Lucas takes on the appearance of a primitive archetype: "His clothes had rotted off his back and he wore only a wallaby skin hanging loosely round his loins" (105). His hair and beard have grown long and "accentuated the jutting brows and flattened nose of his aboriginal ancestry" (105). He lives in a cave in the hills, observing the enemy and engaging in acts of sabotage against their development of the property. Stanley-Harris meets Lucas in the hills, having been sent by Atmadi to retrieve him with the information that his wife and children have been captured and will be executed if he does not hand himself in. This episode illustrates a worrying tendency to violence within Lucas that is not shared by Stanley-Harris. Stanley-Harris misses the opportunity to kill the enemy corporal accompanying him to find Lucas because he "was unused to war" (134). Lucas, however, kills the corporal instantly and shows no remorse. He arrives covered in human blood and tells Stanley-Harris:

"When one of his eyes started to bulge, I knew I had the bastard. So I thought, well I'll look around to see if he's got any mates. Knock one off and you may as well kill a dozen." Lucas could have been talking about kangaroos.

Harris felt sick. He had nothing against the Corporal.... (135)

Arguably, Lucas' vicious beating at the hands of the enemy soldiers and his killing of a soldier on his first escape may have made him "used to war." But again, the positioning of the Aborigine as violent in comparison to the sickened white man suggests historic constructs of violence and savagery as the Aborigine's natural state. This violence is, however, tempered by the repeated emphasis on Lucas reaching out for his family (165).

Lucas' wife, Alice Blue Gown, is more marginal to the storyline. She exists mostly as a point of concern in Lucas' mind rather than as an active figure in events. She does not appear until near the end of the novel when she and her children are captured by soldiers and brought to the homestead. Unlike her "half-caste" husband, Alice is a "full-blood" Aborigine and while the narrative emphasises her pride and bravery it also constructs her in racialised and gendered terms. She is depicted as being less a part of society than Lucas; she is bare-footed, uneducated and her voice is "gravelly and unattended to" (127). Although christened Alice Margaret Elizabeth Shay, the narrative tells us that "the local whites saw to it that she had another christening" and named her Alice Blue Gown after the popular song. The song does not appear to have any racial implications but the alteration of Alice's name serves to emphasise the power the white townspeople exert over her identity. Her physical description is sexualised and a main part of her participation in the storyline centres on her potential rape. In this episode, a drunken Burke, showing uncharacteristic concern for the Aboriginal woman, concocts a "fuddled plan" (152). He suggests to the young guard with a crude gesture that they rape "the lubra," intending meanwhile to attack the guard (152-53). The narrative then details the event from the perspective of Alice. Notably, the granting of subjectivity to the woman in the scenario of rape is, as previously discussed, a rare occurrence within the subgenre and signals another way in which this novel departs from generic norms. The emphasis here is on Alice's subjective experience of the threat of rape and, like the narrative treatment of Lucas, her physicality is emphasised. Alice "had known rape in the camps" and recognises with fear the guard's intention: "Then she saw the white stalking too, behind the youth now, and she contemplated the combined strength of both of them" (153-54). To Alice's surprise, however, Burke suddenly attacks the guard:

The white panted over him, his lips flecked with froth rage. He choked at her between coughs, "Help me, you black bitch. Help me!"

No one of that skin colour had helped her in the past and she owed them nothing.... She caught the children, dragging them from the room, not looking back at the bodies behind her and ran till her throat soured from her breath towards the river. (sic) (154)

Alice is, like Lucas, depicted as being mistrustful of whites. Importantly, this mistrust is firmly based on their experience of mistreatment by white society and is not posited as an innate quality of Aboriginality.

The representation of both Lucas and Alice includes respectful portrayals of their personal lives and histories, the injustices they have suffered and their ensuing sense of distance from white society, but it is also framed by racialised discourses of colonial origins that entrap the narrative into repeating age-old constructs of Aboriginality based on primitive violence and sexuality. The text vacillates between these two schemas and inflects its Aboriginal characters with a deep ambivalence. As Bradford notes of well-meaning "Aboriginalist" novels, "this see-sawing of reverence and contempt in Aboriginalist texts discloses the difficulties, for European Australians, of managing contradictory and conflicting cultural discourses" (111).³ Hay's *The Invasion* evidences the conflict between competing discourses of race circulating at the time of the novel's production. Emerging conceptions of potential racial equality exist in direct tension with other readily available racialised modes of knowledge and understandings of Aboriginality. But the positive work done by the representation of Lucas in particular should not be dismissed.

Significantly, when the flood comes, it is Lucas not Stanley-Harris who leads the Australians towards their new life in the hills. In this novel, as in many of the subgenre, the Australian land itself determines the outcome of events. The water rises silently, and without the usual measures in place to divert it, floods the station. The natural disaster triggers an eruption of hostility between the troops of the South East Asian Republic and the Chinese irrigation workers and in the violence that follows they destroy each other and the homestead. The racial prejudice existing between the two groups of invaders is posited as the reason for their mutual destruction and bolsters the novel's message of tolerance. The destruction of Stanley-Harris' home and station leaves him in a stunned state and so Lucas "took leadership of the party into his own hands" (173). Stanley-Harris does eventually awaken, but Lucas' capability and, what is more, his integral participation in the group of Australians have been established.

The conclusion of the novel presents the Australian survivors living in a cave society and points forward to a utopian vision of a raceless future. It is in these final pages that the emancipatory project of the text is most pronounced. Although Stanley-Harris had shuddered at the thought of a mixed race future early on, likening it to "joining up his pure merinos with crossbred rams," he comes to believe in the value of this future and it becomes the locus of his imaginings and dreams (132). He thinks just before sleep: "Start again in the caves of Four Hills. Start again with the Chinese woman. And there'll be Burke and Shirl, Stefan and Lucas, the raw

ingredients of a new primitive post-bomb society. And will the rest of the survivors have learned to live together with tolerance?" (163). In the event, the composition of the group alters from what Stanley-Harris imagines, as Burke has been killed and Alice has joined the group of Australian survivors. The death of the racist white suburbanite and his replacement by the Aboriginal woman in the microcosm of the new Australia leads to a much more harmonious group dynamic in the cave society. Lucas' cave is some distance from the others and Stanley-Harris notes that he "still had his built-in inferiority complex that society had given him" but Stanley-Harris also sees that "Marcia Burke and the two little dark boys played together without inhibition" (183). Stanley-Harris light-heartedly jokes with Alice and feels he is beginning to understand more about Aboriginal people (184-85). Only Shirley Burke shows signs of racial intolerance and frets for her daughter. Stefan Bezjak tries to console her and points to the edge of the plain where

Marcia, a darting figure with a piece of blanket tied round her slender loins, played energetic hide-and-seek with Lucas' two little boys, who were naked, all three watched over by Chee.

"There," said Stefan. "We must learn from them who we are." (190)

This image of inter-racial harmony, of white, Aboriginal and Chinese Australians co-existing without prejudice is presented as a cause for hope and as a model for Australian society. The unquestioning acceptance by the white child Marcia of her Aboriginal companions and of Chee is posited as the natural and correct state of affairs when untouched by socialisation. The novel closes with the group making contact with Stefan's German-Australian friend Karl and the prospect of unification with other survivors. In the text's final moment, Lucas, his two boys and Marcia return from a hunting expedition and the other Australians, watching from the caves, "could not see their colour" (192).

The utopian vision of Australian society presented in this novel is radically different from all the preceding novels in the subgenre. The will to move beyond racial prejudice – which is central to this text – simply does not exist in earlier invasion novels. This movement clearly demonstrates the changes in cultural conceptions of race that took place in Australia in the latter part of the twentieth century. At the same time it is important to acknowledge the limitations inherent in the text's representation of raced subjects. If Marcia Burke does not see anything wrong with Lucas' family or with Chee, the narrative itself does. The characters of Lucas, Alice and particularly Chee are drawn in racially discriminatory ways, frequently likened to animals and described in terms of degrading stereotypes as the narrative fails to free itself from embedded colonial assumptions. The text is constructed by the available discourses of Aboriginality circulating at the time of its production and is effectively splintered by the tension between emerging

conceptions of racial equality and the enduring power of colonial ideologies. Its message of racial equality is commensurately inflected with unquestioned assertions of racial inequality and imbues the text with doubled meanings at every turn, in a kind of one step forward two steps back narrative dynamic. This paradoxical element, inherent in the text's racial representation, raises the question as to whether white texts can ever effectively represent Aboriginal consciousnesses.

There are parallels here to Katherine Susannah Prichard's canonical Australian novel *Coonardoo* (1929). Prichard's formative text attempts a sympathetic portrayal of Aboriginality but is limited by what can be known and said from her own historic and discursive location. Although considered radical for its treatment of race at the time of its publication, contemporary critics can easily point to *Coonardoo's* reproduction of colonialist discourses. In the same way, Timothy Kendall's recent (2005) analysis of *The Invasion* dismisses the novel as insurmountably racist. While Kendall concedes that in its "didactic moments" the text has a message of unity, he hastens to add that "this is not a novel that seeks resolution in cultural and ethnic diversity. *The Invasion* is a deeply xenophobic novel, a chronicle of 1960s racism" (38). Kendall groups *The Invasion* with the invasion narratives of the nineteenth century and forecloses any consideration of the counter-discursive work done by the text, and specifically of any positive worth in the representation of Lucas as an Aboriginal subject. In fact, Kendall proposes that the character of Lucas is "considered more abject" than that of Burke, by reason of his miscegenated blood:

The half-caste becomes feared and despised because his presence destabilises the racial boundaries that are essential to maintaining white identity and power. Throughout the text, inter-racial sexuality threatens the borders of white identity, and mixed-race people are the embodiment of that threat. (39)

In opposition to Kendall's analysis, I argue that a close reading of the text shows that inter-racial sexuality and the mixed-race subject of Lucas are not presented in overly threatening terms. Burke is far more demonised than Lucas and is given no place in Australia's future society, in which Lucas is a key member and provider. The mixed-race union of white Australian Stanley-Harris and Chinese Mi-Yan in the conclusion of the novel is depicted as a romantic and positive outcome. The problematic narrative identification of Lucas as "the half-caste" is glaring and suggests entrenched racism, but in the detail of the novel his mixed heritage is not really a determining factor in the negative aspects of his portrayal. It is more his embittered nature that gives him an aggressive quality and this, the text clearly asserts, is a result of his mistreatment by white society as an Aborigine, as it is with his full-blooded wife Alice. Lucas' desire "to revert" may be cast in terms of his hybridity,

but otherwise the text does not focus on the issue of miscegenation (except of course for Stanley-Harris' unfortunate comment about the breeding of sheep but he later changes his mind). It is too easy for older texts like *The Invasion* and *Coonardoo* to be dismissed by contemporary critics for still in part (perhaps unavoidably) operating within the confines of colonial discourses, for such readings preclude the possibility that the texts contain a multiplicity of meanings and function on different sometimes paradoxical levels, and accordingly miss the positive aspects of the works and their attempts to dismantle racial prejudice.

To put it another way, *The Invasion* is structured by colonial discourses but it simultaneously contains counter-discursive elements, and indeed is struggling to more fully embrace a postcolonial ethos. Goldie illuminates the difficulty for white writers to move beyond racial stereotypes in his proposition that images of indigeneity function within a bounded semiotic field. He likens this semiotic field to a chessboard in which possible moves are circumscribed by the discursive constraints of imperialism (9-10). Goldie's semiotic field of the indigene is made up of commodities of sex, violence, orality, mysticism and the prehistoric (17). The Aboriginal characters in *The Invasion* are clearly structured in part by these commodities, especially by violence, primitivism and sex, but arguably they consist of more than these simple stereotypes. Yet, writing in 1989, Goldie asserts that the limitations inherent in representing Aborigines in white texts are unchanging, that history has no impact (149). He emphasises the imperative to move beyond racial stereotypes but also registers the impossibility of doing so within available systems of representation: "The literary process of attempting to hold the indigene within the white text and to create the indigene as a subject liberated from past economies has thus far proven impossible. Perhaps it will continue to be impossible" (221-22). Goldie's argument works within a Foucauldian paradigm which rests on the impossibility of thinking outside discursive constraints, or in Judith Butler's phrase "the matrix of power and discursive relations that effectively produce and regulate the intelligibility of concepts for us" (32). Representations of indigeneity accordingly are articulated from and limited by the available cultural vocabulary.

Arguably, however, there were postcolonial elements within the cultural vocabulary available to Hay at the time of writing which are clearly evident in the construction of his Aboriginal characters, in addition to the standard representational commodities of violence, primitivism and sex. To continue the Foucauldian paradigm, Foucault's famous pronouncement that "Where there is power there is resistance" suggests that dominant discourses do not exert absolute power, as the possibility of resistance exists within the terms of power itself (95). In this vein, in contrast to Goldie, Marcia Langton (writing in 1993) states that "Most

Aboriginal people involved in the production of art forms believe that an ethical, post-colonial critique and practice among their non-Aboriginal colleagues is possible and achievable" ('Well, I heard it on the radio' 26). Langton advocates the need for intersubjective dialogue or "polyphony" between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians in order to work towards cultivating knowledge of Aboriginal cultural values and the impact of history and the decolonisation of representation (6, 84). Obviously, Hay's *The Invasion* only goes a small part of the way to realising this imperative. But significantly the text does break away from the traditional invasion narrative and take the first step in a postcolonial direction. By granting detailed subjectivity to Aboriginal Australians and trying (although not always succeeding) to represent them in a respectful light, *The Invasion* acknowledges the legitimacy of their presence as part of the Australian population. This is a very basic but formative and important event for the subgenre of Asian invasion novels.

A Nasty Little War: Enacting the Appropriation of Aboriginal Rights

Michael Page's *A Nasty Little War*, published by Rigby in 1979, depicts an attempted Chinese invasion of Australia and evidences the growing awareness of Aboriginal rights in the 1970s. The decade of the 1970s saw important solidifications in the Aboriginal protest movement and the political implementation of representative bodies and services to Aboriginal people. Most importantly the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* marked the first attempt by an Australian government to legally recognise Aboriginal systems of land ownership (within strong limitations) and to facilitate the retention and re-establishment of Aboriginal cultural identities (Northern Land Council). The narrative of *A Nasty Little War* draws on the gathering momentum of Aboriginal activism and features a number of male Aboriginal characters. But, unlike *The Invasion*, this novel does not exhort the need to move beyond racial prejudice or posit the imperative of greater understanding between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. The discourse of Aboriginal rights is included within the narrative but the way in which it is used by the text does not advance Aboriginal interests. In this novel, the discourse of Aboriginal rights is cynically appropriated by the Chinese to legitimise their invasion of Australia. It could at best be seen as positive in the regard that it so clearly dramatises the co-opting of Aboriginal rights for the advancement of others, that it explicitly highlights the politics of appropriation.

A Nasty Little War is set in the near future with communist China cast in the role of the Asian invader. It is a fast-paced political thriller constituted by a large amount of dialogue. The third person narration moves between the perspectives of a

vast number of characters, of whom each has a limited knowledge of unfolding events, and a great deal of suspense is built up as the storyline is gradually unravelled. The protagonist is white Australian Adam Frankau who is a Professor of Chinese Studies at Adelaide University. Frankau is fluent in a number of Chinese languages and is constructed by the text as a "China expert". The story moves at pace right from the urgency of its opening when Frankau is mysteriously called to Canberra to examine a document given to the Australian prime minister by the People's Republic of China. The historic document, whose authenticity has been painstakingly verified, proclaims that a Chinese explorer landed in northern Australia about a century before Captain Cook, and effectively took possession of at least a portion of the country. It is, accordingly, on the basis of this prior claim to ownership that the Chinese intend to invade Australia.

In order to pave the way for the invasion China covertly mobilises a campaign to destabilise Australia and turn world opinion against it. China is thus once again depicted as cunning, duplicitous and capable of meticulous planning. The unsubtly named agent working on behalf of China, Mr Ecks, contacts a United States-based public relations consultancy and offers the chairman Mr Goldio an unlimited amount of money to denigrate Australia in international media. Ecks specifically instructs Goldio to make the world believe "that Australia hasn't got any right to exist" (56). In the following exchange Ecks and Goldio cynically determine that the most effective way to undermine Australia's sovereignty is to emphasise the attempted genocide of the country's indigenous people and champion the rights of Aborigines in terms of the "black power" movements of the United States:

'Hasn't got any right to exist? A whole *country*?'

'That's right. You've got plenty to go on. Maybe you don't know that Australia was settled by the British as a convict colony. After that, the settlers took all the land away from the Aborigines. Slaughtered most of them. Starved a lot of the others. Chewed up their land for the minerals without compensating the Aborigines....'

'Black Power.' Goldio said reflectively, and asked

'These Aborigines you're talking about. They are black, aren't they?'

'Black as Mohammed Ali's ass.'

'That'll be the handle.' Goldio said. (46-47)

The flippant, disrespectful tone of this exchange and the emphasis on monetary gain work to eclipse the significance of the injustices suffered by Aboriginal Australians. The list of injustices, so lightly reeled off by Ecks, is reduced to mere marketing material as the ignorant and uncaring businessman Goldio determines the most effective "handle" for the campaign. The worldwide publicity campaign, directed against Australia's treatment of Aborigines, results in international uproar and violent attacks on Australian embassies. The Australian prime minister is horrified and directs a racist tirade of complaint at the United States Ambassador to Australia.

Importantly, the text does not grant the words of the prime minister any particular authority, as this novel lacks the didactic overtones of the majority of invasion narratives. The prime minister's racist sentiments are positioned not as a statement of fact but as the character's opinion. The novel does not endorse overt racism, which by the time of writing was becoming publicly unacceptable, but still partakes in the kind of problematic constructions of Aboriginality that Goldie outlines. Furthermore, it does this without the mitigating factor of trying to promote cross-cultural understanding that informs Hay's *The Invasion*.

A vital part of the Chinese campaign to destabilise Australia is the organising of terrorist attacks on industrial and military facilities. Chinese agents cultivate dissident groups within Australia – the Irish, socialist youth and Aborigines – to carry out these attacks, tailoring a different story regarding for whom they are acting, according to the political persuasion of each. It is here that Aboriginal characters enter the storyline. Jimmy Sharpnesse and Percy Pirribilli are co-opted by “the man with the code name Dandenong” to blow up oil supplies and later in the novel Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin are directed by Dandenong to assassinate Adam Frankau (109). While the narrative is in part sympathetic to its Aboriginal characters and portrays the impact of history on Aboriginal culture, it is clear that the Aborigines are being used by China, and that they are dupes in a grander scheme of events. The implications of this are not, in the final analysis, helpful to facilitating more positive representations of Aboriginality, because although the narrative clearly shows the insidious manipulation of the Aborigines, it also serves to empty the discourse of Aboriginal rights of any tangible meaning.

The narrative's inclusion of Aboriginal subjects and its detailing of their lives and histories is important, but its representations are fraught with competing and contradictory discourses. Jimmie Sharpnesse and Percy Pirribilli consider themselves to be Aboriginal “although neither of them had more than a fourth part of Aboriginal blood” and the narrative shows that their identification as Aborigines is founded on their life experience as Aboriginal people within white Australia:

they had been brought up in appallingly degraded conditions in the ‘blackfeller camps’ on the fringes of outback towns. Sharpnesse’s family home had been an old car body and Pirribilli’s blood kin still lived in humpies of scrap timber and corrugated iron. They became used to the white man’s method of looking directly away from them as though they did not exist, unless the white man was looking for sex, or mischief, or labour which he paid for in stale bread and scrag ends of meat. They grew up in conditions infinitely worse than Palestinian refugee camps.... (109)

This acknowledgement of racism and poverty indicates the text's incorporation of growing cultural awareness of Aboriginal affairs but the narrative then works to

twist and distort this awareness into a vehicle for Chinese invasion and effectively negates its political content. The narrative also constructs Sharpnesse and Pirribilli through the loci of violence and alcoholism and emphasises their hatred of white people: "Their main problems were that they drank too much and that a deep and bitter loathing for white people, all white people regardless of age and sex, gnawed at them like cancers" (110). Thus, although the text acknowledges the impact of colonial history on the lives of Sharpnesse and Pirribilli it also creates their "Aboriginality" through the stereotypes of simmering resentment, propensity to violence and drunkenness. Beer, it is noted, is for these men "Like mother's milk" (111). Langton argues that the stereotype of the "drunken Aborigine" glosses over the political and economic complexities involved in the misuse of alcohol by individual Aborigines and indeed the widespread problems with alcohol among white Australians. She proposes that the image of the "drunken Aborigine" and the belief that Aborigines cannot hold their alcohol are means by which white society projects a eugenicist inferiority on to "half civilised natives": "it is the invention of the 'drunken Aborigine,' and other metaphors or social icons to do with how whites need to imagine Aborigines, that enables the sociological or anthropological notions about degeneration, or more recently deprivation and social pathology to remain intact" ("Rum, Seduction and Death" 93). Like Hay's *The Invasion*, Page's text enacts a kind of doubled narrative movement. It does go some way in suggesting that the injustice and poverty of Sharpnesse and Pirribilli's lives may have led to their alcoholism and in so doing does move beyond the complete racism Langton identifies in images of drunken Aborigines void of any political implications. However, the eventual deaths of Sharpnesse, Pirribilli and their friends would seem to bear out Langton's assertion that such constructs suggest an incapability on the part of Aborigines to survive in "civilisation."

Indeed, Sharpnesse and Pirribilli's loathing of white Australia positions them as ideal candidates to take terrorist action against its infrastructure. When the Chinese agent Dandenong tells them of "a way to strike at Whitey" they are keen to be involved and introduce him to three of their friends. The narrative emphasises how "sharpened by the constant yearning for revenge, they made a formidable quintet. They were like weapons which had lain disused for a long time until someone loaded them with the right ammunition" (111). The Aboriginal men are, then, depicted as "disused weapons" waiting to be picked up and utilised by a greater power, to be "loaded with the right ammunition." Dandenong's duplicitous espousals of "Black Power." Dandenong pities them: "Even if they carried out their mission successfully they were expendable sooner or later, like used cartridge cases" (112). The analogy to weapons that can be discarded clearly does not assign value to

the lives of the Aboriginal men, and illuminates the ruse of China's concern for Australia's indigenous people. The narrative then follows the five Aboriginal men on their missions around Australia to destroy oil supplies. The deployment of accurate nomenclature and a great deal of technical description of explosives imbues the narrative with the realist style characteristic of the subgenre. The Aboriginal men work diligently to fulfil their missions and display practical intelligence but everything has been planned and the necessary equipment supplied by Chinese authorities.

Eventually the two parties led by Sharpnesse and Pirribilli are intercepted and this first grouping of Aboriginal characters meet their deaths. When a military helicopter hails Sharpnesse and his companion Judge, the narrative claims that the Aboriginal men should have been able to convince the city-bred soldiers that they "were legitimate outback travellers" (121). But Sharpnesse drives on, telling Judge that "They'll pin it on us whether they can prove it or not. What else would you expect from Whitey?" (121). Accordingly, the soldiers open fire, killing both of them. Pirribilli and his mates also die when, failing to stop for a roadblock, the police pursue them until their car crashes. Pirribilli's decision to flee the police "was made for him without conscious thought, by the years of pursuit and harassment, the dreary nights in the cells of country police stations where he was picked up on charges of vagrancy ... and the brutal knowledge that he was an outcast" (124). Hence, the injustice of Australian society is seen to propel the Aboriginal men to their deaths. But the killing off, the acknowledged expendable nature of the Aboriginal men, has a more sinister logic in the overall scheme of the narrative in which Adam Frankau and his white lover Loyal survive and the novel concludes with their plan to try for a baby. White Australia is thus allowed the opportunity to reproduce and move forward into the future while the Aborigines in the world of this novel all tragically perish.

The man with the code name Dandenong has also cultivated a group of Aborigines in Darwin to play a role in the downfall of white Australia. Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin are described as "fullbloods of the Beilbri tribe" who take "their Aboriginal heritage very seriously" (201). Their mission teachers had been non-conformists and the last was a radical who "taught them it was time to return to the proud past of their ancestors, to shake off white rule and claim the land which was their inheritance" (201). On government grants they attend university where another teacher "urged them to enter the Asian languages course, so that they would be equipped to communicate with other coloured people after the white man's downfall" (201). Over a period of years Dandenong wins Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin's trust by accompanying them on hunting expeditions and demonstrating

his respect for the traditional Aboriginal way of life by discarding his clothes and eating raw meat that he secretly finds distasteful (202). Hence, when Dandenong tells the three young Aboriginal men that it is time to help the cause of "coloured people" by eliminating the "China expert" Frankau, they agree to the mission (202). The heavy narrative emphasis on the teaching of Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin to despise white Australia suggests that the Aboriginal men lack self-determination, that they are like empty vessels waiting to be filled and manipulated or, like Sharpnesse and Pirribilli, "weapons" waiting to be loaded with the right ammunition. The Aboriginal characters of *A Nasty Little War* are thus not allowed any agency on their own terms; they are instead puppets with a greater power pulling their strings.

The latter part of the novel devotes a large portion of the narrative to describing the young Aboriginal men's attempted assassination of Frankau. Adam and his lover Loyal are stationed at the Legend Creek military base in the Northern Territory outback and it is their habit to take walks up the nearby gorge to spend time alone together. It is here, after days of surveillance, that Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin make their attack with traditional weapons. They have been living on raw snake and goanna and "replete with the pure protein that had been the natural food of their people for centuries" they are primed for action (219). The attack turns into a long protracted battle (some fifteen pages) and the narrative focuses on the bloody gore of the violence. Adam and Loyal are both severely wounded in the course of events, but Adam manages to kill Manyirrit and Mundalin. In the final confrontation between Adam and Gullarwi each man feels a "flash of pity and reluctance" to take the other's life (236). But for Gullarwi "it was the face of a white man, the symbol of everything that he had been taught to fear, hate, and despise. His spear arm moved almost involuntarily, and Adam pressed the trigger" (236). It is, of course, Gullarwi who dies in this exchange and Adam (as his biblical name suggests) who survives to propagate.

Both groups of Aboriginal men are thus constrained within the narrative to carrying out acts of violence. Pointedly, in this novel the invasion does not eventuate. The Chinese are drowned in tens of thousands when a great storm breaks up the attempted landing (again the Australian land itself plays a part in the novel's outcome). Because there is no war, the violence of the text is solely perpetrated by the Aborigines and to a lesser extent the Irish, with some brief asides made to the terrorist activities of the socialist youth. The fifteen page passage detailing the battle between Adam and Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin is extremely graphic in its representation of violence and positions the Aborigines in the realm of primitive savagery, as is evidenced by the novel's cover illustration depicting one of the

naked, bleeding Aboriginal men hurling a spear after the fleeing white couple. The word "savage" is repeatedly used to describe Aboriginal men's movements during the battle, as are descriptions highlighting their natural instincts and likeness to animals. Gullarwi's "instincts and senses" are "as acutely concentrated towards survival as those of any other creature of the bush" and he bounds "over rocks and stony earth as smoothly and fleetly as a kangaroo" (234, 226). The white man Adam, on the other hand, is aligned with rationality and civilisation as his mind whirls with "thoughts and calculations" like a "crazy computer" as sweat collects in his sandals (231). The reader is invited to sympathise with the white protagonist and fear the primitive violence of the Aborigines:

Manyirrit's spear was a stabbing rather than throwing weapon but it could be thrown with sufficient force to kill over a distance of a few metres. He drew back his arm and Adam looked into the black face glistening with perspiration, with the dark eyes glinting under the broad overhanging frontal bone and the strong teeth clenched with determination.... (225)

This image of black primordial violence concurs with Goldie's contention that most literary images of indigeneity, even those with sympathetic intentions, present violence as an essential characteristic of the indigene, as an expression of unconstrained nature "red in tooth and claw" (90, 95). Andrew Lattas similarly argues that the primitive is positioned within popular discourse as the missing link between civilised humanity and "a violent animality from which it is seen to have evolved" (251). He proposes that

In terms of the Australian nation, this savage violent interiority, which is supposedly a lost relic of evolutionary time, often comes to be projected onto Aborigines.... Indeed, these mythological images and metaphors of our savage evolutionary heritage are evoked every time that Aborigines are constructed as having a propensity to violence. (251)

Page's *A Nasty Little War* may incorporate emerging discourses of racial equality and Aboriginal rights, but the text works to undermine and empty these discourses of agency and meaning and to reposition Aborigines in the colonialist terms of the savage destined for extinction. As Goldie puts it, "The violence of the indigene lives as the indigene dies" (106). Page's text perpetuates and reinvigorates the myth of the intrinsic primitiveness and violence of Aborigines and enacts the death of every Aboriginal character. The text's implicit location of Aborigines as a lower evolutionary type, closer to nature and hostile to civilisation underscores any sympathetic efforts to understand the personal histories of the Aboriginal characters.

To recall Bradford's argument cited at the beginning of this chapter, it is not necessarily sufficient that texts represent Aboriginality but how Aboriginal culture is represented and how readers are positioned that is important. The representations of

Aborigines in *The Invasion* and *A Nasty Little War* are severely constrained by racist discourses that limit the ways in which Aboriginality can be imagined in the worlds of these two white texts. A comparison of the two novels, however, shows that there is nevertheless some freedom within these discursive constraints to opt to represent Aboriginality in relatively respectful and inclusive terms or not, as the case may be. The character of Lucas in *The Invasion* may be constructed in terms of primitivity and violence but in the war context of the novel these are desirable and practical attributes. Also, Lucas and his wife Alice are included as key members in the group of survivors that form the utopian prototype of the new Australian society. They are Australians, fighting for Australia against the invaders. They are on the side of good in the novel and the reader is positioned to sympathise with them. In *A Nasty Little War* the Aboriginal characters are on the side of the enemy: Sharpnesse and Pirribilli unwittingly and Gullarwi, Manyirrit and Mundalin because they have been brainwashed by communist teachers. They are represented as misguided terrorists who meet violent deaths brought about by their own actions. They are not included in Australia's future. *A Nasty Little War* is interesting because it does not present a straightforward conflation of Aborigines with Asian invaders and it does rehearse the discourses of Aboriginal rights, but it does so in such a way as to effectively discredit the significance of Aboriginal activism and recentre colonialist constructs of primordial savagery as the dominant discursive paradigm of Aboriginality. Thus, while both novels exhibit emerging postcolonial discourses of racial equality, *The Invasion* clearly struggles to move beyond old conceptual frameworks that continue to exert a powerful influence. *A Nasty Little War* on the other hand does not embrace this imperative. Yet, despite the very real problems with the representation of Aboriginality in *A Nasty Little War*, it is still very important that these two texts acknowledge and engage with Aboriginality and open textual spaces for response and analysis. They are, as a result, aberrations within the subgenre and demonstrate the complex and open-ended nature of the body of texts.

Most novels of Asian invasion are effectively silent on the existence of Australian Aboriginal peoples. Their narratives work to foreclose engagement with issues of Aboriginality in Australian society, to ignore and to conceal the nation's colonial history. So while *The Invasion* makes a somewhat fraught first step in a postcolonial direction and *A Nasty Little War* looks as if it is taking a step forward but then moves backwards, the majority of invasion novels do not take this step at all. The prototypical invasion narrative adapts to changing historical and cultural circumstances but its ideology remains the same. The difference of Hay and Page's texts is that they utilise changes in the discursive formations of Australian race relations to create the possibility to alter the ideology of the subgenre, a trajectory

which is also pursued by the later texts of Hooker and Willmot. But these postcolonial divergences still operate within limitations. Aboriginal characters are included and treated with relative respect in *The Invasion*, but the legitimacy of white Australia, of Stanley-Harris' claim to the land, is not questioned. In *The Bush Soldiers* the illegitimacy of white Australia may be suggested obliquely but the contrast between the Australian nationals and the British military men invokes the Australian-ness of the former. It is only in *Below the Line* that the white invasion of Australia is explicitly acknowledged and, significantly, this text was written by an Aboriginal author. In the following chapter I return to the prototypical invasion narrative through a case study of John Marsden's *Tomorrow* series, in order to demonstrate how this historically enduring narrative formula is recast in contemporary contexts and continues to do the same ideological work as the first fearful novels of Asian invasion. I examine, specifically, the great unsaid of the invasion subgenre: the reality of white Australia's colonial invasion.

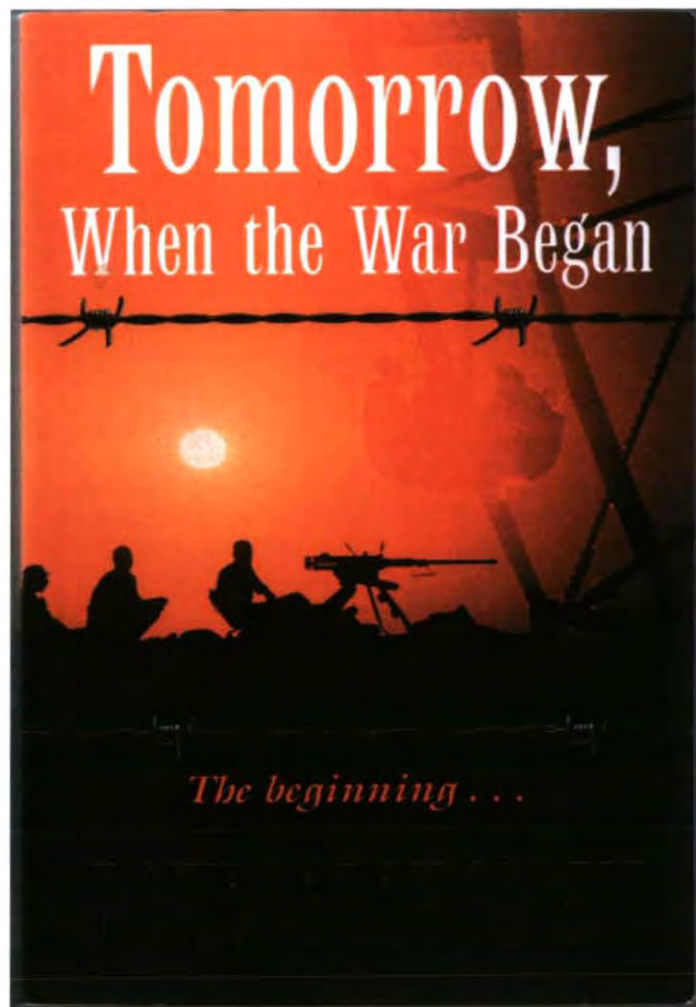


Fig. 13. Cover of *Tomorrow, When the War Began* by John Marsden, 1993. The first novel in Marsden's *Tomorrow* series.

5

Symptoms

"...the book is not self-sufficient; it is necessarily accompanied by a *certain absence*, without which it would not exist. A knowledge of the book must include a consideration of this absence. This is why it seems useful and legitimate to ask of every production what it tacitly implies, what it does not say. Either all around it or in its wake the explicit requires the implicit: for in order to say anything, there are other things *which must not be said*."

- Pierre Macherey

"Mainstream Australia has tried to tear off a part of its soul associated with intense self-abnegation and self-constriction during the formative years of the country. With immense psychological effort, it has displaced its self-hatred on to others who symbolise Australia's discarded self. White Australia *has* to look at the Asian and indigenous Australians as well as its Asian neighbours as inferior and fearsome, for it has itself felt inferior, and it has feared its own self – socially, culturally and morally."

- Ashis Nandy

The nation of Australia originated in an act of invasion. The British invasion of 1788, and the systematic killing and dispossession of Australia's indigenous people that followed, may not always be openly acknowledged in white Australia's formulations of its history, but this hidden history of violence structures the deeper levels of the nation's psychic economy. Paranoid literary works predicting a future invasion are implicitly linked to the obscured reality of Australia's founding. The compulsive retelling of the generic prophesy of Asian invasion implicitly suggests white cultural anxieties stemming from Australia's status as a relatively new settler society itself born of invasion. The readings of Asian invasion narratives conducted in the chapters thus far have focused mostly on the explicit formations of meaning at work in the texts. On a subtextual level, however, Australia's very fixation with Asian invasion generates a cultural significance of its own. In this chapter, the seven recent invasion

novels of John Marsden's *Tomorrow* series, published by Pan Macmillan (1993 – 2000), provide a case study for examining the suppressed strata of meaning that haunt the generic invasion narrative.¹ To this end, Marsden's texts are analysed through a symptomatic reading practice, derived principally from the work of Pierre Macherey, in which faultlines of narrative instability are read as signs of underlying cultural and historic dis-ease. As a recent series, Marsden's novels are particularly interesting to analyse in this regard because they enact historic white settler anxieties within today's multicultural context. This chapter teases out the textual processes by which white Australia narrates its national belonging into being through the displacement of racialised others and suggests that Marsden's *Tomorrow* series – as a generic invasion narrative – illustrates how Australia's repressed history can uncannily return in symptomatic textual formations.

Marsden's 1993 *Tomorrow, When the War Began* and the six other novels in the *Tomorrow* series – *The Dead of the Night* (1994), *The Third Day, the Frost* (1995), *Darkness, Be My Friend* (1996), *Burning for Revenge* (1997), *The Night is for Hunting* (1998) and *The Other Side of Dawn* (2000) – tell the story of the invasion of contemporary Australia by an unnamed Asian country. Aimed at a young adult readership, the series follows the adventures of a group of resourceful rural teenagers – Ellie, Homer, Lee, Fi, Kevin and Corrie – who take on the role of bush guerrillas planning and executing attacks on the enemy invaders. The series opens with the teenagers leaving home the day before the Commemoration Day holiday to camp in a local but almost impenetrable wilderness area called "Hell." Several days later they return from their camping trip to find that Australia has been invaded. With their parents either dead or impounded in prisoner-of-war camps, the teenagers must take total responsibility for their own lives, as every day is a fight for survival in occupied Australia. They return to the relative safety of Hell and industriously create a bush settlement from which they mount heroic and often elaborate attacks on the enemy with "guts," "courage," "brains" and relentless determination. The *Tomorrow* series is part of the tradition of juvenile colonial adventure literature popular in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, which modelled ideals of conquest and heroic masculinity on the colonial frontier for young readers. Marsden presents the ennobling context of war as the frontier of civilisation and as the means to hitherto unknown feats of bravery, patriotism and self-realisation and, as Bradford points out, the teenagers' colonisation of Hell transparently plays out the settler fantasy of first possession of the land (29). Indeed, in his autobiographical text *Marsden on Marsden*, Marsden states that his inspiration for the *Tomorrow* series came from the adventure stories and bush yarns of his 1950s childhood primarily, Mary Grant Bruce's famous *Billabong* books (Marsden's protagonist Ellie Linton is named after and partially based on Norah

Linton the daughter of Billabong station) (74). He adds that his conscious decision to revive the bush adventure novel was combined with a strong awareness of the Japanese threat to Australia during World War Two and the belief that Australia should be far more vigilant in regards to national security (*Marsden on Marsden* 74, 68-71). Marsden thus joins a proven plot structure of juvenile fiction – the adventures of a group of young people fending for themselves in a dangerous world – with the discourses of the invasion narrative to create a series of racialised novels with widespread appeal. The series rehearses the “boy’s own adventure” style conventions of juvenile adventure fiction and is commensurately a prototypical invasion narrative.

Marsden’s reinvigoration of the standard invasion narrative has been a huge success in today’s publishing market. The *Tomorrow* series enjoys spectacular sales and rapturous acclaim, catapulting Marsden to become one of the most acclaimed writers of adolescent fiction worldwide. The texts of the *Tomorrow* series are the most popular young adult novels ever produced in Australia and among the overall bestselling novels in the country. In 2003, ABC Radio National *Australia Talks Books* presenter Sandy McCutcheon heralded the series as

a classic for a generation of Australians that rates at number four on the list of top one hundred books in a survey of some forty thousand Australian children and that is just behind *Lord of the Rings* and ahead of the *Bible*. The series ... has been translated into half a dozen languages and sold a million copies. Well you can start by saying that the author John Marsden, the author of the *Tomorrow* series has done something incredibly right.

Although one presumes the survey mentioned was conducted before the triumph of J.K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter* books, Marsden’s *Tomorrow* series is still extremely popular. The first novel in the series, *Tomorrow, When the War Began*, has been reprinted forty-five times alone since its initial publication in 1993 and is a set text on Australian high school curriculum.² The novels are frequently described in terms that emphasise the compelling nature of the narrative, such as “read-in-one-sitting” and “can’t-put-it down” (Matthews 55). As well as an official website there are also a number of fan-based websites devoted to exploring the world of the texts. Marsden has said of the success of the series, “My God, this really has gone beyond my wildest dreams” (*Marsden on Marsden* 101). Yet while publicly revered and positively reviewed, the series has received very little critical appraisal. The limited amount of available scholarship is primarily concerned with the series as young adult fiction rather than as a narrative of Asian invasion.³ As mentioned above, Bradford makes an insightful, if passing, reference to the reconfiguring of white Australia at work in the *Tomorrow* series (29, 32). David Reeve briefly identifies the first three novels of the series as falling within the tradition of invasion narratives (7). Heather Scutter

discerns the problematic replication of imperial adventure motifs and colonial projects in the first novel of the series (172, 180, 184). Adrian Caesar's brief article "Invasions of the Mind: John Marsden and the Threat From Asia" considers the implications of Marsden's texts as invasion novels and is the only work to focus solely on the series. The lack of sustained critical attention is highly significant, given that the re-enactment of Asian threat performed in Marsden's narrative is reaching such a large readership. The underlying ideologies being disseminated by these popular texts demand further analysis.

Marsden's *Tomorrow* Series: A Generic Invasion Narrative

Although in a league of its own as a phenomenal bestseller, Marsden's series is remarkably generic when considered within the body of invasion novels. The narrative reiterates the familiar themes of the subgenre: the representation of Australia's complacency and innocence to the threat of Asian invasion; the ensuing take-over and colonisation of Australia by a more disciplined and ruthless Asian power; the impotence of Australia's ruling elite; the idealisation of rural life; the formation of a group of bush guerrillas; and the glorification of violence in defence of one's own nation. To return to the generative matrix of the subgenre, Marsden's texts conform to the delineated formula with only some minor alterations based on changing conceptions of gender and, more problematically, race and culture. Marsden is a skilled writer and, in comparison with the early invasion novels, his novels are considerably more nuanced texts. While the Federation-era and mid-twentieth-century invasion novels often read like fleshed out political tracts with stock-in-trade characters who serve simply as enablers for the required narrative events, Marsden's teenage heroes are complex psychological portraits in their own right. Although constructed from stereotypes in part, Marsden's "ethnic" characters are still subject to distinct and detailed characterisation. Nevertheless, despite the relative wholeness of the protagonists, the "cast list" of Marsden's *Tomorrow* series still concurs with that of the early invasion novels with the exception of the imperilled virginal maidens. Women are still depicted as at risk of sexual assault in the context of war, however, sexual threat is no longer assigned the heavy symbolic value of race and nation.

The Australian protagonists may be granted developed characterisation in Marsden's texts, but the invaders are still presented as a totalised mass. The dastardly politicians remain absent mouthpieces of "hopeless twaddle," to use Mackay's words of a century ago (*The Yellow Wave* 251). In the beginning of the series the teenagers learn from a short wave radio broadcast that America will not be coming to Australia's aid. Kevin responds "but don't we have treaties and stuff?... I

thought the politicians were meant to organise all this" (*Tomorrow* 170). Ellie realises that "we should have taken an interest in all these things a long time ago before it was too late" (170). Here Marsden rehearses three well-established tropes of the invasion narrative: his characters articulate the dangers of Australia's naïve complacency concerning regional affairs; the untrustworthiness of politicians (in the following books of the series, it is revealed the politicians "felt the water of the drowning country lapping at their ankles" and relocated to America where they make blustering speeches but take no action); and the protagonists' need to look to their own defences (*The Third Day* 4).

Marsden's *Tomorrow* series also conforms to invasion narrative conventions in its intense realism. The story is narrated from the first person perspective of Ellie, a brave and thoughtful rural teen, who has been nominated by the group to write a record of everything that has happened since the war began. The first person narrative style continually enforces the realism of the text. Ellie's emphasis on the minutiae of everyday details, conversational style and self-conscious reflections on the act of writing draw the reader into her confidence:

Well, I'd better stop biting my tongue and start biting the bullet. There's only one way to do this and that's to tell it in order, chronological order. I know writing it down is important to us. That's why we all got so excited when Robyn suggested it. It's terribly, terribly important. Recording what we've done, in words on paper, it's got to be our way of telling ourselves that we mean something, that we matter. That the things we've done have made a difference. (*Tomorrow* 2)

Ellie's narration repeatedly instructs the reader about the "real life" truth of the story (232). Indeed, Marsden's series is deeply problematic because it reinvigorates and legitimises old discourses of racial anxiety for young readers. Significantly, however, in the midst of this repetitious detailing of Asian designs on the continent of Australia are aporia of meaning that escape the frame of the texts' explicit ideological project of presenting white Australia as the victim of Asian invasion.

A Symptomatic Reading Practice

Pierre Macherey's model of symptomatic textual interpretation yields great insight into what Marsden's novels do not willingly say, through exploration of implicit formations of textual meaning. It focuses not on the dominant meanings of the text, but on the contradictions, omissions and silences engendered within the narrative itself. The object of criticism, Macherey maintains, should be to expose and question these gaps in the narrative in order to gain insight into the concealed ideological conditions of literary production. For Macherey, the text is split between what is

articulated and what cannot be articulated. He proposes that what is revealed through this splitting is the “unconscious” of the text, the generative silence at the centre of the work: “By speech, silence becomes the centre and principal of expression, its vanishing point. Speech eventually has nothing more to tell us: we investigate the silence, for it is the silence that is doing the speaking” (85-86). The value of a Machereyian reading practice is, as Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan suggest, its ability to effect a psychoanalytic “return of the repressed” as the unconscious of the text is critically examined and brought to light (239). The circumstances that were repressed, in order for the conscious ideological project to be fulfilled, are thus made manifest. Within its contradictions, the text critiques its own construction and reveals the limits of ideological representation and the historical conditions of its production (239). Macherey’s model illuminates the cultural and historical unconscious from which novels of Asian invasion are generated. It directs the reader’s attention to the telling silences within the generic invasion narrative. What is never mentioned in these prototypical tracts of white panic at the prospect of Asian invasion – indeed what cannot be mentioned – is that the fear of invasion may be based on the underlying anxiety produced by Australia’s own unacknowledged colonial invasion.

Arguably, it is the *hidden* invasion of colonial settlement that has led to this anxiety in the Australian unconscious. The persistence of the Asian invasion narrative indicates white Australia’s fears for security of tenure on a continent only theirs for some one or two hundred years, by demonstrating the underlying paranoia that a nation founded on invasion could possibly be lost by invasion. As Meaghan Morris argues,

Phobic narratives of Australian national space clearly worry over the possibility of at least one specific form of historical repetition [In this scenario] the coast is a permeable barrier against waves of *over*-population rolling in from the future (often, ‘Asia’). This figure operates most powerfully in a register of paranoid anticipation. However it also carries a pressing mnemonic force (saying that invaders will come by sea, we admit it is we who came by sea) that secures a chain of displacement: something we did to others becomes something that happened to us and could happen all over again; on the beach, we replay our genocidal past as our apocalyptic future. (247)

Morris’ formulation of the coast as a liminal zone of historic repetition applies to the broader anxieties of settler consciousness manifested in the Asian invasion narrative. Replaying the Asian invasion scenario and the continual positing of Asian threat demonstrates a desire to strengthen white Australians’ own sense of national belonging, to bolster their “native” authenticity and claim the land as their own. In Macherey’s terms, this is the generative silence at the centre of these texts, the driving force behind their ongoing production.

The popular reception of Marsden's invasion narrative signifies the historical continuity of Australian invasion anxiety within changing cultural contexts. Australian society has certainly evolved and transformed since the time of Federation. Over the course of a century Australia embraced the White Australia policy and then witnessed its gradual decline and replacement with the policy of multiculturalism. Since its emergence in the 1970s, multiculturalism has been officially portrayed as making a radical break with Australia's racist past. However, as discussed in the introduction, the ideologies of white Australia were not simply extinguished with the change in government policy, but continue to exist, albeit in transformed ways, within contemporary Australia. The language of white anxiety has changed in some respects in accordance with today's postcolonial world, but in other respects it remains unchanged. Discrimination on the basis of race is illegal but the enduring power of racialised discourses has found new expression under the more politically acceptable concept of cultural difference. As Kenan Malik argues, the idea of biological race may have been rejected, but the essence of the racial outlook is nevertheless maintained by substituting culture for biology as the medium of human difference. Hence "culture" acts as a homologue of "race" (143). Or, in Etienne Balibar's words, the "new racism" is a "racism without races" (21). Certainly Marsden's contemporary invasion narrative has made this linguistic adjustment yet old ideas of racialised threat remain firmly in place. Two textual fault-lines run through Marsden's invasion narrative that provide insight into the configurations of suppressed white anxiety in the Australian psyche. Firstly, despite Marsden's efforts towards representing contemporary multicultural Australia, slippages in his narrative reveal the persistence of white prejudice. Secondly, Marsden's emphasis on the victimisation of white Australians and the absence of reference to Aboriginal Australians reveal a disturbing logic of effacement at work in his texts.

The Absent Presence of Race in Marsden's Invasion Narrative

Significantly, Marsden's narrative remains silent on the ethnic identity of the invaders. It seems strange that the characters never seek to identify the invading army and this creates an uneasy absence in the storyline. Corrie is the first member of the group to see the invaders; she tells the others what she saw, claiming even to know "the colour of their buttons," yet curiously makes no speculation about their nationality (*Tomorrow* 100). Marsden himself states: "I've tried to avoid anything xenophobic in the books and one way I've done that is to not ever suggest where the invaders come from because really that's not the issue" (*Australia Talks Books*). Yet oblique hints and deployments of stereotypes allow the reader to locate the enemies'

origin as generically Asian. In the third book of the series Ellie's account of the invasion clearly conforms to the established conventions of Asian threat:

They came swarming across the land, like locusts, like mice, like Patterson's Curse. We should have been used to plagues in our country but this was the most swift, sudden and successful plague ever. They were too cunning, too fierce, too well-organised. The more I've learnt about them, the more I can see that they must have been planning it for years. (4)

Marsden's prose utilises stock-in-trade stereotypes of overcrowded Asia, spilling and swarming down upon underpopulated and innocent Australia. His use of words such as "locusts" and "plagues," and his descriptions of the invaders as "cunning," "fierce" and "well organised," are drawn directly from the overtly racist vocabulary of Federation-era invasion texts. Other information concerning the enemies' identity must be pieced together from details gleaned here and there throughout the texts. Individual members of the enemy are consistently described throughout the series as having "dark" features: they possess "a dark sweaty face," or "a flat face and sparse black hair" or are "little with oiled black hair" (*The Dead of the Night* 145; *The Third Day* 242, 218). We learn that the soldiers speak a language unfamiliar to the Australian teens, a "guttural language" of "wailing music" (*The Dead of the Night* 44). The enemies' command of English seems limited to such phrases as "you bad boy" and "bad girl, bad girl" (66, 68). Homer's statement that the invaders are probably not "heavily into Christmas" implies that they are from a non-Christian country (*Tomorrow* 97). This, combined with the reference to the "wailing music" in their voices - which evokes the Muslim call to prayer - suggests Islamic origins. The announcement made by the general of the invading army, stating that the invasion is aimed at "reducing imbalances within the region," implies that the invaders are from neighbouring South-East Asia (168). Indonesia, of course, comes instantly to mind. Marsden's covert location of Indonesia as the source of threat parallels late-twentieth-century fears of the military designs of a populous, culturally alien northern neighbour.

Historic concerns with Australia's vulnerable empty spaces are voiced by the teenagers in response to the General's announcement: "We've got all this land and all these resources, and yet there's countries a crow's spit away that have people packed in like battery hens. You can't blame them for resenting it" (*Tomorrow* 170-71). The euphemistic phrase "reducing imbalances with in the region" is quickly revealed to mean a highly orchestrated "colonisation" of Australia by "millions" of settlers from the invading country. Australians, Marsden writes, will then be used as "slave labour" under the new regime (38). The beginnings of colonisation are realised in the second book of the series when Ellie and her friends see their first occupied house.

With surprise, Ellie notes that there are at least eight adults in the house: "I'd been assuming that they'd put one family on each farm, but perhaps they thought we were extravagant, having so much land between so few people" (200). Marsden's metaphorisations of the invaders evoke impressions of en masse, teeming populations; analogies likening the invaders to swarms of insects are scattered liberally throughout the texts. In the fourth book, Ellie and company are seen too close to an occupied house whereupon "adults came teeming from the place like ants from a nest you've dragged your foot across" (94). In the fifth book, during their attack on an airfield, Ellie states: "We were in a wasps' nest that covered one hundred and fifty hectares and we didn't have so much as a can of Mortein between us" (54). The White Australia policy may officially have ended, and in Marsden's narrative the enemy may not be named, but the discursive construct of Asia as ruinous scourge and the generator of "waves of over-population" capable of swarming down upon Australia continues undeterred.

Just as Marsden's calculated omission of the invader's ethnicity remains suggestive of racial overtones, the multicultural composition of his group of bush heroes remains problematic. Although Marsden's narrative attempts to acknowledge the cultural diversity of contemporary Australia, his ethnic characters are nevertheless constructed according to familiar images of multicultural difference. Marsden's ethnic characters – Homer (a head-strong sexist Greek character) and Lee (a quiet, violin-playing son of Thai and Vietnamese restaurant owners) – are both reassuringly assimilated to white Australian culture, but commensurately maintain some stereotypical ethnic attributes. Homer maintains some "woggy" qualities to do with references to "hair oil" and "tabouli" and invokes his "Greek side" to demonstrate his understanding of war (*Tomorrow* 8, 40). But, as Caesar points out, it is the Asian character Lee who is defined by more disturbing stereotypes (47). Lee overtly conforms to Orientalist stereotypes of inscrutability, sexual exoticism and capacity for violence. Lee's face is impassive and "implacable," even when he is in the midst of strangling an enemy soldier (*The Third Day* 46). Ellie finds Lee intriguing and sexually enticing but is simultaneously repelled by him, horrified by his willingness to kill in cold blood, a trait not shared by the other non-Asian teenagers. Together with the strategic withholding of the invaders' ethnicity, these narrative features reveal the pervasive racial ambivalence of Marsden's texts. Marsden's reiteration of an old narrative of white prejudice in multicultural guise can be read as symptomatic of Australian race relations, as it points to the persistence of white paranoia within Australia's supposedly non-discriminatory and culturally diverse society. Marsden's narrative signals the psychic investment still made in the construct of a white Australia as constituting the central core of the national identity

and highlights the ongoing anxiety concerning the maintenance of this white identity within an officially multicultural nation-state.

Indigenising White Australians

Faced with the invasion and colonisation of their beloved country, the group of teenagers set themselves up as a band of guerrilla fighters, based in their bush settlement and living off the land as much as possible. After much rousing discussion centring on the notions of "courage" and "guts" they decide that militant action must be taken against the invaders. In a statement strikingly reminiscent of fears of the "yellow peril," Ellie writes: "We had to fight now: these people were a cancer who crept into our stomachs and infected us all" (*Dead of the Night* 50). The rural knowledge gained through everyday practices of country life proves indispensable to the teens-turned-bush-guerrillas. They understand the land, know how to use guns, drive heavy vehicles and slaughter animals for food. But, above all, they possess a practical ingenuity vital for guerrilla warfare. Drawing on their rural knowledge, they mount attacks on the enemy that increase in force and magnitude throughout the series and make a considerable impact on the overall war effort.⁴ The thrilling momentum of the narrative, the exhilarating planning, execution and aftermath (generally including a heart-stopping chase) of attacks on the enemy, endorse a brutally violent kind of nationalism. Indeed, Ellie and her band embody the nationalistic bushman ideal valorised in the early invasion texts. They combine bravery and a will to act reminiscent of Kirmess' "close to nature" bushmen (the "White Guard") of 1908. Ellie's sense of nation and national belonging is mediated through her deep attachment to the rural landscape. She feels herself a native of the land and will defend it to the end:

I knew that they could never and would never follow us through the bush. This was our natural environment. I felt as much at home here as the possums and wombats and galahs. Let no stranger intrude here, no invader trespass. This was ours, and this we would defend.
(*The Dead of the Night* 63)

Thus Ellie, a white settler Australian, aligns herself with indigenous Australian plants and animals, effectively naturalising her own native status. The Asian invaders are then cast as unnatural trespassers, aliens in the bush landscape. She later writes: "I was more at home in this environment than they'd ever be" (*The Third Day* 145). Indeed, by the fourth novel not only is Ellie's body fused with the land, but she has begun to mimic Aboriginal totemic identification: "this was where I belonged, this was my dreaming. I'd become a gum tree, a rock, a parrot myself" (40). Yet Marsden quarantines Ellie's understanding of the landscape and national belonging from the status of Aboriginal peoples and how they may have felt and

continue to feel about the British invasion of Australia. References to Aboriginal people and to the invasion of 1788 in Marsden's writing are extremely scarce. At one point, Ellie becomes enraged with the invaders, at the way they had taken over the country and denied her the right to grow up with her parents (*Darkness* 243). But Marsden fails to make the obvious parallel to Aboriginal experiences of colonisation. For a contemporary series of books about the invasion of Australia, marked by a great deal of philosophical questioning, the lack of consideration accorded to the Aboriginal experience of invasion makes for another telling silence in the narrative.

Ellie's deep attachment to the land and her assumption of native status raise important issues concerning the logic of effacement enacted in the process of indigenising white Australians. In Marsden's texts it is no longer Aboriginal Australians who belong, who see the land as their dreaming, but rather Ellie the white Australian who is positioned as native. In doing so, Marsden effectively supplants Aboriginal Australians with a new white indigeneity that fully encompasses spiritual rights to the land. This assumption of Aboriginal spirituality does not grant Aboriginal culture significance on its own terms. Instead, it brazenly appropriates it to bolster white claims to authenticity. Ken Gelder declares of the similar sentiments expressed in Peter Read's *Belonging* that "This is postcolonialism-as-fulfilment, but only for white Australians. This is reconciliation, but only on 'non-Aboriginal' Australia's terms: to make this class of people even more settled than they were before." Furthermore, Ellie's fierce and increasingly prosaic love of the rural landscape is undoubtedly fuelled by the enemy occupation. Gelder also detects in Read's text an interesting mirroring effect where feelings of a "deep relationship with land" are often born out of the experience of dispossession. Gelder concludes that what is "shared," then, with Aboriginal people, "is not just that 'deep relationship' but the very experience of dispossession that *enables* that relationship" ("Imaginary Eco-(Pre-)Historian"). Alan Lawson similarly argues that in seeking to secure a sense of native authenticity the settler subject "mimics, appropriates and desires (while seeking to efface) the authority of the indigene" ("Anxious Proximities" 1216). This process of indigenous mimicking assumes quite a sinister aspect when considered in the context of the circular logic of invasion narratives. As Homi Bhabha argues, "mimicry is at once resemblance and menace" (86). Although Bhabha is referring to the power of the colonised to disrupt colonial discourse through mimicry of the colonisers, the same action can be applied here in reverse. White mimicry of indigeneity can work almost metonymically, as a process of both appropriation and disavowal (Bhabha 86). In these novels the indigenisation of rural white Australians, born of the Australian bush, effectively effaces Aboriginal peoples' indigenous status and at the same time usurps their status as victims

dispossessed of their land. Born of the anxiety stemming from Australia's unacknowledged colonial invasion, these texts thus enact a circular progression where whites become the victims, Asians become the invaders and Aborigines are written out of the equation. Within the generic invasion narrative of Marsden's novels the process of white indigenisation is then effectively complete.

In the second novel of the series Marsden invokes the worthy mythology of Anzac to underscore how his teenage heroes have been ennobled through their war against the Asian invaders. The evocation of this foundational myth of Australian national identity further buttresses the processes of white indigenisation at work in the texts. The teenagers fix on the town war memorial commemorating the four wars Australians have fought overseas. Ignored before the invasion, the war memorial is now a source of profound truths. Its poetic inscription reads "War is our scourge; yet war has made us wise, / And, fighting for our freedom, we are free" (217). Ellie ponders the lines and realises that they speak directly to their own wartime experience. In an inspired speech she addresses each character at length, identifying individual acts of bravery and describing how they have matured and gained "the wisdom that it talks about on the war memorial" (218). This process of articulating the progressive self-realisation of the characters through their courage in the face of adversity is then repeated in each of the five following novels and draws heavily on the values distilled in the Anzac legend. The mythology of Anzac and its codification of the Gallipoli landings as the moment of national awakening – as the moment when Australia's sacrifice on the battlefield allowed it to reach a level of maturity equal to old world nations – is thus replayed in the Australian teenagers' ennobling battle against the Asian invaders.

But Marsden's enthusiastic rehearsal of the Anzac legend and representation of the town war memorial as a repository of wisdom serves to further illuminate the elision of Aborigines from his narrative. By choosing to invoke Australia's wars overseas rather than the colonial frontier conflict that occurred between Aborigines and encroaching white settlers, Marsden fails to address an obvious parallel to his story of Asian invasion. Marsden is, of course, participating in much broader and officially sanctioned discourses of national identity that continually commemorate and memorialise the sacrifice of the Anzacs and participants in later wars, while remaining silent or denying the existence of Australia's own colonial frontier wars.⁵ Marsden's silence is, however, rendered acutely significant by the fact that he is telling a story about an invasion, explicitly a colonisation of Australia. Furthermore he was writing in the 1990s, a time when revisionist histories of Australia's founding and settlement were hotly debated in the public sphere. At one point in the series, a

passing reference to the repetition of colonisation and settlement is made, but the emphasis is clearly on white experience:

'You know what it must seem like to them?' Homer said. 'It must feel like the old days, when the whites first arrived, and all they could see was this huge country with no one in it who they cared about. So, after living in pokey little towns or on ten hectare farms in England, they could suddenly spread out and help themselves to hundreds of square k's each. You remember that unit we did in history: selectors and squatters? Well, a couple of centuries later, here's history repeating itself.' (*The Third Day* 17)

Homer's affectionate referral to "the old days" (a phrase which suggests the common idiom "the good old days") and to his unit on "selectors and squatters" overwhelms the diminutive reference to the "no one" who was "cared about." The identity of this "no one" or their experience of invasion is rarely mentioned, except for inconsequential asides such as Ellie's wish when injured that she had "some Aboriginal friends" who could fix her up with a "bush remedy" or a "packet of Panadol" (150). These trivial statements do not gesture in the slightest to the violence of the British invasion, a gesture that would be fruitful and appropriate to the subject matter of the series.⁶

Homer's comment does, however, open a window to the possibility of considering the implications of "history repeating itself," of the implicit doubling and displacement of the British invasion of Australia in fictionalised accounts of Asian invasion. The unacknowledged colonial invasion thus uncannily returns in this symptomatic literary production centring on invasion paranoia, as white Australia's censored history seeks to re-enter the national consciousness metonymically. Asian invasion narratives can thus be read as the product of a process of displacement in which white Australia projects its own (disavowed) illegitimacy onto demonised others. As Julia Kristeva extrapolates from Freud's theory of the uncanny, the unconscious self "projects out of itself what it experiences as dangerous or unpleasant in itself, making it an alien double, uncanny and demonical" (183). This uncanny strangeness, Kristeva notes, is manifested in what Freud has called "the compulsion to repeat" (184). The compulsive repetition, the ongoing production of novels of Asian invasion all telling the same horrifying story of bloody conquest, is symptomatic of the deep-seated trauma in the Australian unconscious over the repressed violence of its origins.⁷

The fear of "history repeating itself" expressed in Marsden's, and indeed all generic Asian invasion novels, signals a powerful subconscious fixation with an unresolved national past. As Michel de Certeau argues, if a decisive moment of the past is repressed, it returns to the present from which it was excluded, but it does so

in a surreptitious and uncanny manner. It resurfaces, disturbs and inscribes "the law of the other":

There is an 'uncanniness' about this past that a present occupant has expelled (or thinks it has) in an effort to take its place. The dead haunt the living. The past it 're-bites' [il re-mord] (it is a secret and repeated biting). History is 'cannibalistic,' and memory becomes the closed arena of conflict between two contradictory operations: forgetting, which is not something passive, a loss, but an action directed against the past; and the mnemonic trace, the return of what was forgotten, in other words an action by a past that is now forced to disguise itself. (3-4) ⁸

De Certeau's delineation of the contradictory operations of an active forgetting, and the uncanny return of the disguised past to haunt the present, are pivotal to white Australian narratives of Asian invasion. White Australia's forgetful silence on the colonial invasion is "not something passive, a loss" but is indeed "an action directed against the past" that signals the complex operation of cultural memory and its reciprocal parts of remembering and forgetting. As Foucault asserts, silence is not outside of discourse but a strategic part of discourse itself. Silence is "less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies. There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say" (27). Legitimised utterances of white Australian history are thus implicitly tied to what has been deemed unspeakable. The silence shrouding the realities of the nation's origins is part of a deliberate and active discourse of cultural memory. In this vein, Christine Bold, Ric Knowles and Belinda Leach argue that active forgetting "can be understood as hegemonic cultural memory, the experimental 'script' that is learned, embodied, and passed on as the cultural record of normal" (127).⁹ Marsden's texts adhere closely to the cultural script that enacts a discourse of silence on the reality of the white invasion and the violent practices employed against Australia's Aboriginal peoples. But the repeating and reworking of this cultural script – so distinctly evident in formulaic novels of Asian invasion – create a supplementary residue: the repressed reality that cannot be written out of existence which then returns to haunt its suppressors. As de Certeau continues, "any autonomous order is founded upon what it eliminates; it produces a 'residue' condemned to be forgotten. But what was excluded reinfilters the place of origin – it turns the present's feeling of being 'at home' into an illusion" (4). Marden's *Tomorrow* series effectively effaces the colonial invasion, but it is fixated, like all generic invasion narratives, on the recurrence of the invasion event, on the unsettling – the literal unhousing – of white Australia in distinctly "unhomely" narrative trajectories.

Marsden dedicates the final book of the *Tomorrow Series* to “the people of Tibet, East Timor and West Papua.” The ambivalence of this gesture is symptomatic of Marsden’s treatment of race throughout the series. Certainly it is laudable to acknowledge these three nations: the first invaded by China, the second and third by Indonesia (both traditional Australian enemies in narratives of Asian invasion). But acknowledgement of the British invasion of Australia remains noticeably absent. Just as in the invasion novels of the Federation era, the reality of the colonial invasion of Australia lies concealed beneath repetitious reams of writing detailing the danger posed to the white race, and discourses of white victimhood and white suffering at the hands of possible Asian invaders. In Macherian terms, two fault-lines in Marsden’s narrative split the surface of this “whitewash” of Australian history. The first is the awkward omission of the invaders’ identity in an effort to present a non-racist text attuned to Australia’s multicultural present. The second fault-line is the lack of consideration accorded to the Aboriginal experience of colonial invasion (despite the possibility of doing so being provided by progressive changes in Australian culture). The first narratorial omission reveals the persistence of white anxieties and prejudices within state-sanctioned multiculturalism, despite the progression to “non-discriminatory” terms of reference. Marsden may evade charges of overt racism by never specifying the Asian threat, but it is a very thin veneer of cultural egalitarianism that coats his narrative. Beneath it, the barrage of racial stereotypes that describe the invaders – the old “plagues,” “floods” and “swarms” – are hardly concealed. The second narratorial omission is made all the more acute by Ellie’s appropriation of Aboriginal cultural conceptions of belonging to country. In this performance of white indigenisation, Marsden plays out the nativist sentiments begun in the early invasion novels. Ellie is situated in direct lineage from the men born of country, the bushmen so valorised in those germinal nationalist texts. In fact, it is remarkable how similar Ellie and her teenage band are to their literary predecessors, in their courage, ingenuity and empowered bush ethos. The degree of detailed repetition that occurs in these texts, written some hundred years apart, is striking.

The Asian invasion narrative is remarkably resilient, and shows no signs of abating as Marsden continues his story of invaded Australia in an additional trilogy of novels entitled the *Ellie Chronicles*. The texts *While I Live* (2003), *Incurable* (2005) and *Circle of Flight* (2006) follow on from the conclusion of the *Tomorrow* series and are set in post-war Australia. In the aftermath of the war the continent has been divided with the invaders occupying the northern portion and the Australian population resettled in unsatisfactory, high-density conditions in the south. Marsden’s fictional country town of Wirrawee (the exact location of which is never

specified) is in near proximity to the boundary between the two states and Ellie's outlying family property (significantly reduced in size after the compulsory redistribution of land in the resettlement process) is situated immediately adjacent to the borderline. The trilogy opens with the murder of Ellie's parents by transgressive invaders (again leaving Ellie to operate in a parentless world) and much of the narrative is devoted to her efforts to keep the family farm going, and to raise (and keep) Gavin, a troubled war orphan in her care. The focus of action in the novels centres on border crossings by terrorist invaders and the reciprocal crossings of Ellie and the now highly organised band of teenage fighters, the newly named and much expanded "Liberation" movement. The textual emphasis on the need to liberate a suffering white Australia, to set it free from Asian occupation and violence, further consolidates the discourses of white victimhood featured in the *Tomorrow* series. The attention accorded by *The Ellie Chronicles* to the encroaching border between Australia and Asia, the shifting frontier or limit edge between self and other and the horror of the porosity of lines of racial and cultural demarcation, have parallels to the increasingly charged border anxiety of twenty-first-century Australia. In this vein, the final chapter of this thesis concentrates on the most recent textual incarnations of the Asian invasion narrative that draw their fearful currency from the politicised discourses of border control, the criminalisation of refugees and the threat of Islamic terrorism to today's Australia.

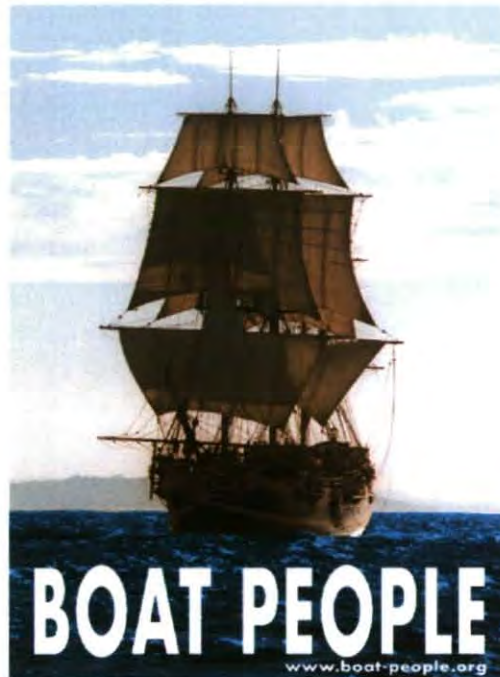


Fig. 14. Tall ship/ boat people image from the "We Are All Boat People" campaign against Australia's current refugee policies: <<http://www.boat-people.org>>.

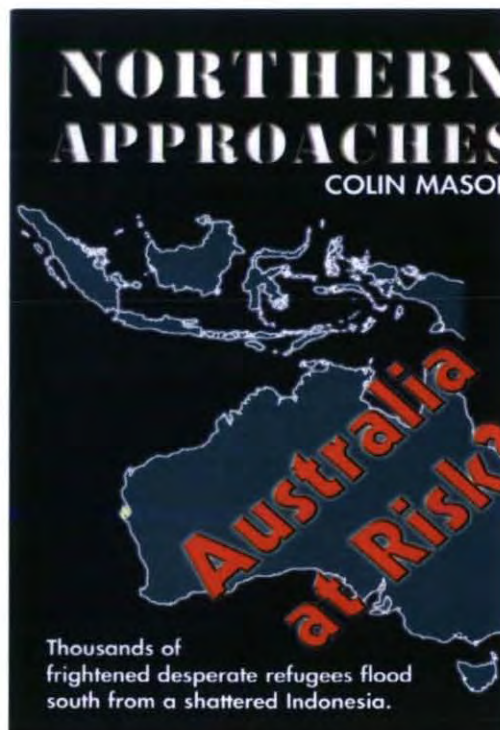


Fig. 15. Cover of *Northern Approaches* by Colin Mason, 2001.

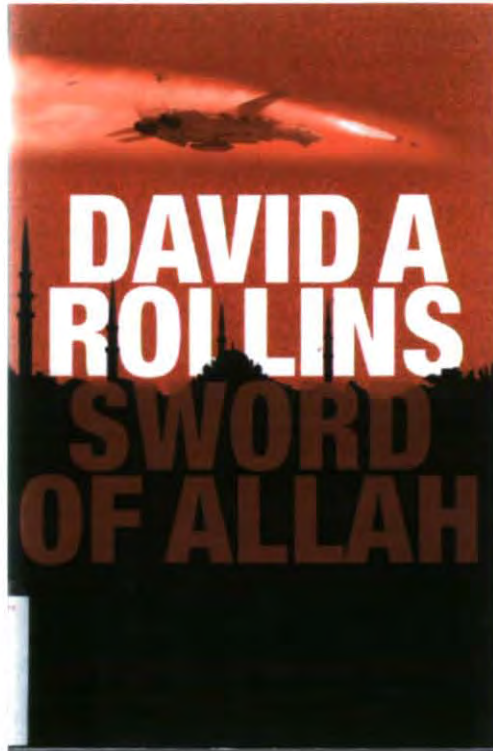


Fig. 16. Cover of *Sword of Allah* by David Rollins, 2004.

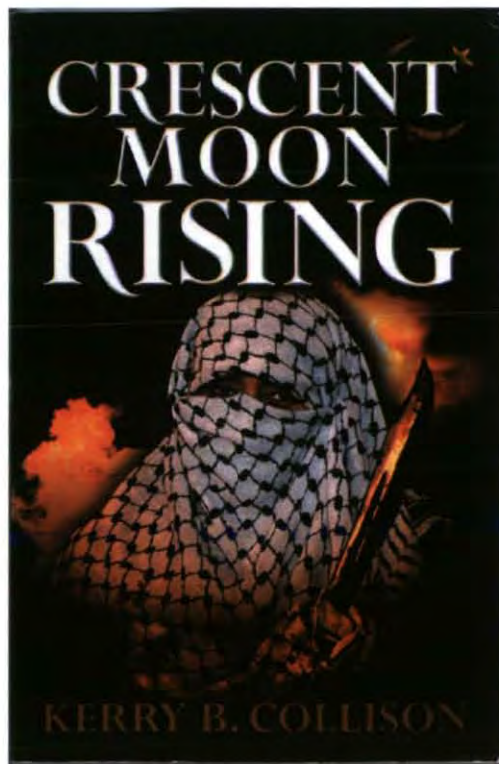


Fig. 17. Cover of *Crescent Moon Rising* by Kerry B. Collison, 2005.

6

Borders

"To worry or to smile, such is the choice when we are assailed by the strange;
our decision depends on how familiar we are with our own ghosts."
- Julia Kristeva

At the time of writing, the most watched television program in Australia is Channel Seven's *Border Security: Australia's Frontline*. The program averages close to two million viewers each week and outranks news, current affairs and big budget American dramas (Meade). *Border Security* documents the daily work of immigration, customs and quarantine officials as they police Australia's borders: repelling illegal immigrants, suspected terrorists, drug traffickers, biological hazards and other nominated threats from entering the nation-space. The content of episodes is, however, often mundane, involving the questioning of incoming individuals – mostly Asian and often with limited English – over routine suspected breaches of Australian laws.¹ It is in some ways perplexing that this relatively low-budget reality television program set mostly in airports should be such a ratings hit. Yet, perhaps, this popular interest is less surprising given that the heightened climate of fear surrounding Australian border security since the combined events of 2001 – the so-called refugee crisis and the 11 September Islamic terrorist attacks on the United States – ushered in a supposed "new" era of monstrous threat. Thus, since 2001, the centenary year of Australian Federation and its inaugural *Immigration Restriction Act*, Australia's northern border has been reconfigured as the front-line against incursions of new threats; as the potential mass arrival of racially marked refugees is conflated in governmental discourse with the violence of Islamic terrorism (Perera, par. 41). These current anxieties are, however, not simply a new page of history but a continuation of long-existing discourses of transgressive racialised threat in

contemporary formations. In the white Australian imagination Australia's northern coastline has acted not only as a geopolitical boundary but as an ideologically charged line of racial/cultural demarcation that divides Australia from Asia. In the twenty-first century, this borderline both remains and commensurately is newly re-imagined as Australia's besieged frontier against criminalised masses of non-white bodies pressing downwards from Asia. Indeed, the Howard government's increased spending on militarised border fortification and introduction of new security legislation in the wake of the events of 2001 are creating what can be termed a "fortress Australia" determined to shore up national borders in what, paradoxically, is supposed to be an increasingly borderless world.² Arguably, the fear of refugees spilling down from Indonesia and the construction of "fortress Australia" – paired with the new location of Islamic terrorism as threat – form the pre-eminent Asian invasion narrative of our present time.

The most recent novels of Asian invasion under examination in this thesis – Colin Mason's *Northern Approaches: Australia at Risk?* (2001), David Rollins' *Rogue Element* (2003) and *Sword of Allah* (2004) and Kerry B. Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* (2005) – distinguish themselves from earlier invasion texts by representing a geopolitical climate in which Indonesian Islamic terrorism and the mass arrival of refugees are identified as the primary threats to Australian security. They are also significant for their increasing utilisation of the conventions of the thriller genre: fast-paced narratives split into multiple strands, a focus on unravelling the mystery of an Asian conspiracy, a high level of suspense, espionage and the representation of explicit violence. Thus, the historic conventions of romantic adventure central to earlier invasion novels are now being reworked through the urgent, paranoid modes of the thriller. The incorporation of thriller techniques by these most recent novels and the realignments in locations of threat signify an important transformation in the trajectory of the subgenre as it enters the twenty-first century. Accordingly, this final chapter maps the most recent reconfiguration of the invasion subgenre as it engages with evolving literary forms and shifting historical registers of geopolitics.

Northern Approaches: Indonesian Islamic Terror and Floods of Refugees

Colin Mason's 2001 novel *Northern Approaches: Australia at Risk?* recasts the generic invasion discourse of multitudes of Asians "swamping" Australia's "vulnerable north" in the context of a fictionalised, fundamentalist Islamic Indonesia triggering a mass exodus of refugees to Australia. The text draws on contemporary Australian anxieties about cultural difference, immigration and control of the nation-space by engaging with the politicised discourse of border control and interrogating the

representation of refugees as a threat to Australian security. The text positions fundamentalist Islam and the threat of terrorism as the new enemies of Australia, by portraying Islamic Indonesian terrorists in terms of ultimate alterity. It is a political thriller with a complicated and fast-moving plot, split between multiple settings in Australia, Indonesia and occasionally Washington D.C. Numerous characters are introduced and the narrative is written from their individual perspectives, but the main protagonist is Australian Democrats senator Alan Roberts. Mason himself was an Australian Democrats senator for the years 1978 to 1987 and has a long career specialising in South-East Asian affairs. He was a foreign correspondent in South-East Asia, beginning in 1956 as the first ABC journalist in the region. He also acted as an advisor with the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and has written a number of non-fiction books on Asian history and affairs such as *Asia Emerges* (1968), *Man in Asia* (1968), *Understanding Indonesia* (1970) and *A Short History of Asia* (2000). As a former politician and journalist, Mason's decision to write an invasion narrative parallels the political impetus of the early authors of invasion novels. *Northern Approaches* is clearly pedagogical, it is full of didactic speeches designed to awaken the reader to the close proximity of Indonesia to Australia and the dangers posed by instability in the region.

The novel's hero Roberts has been concerned about the unstable situation in Indonesia and its implications for Australian security for years but, true to the form of the generic invasion narrative, no one has been listening to his warnings. Then, inexplicably, the prime minister has a highly publicised about-turn and supports Roberts' concern with Indonesian threat. Something is happening in Indonesia, but no one (including the reader) knows what, and the unravelling of the mystery provides the principal motor of the narrative. Gradually, it is revealed that fundamentalist Islamic elements within Indonesia – the "Akbar Jihad" – in league with Arab nations of the Middle East and Osama Bin Laden plan to seize control of Indonesia and turn it into the world's new Islamic power-base, with plans to invade the empty regions of northern Australia. Brutal and graphically described terror campaigns are carried out by the Akbar Jihad against Indonesia's Christian minorities, causing them to flee in their thousands towards Australia.

Northern Approaches can productively be read through the discourses of threat consolidated by the 11 September 2001 Islamic terrorist attacks on the United States and Australia's "refugee crisis" resulting from the increase in "unauthorised" boat arrivals from 1999 and culminating in the *Tampa* incident of August 2001. The novel was published by the small Australian company Halbooks in late 2001 and specifically refers to the destruction of the World Trade Centre and to Osama Bin Laden (195-96). Hence, although the year of *Northern Approaches'* publication is 2001,

it is a post "September 11" text, or at least a prescient contemporaneous text, perhaps amended prior to going to press to incorporate the terrorist attacks. By virtue of temporal proximity and enduring historic anxieties over northern incursions, Australia's refusal to allow the MV *Tampa* to disembark Muslim asylum seekers on Christmas Island became discursively intertwined with the terrorist attacks on the United States in mainstream media and political rhetoric. As Katrina Lee Koo notes, the asylum seekers were represented, not within the context of human rights or international law, but through discourses of national security: "Suddenly asylum seekers undermined Australia's sovereignty, violated its borders and needed to be deterred" (5). The popular unease over the "unauthorised" arrival of refugees on Australia's northern coastline again suggests an uncanny irony riven deep in the white Australian psyche. As this chapter's epigraph suggests, white Australians would do well to remember their own origins of arrival to this continent when determining how to respond to the "boat people." Apparently suffering from state-sanctioned amnesia, however, the majority of the Australian populace supported Prime Minister Howard's hardline stance on asylum seekers. Furthermore, once reimagined within this discourse of threat and security, the federal government was able to place asylum seekers within the rubric of the United States government's "War on Terror" (Koo 5).³ In late September 2001, the Howard government pushed through a raft of border protection legislation: to excise offshore territories, to intensify surveillance and to intercept boats in Australia's northern waters and, in the eerily titled "Pacific Solution" (recalling Nazi Germany's "final solution" to the Jewish "problem"), to deflect the *Tampa* asylum seekers to detention in other nations, primarily to the bankrupt island of Nauru, by way of financial inducements.

The intense response to the *Tampa* also draws on specifically contemporary issues to do with globalisation and its effect on the position of the nation state. In the lead-up to the 2001 federal election, the incumbent Howard government made much of Australia's right as a sovereign nation to determine who would be allowed to cross its borders, a position in direct tension with the ever increasing forces of globalisation affecting the world; along with the movement of information, capital and goods in an increasingly "borderless" world comes the movement of people. Yet, paradoxically, Australia solidified its border in order to protect its privileged populace inside the national boundary from those others outside: as Robert Davidson puts it, by constructing national frontiers as "traversable spaces for some, impenetrable membranes for others" (16).

The construction of "fortress Australia," with its implication of control over immigration, is facilitated by the fact that the Australian nation is mostly coterminous with the island continent. This perception of Australia as a discrete,

isolated continental entity downplays its connection to the Pacific/South-East Asian region. As Ien Ang argues, "The absence of internal cultural/political fracture within the territory as a result of its entire appropriation by the British, and the imaginary closure provided by the sense of continental wholeness and insularity, together with its distance from Europe" have led to the naturalised conception that Australia is an island continent (56). This myth of Australia as a separate island nation, however, fails to acknowledge the islands that link the Australian landmass to Indonesia. Australia's own strategic shifting of its frontiers, however, signals the flexibility and lack of totality of its borders and emphasises the presence of the island bridge. As Ruth Balint points out, changes to Australia's maritime borders since the 1974 memorandum of understanding between Australia and Indonesia over sea bed resources have seen Australia's boundary expand to touch on "the doorsteps of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea" (30). The excision of islands in 2001 then contracted the frontier, so as to avoid legal responsibilities for asylum seekers incurred by Australia's status as a signatory to the 1954 United Nations' *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees*. Thus, in Davidson's words, "the state seemingly perforates itself by selectively leaving areas of its space exposed to international jurisdiction" (6). By expanding and contracting its frontiers, Australia problematises its status as a discrete island nation because these actions signal the fluidity of its border zone.

The cover of Mason's *Northern Approaches* depicts an image of Australia, not cut off and floating in empty space, as is often the case with representations of Australia, but with the islands of Indonesia also pictured. The islands are, of course, the eponymous "northern approaches." In the opening pages of the text, an enlarged, detailed version of the same map appears, with a legend numbering and naming Australian and Indonesian islands and population centres. The map is then repeated at the beginning of each of the novel's twenty-one chapters. The text is trying (very hard) to illustrate the proximity of Indonesia to Australia in order to underscore the seriousness of the threat posed to "our empty north." At the same time, however, it wants to highlight the lack of any clear demarcation line between where Australia ends and Indonesia begins. In this way, the mass repetition of the image of the island bridge between Australia and Indonesia serves to undermine the boundedness of the island continent. The fact that the novel both endorses the discourse of Indonesia as threat to the nation of Australia and illustrates the two countries' blurred engagement in the same geographic space can be taken as paradigmatic of the text: it both incorporates and departs from the generic Asian invasion formula. The text enacts a double discursive manoeuvre. The communication of the threat posed to Australia's empty north by debased Islamic

others is paramount to the text's didactic purpose, but the solution proposed – the creation of a utopian Asian-Australian north to settle and protect the area – takes the narrative into new territory. The mass arrival of Christian Indonesian refugees is framed – in the end – not as an invasion, but as a much-needed population injection into the Australian nation.

The Vulnerability of Australia's Northern Border

Much of *Northern Approaches* adheres closely to the conventions of the generic invasion narrative. The opening page presents the familiar authorial preface which, after a disclaimer that it then contradicts, directs the reader to receive the narrative as the logical outcome of current events:

This novel is not intended to forecast the future of Australia and Indonesia. Nevertheless, the plot is built around some dangerous tendencies in both countries which are not fiction, and which, if not recognised and addressed, might well lead to outcomes not unlike those described. (i)

As indicated by the presence of this paratextual declaration, *Northern Approaches* shares the heavily didactic, instructive tone common to the majority of novels of Asian invasion. It is a text aimed at educating the reader about the "realities" of the Australian-Indonesian relationship and has a clear political purpose. Long explanations of Indonesian history and geopolitics are worked into the narrative through spontaneous – though often disjunctive – speeches made by the characters. Frequently, the characters seem to be acting simply as vehicles for great tracts of historical detail. These didactic monologues restate the familiar tropes of white settler anxiety that are little changed from invasion texts written a century ago. The empty north remains a paramount concern. A meeting of specialists in Indonesian affairs in Darwin provides the opportunity to make an argument for the vulnerability of the north and necessity of development: "Your obvious top – and bottom – line is that the north's all so empty. You can fly east and west from here as far from London to Moscow and hardly see a sign of human activity. Empty places tend to get filled up, especially now the world's getting more crowded" (25). The comparison of Australia's vast emptiness with densely populated Europe and the suggestion that someone else may utilise the land is positioned as a pressing contemporary concern – "especially now" – as is the case at each particular historical juncture in which these generic fears have been repeatedly expressed. In Mason's text, these generic fears maintain their urgency in a new – but no less endangered – historical context.

In line with convention, the Australian population are charged with complacency as Roberts ruefully notes that Australians in the south of the country do not want to think about the empty north (27). The text reiterates generic concerns with Australia's high levels of urbanisation and argues for a transfer of population from the coastal cities to Australia's empty zones, as one member of the gathering of specialists articulates: "But we don't say what sticks out a mile, that people in this country should get off their arses out of the cities and *do* something with the place" (38). Roberts later elaborates on these sentiments in a prolonged reflection on what he sees as the undervaluation of the Australian bush: "All crazy, he reflected. Craziest of all the huddling of people who claimed to own this wide and beautiful country into the cities, rejecting this wealth for stale food, polluted air, suspect water, living in tiny urban hutches. Those chickens had to come home to roost eventually" (75). The message here, as in many invasion novels, is that by crowding into the metropolitan centres of the south-eastern coastal strip Australians are not demonstrating justifiable ownership of the country and are thus inviting disaster by making themselves vulnerable to invasion or, as a visiting American tells Roberts, "You can't eat the hay, but you're not going to let the cattle in. It's a tricky position to justify" (26). One complication, however, to the settlement of the north is that the climate is represented as too hot for white Australians. "Most of the people in Darwin," the text contends, "don't like it much, it's too hot, the real Australia is down south" (20). The emptiness of the north and its unpalatable climate is presented as a pressing and, until the novel's conclusion, unresolved issue in light of the increasingly volatile state of neighbouring Indonesia.

The Border Between Self and Other: The Threat of an Islamic Indonesia

In contrast to the self-contained, stable characterisation of Australia, Indonesia is represented throughout the text as an anarchic mass teetering on the brink of chaos. The narrative is grounded in the sectarian violence and terror occurring in Indonesia's separatist provinces since the fall of the authoritarian Suharto regime in 1998.⁴ These depictions, however, are realised through problematic stereotypes that create simplified oppositions between Australia and Indonesia and between Christianity and Islam. The narrative describes Indonesia as a "hell's brew" with a strong possibility of "just flying apart" and impacting on Australia (20, 24). The reader is directed to "stop thinking about Indonesia as a nation, think about it as a big seething melting pot"; it is "in trouble" because there is "not enough money" and "not enough food" (54). Most frightening of all is Indonesia's move towards fundamentalist Islam and the rising power of the Akbar Jihad terrorist organization.

The Akbar Jihad or "The Great Holy War" is described as a well-organised and suspiciously well-funded "militant extremist Islamic army" that is "designed specifically to terrorise and kill non-Moslems" (55). The goal of the Akbar Jihad is to establish an Islamic state with "sharia law, cutting off a hand for theft, stoning adulterous women to death, the lot" (158). From the outset of the novel, intermittent passages detail the terror campaigns of the Akbar Jihad in the islands of eastern Indonesia. As one Christian Indonesian villager describes it, "'I saw it all.... They had guns and the big knives – *parangs*. They dragged everyone out of their houses, then they beat them, and after that they cut the heads off.... Yes, everyone's. The children ... even little babies'" (10). The narrative constructs the Akbar Jihad according to totalising and stereotypical discourses of the ultimate "evil" of Islamic terrorism: religious fanaticism, senseless and extreme violence and a drive to establish repressive states, purged of non-Muslims.

This discourse of terrorism, generated primarily by the neo-conservative Bush administration and its "War on Terror," pivots on absolute binary divisions that equate the west with good and freedom and Islam with evil and repression. As Koo points out, the language of the discourse of terrorism is clear and powerful in its appeal to the politics of otherness: "The self-identity is good/civilised/rational while the Other is evil/uncivilised/irrational" (4). As Hage argues, it is important to think critically about the invitation to view terrorism as the worst possible kind of violence (126). Hage proposes that the classification "terrorist" involves "a form of symbolic violence that forces us to normalise certain forms of violence and pathologises others" (127). Hence, the west can vehemently condemn terrorist violence, while the violence of colonial dominion and the impact of Israeli military might on Palestinians (and indeed the casualties incurred by the War on Terror itself) are downplayed (127). The outcome of these discursive strategies is that the west is able to construct itself as peaceful and freedom loving in direct opposition to the violence and extremism of terrorism. In *Northern Approaches*, the slaughter enacted by the Akbar Jihad is contrasted with the noble Australian peacekeepers in East Timor, and in a miraculous conclusion the Indonesian-Iranian war machine is disabled by the United States without a drop of blood spilled.

The text is clearly participating in the positing of an innate polarity between the west and Islam as the defining characteristic of the "new" world order. This world view, notably articulated in Samuel Huntington's 1993 "The Clash of Civilisations?," constructs Islam and the west as monolithic entities, void of any plurality or internal difference and argues that conflict in the twenty-first century will primarily be based on the clash of these two incommensurable cultural blocs. Huntington famously argues that

the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great division between humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of civilisations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilisations will be the battle lines of the future. (22)

Following the 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States and the ignition of the War on Terror, the western media has lauded the accuracy of Huntington's prediction, effectively empowering the distinction between the west and Islam and the equation of the two cultures with good and evil respectively. This division of cultures is being represented as the emerging dynamic of a "new" world order, but is in reality based on long established Orientalist discourses, in which the image of the east as the west's other and cultural contestant is simply reaffirmed and reinvigorated.⁵

In *Northern Approaches*, the extent of the Islamic threat to Australia is revealed via documents handed to the Australian embassy named the "Damascus Pact." The Damascus Pact provides the answer to the mystery at the centre of the novel: it is a memorandum of understanding between Indonesia and the Osama Bin Laden fronted Arab States of the Middle East for transferring the heartland of Islam to South-East Asia. The reasons for the accord rest on dwindling world oil supplies. The logic of the Pact is that, once the oil is gone from the desert of the Middle East, the Arab nations will have very few resources to sustain economic development. To ensure the future of Islam, the Islamic religion will need a new centre, a big country with a large population and natural assets that will guarantee growth and prosperity. Hence billions of dollars in oil revenue will be diverted to developing Indonesia, industrially and militarily, for this purpose. The Australian prime minister explains to his cabinet: "As the Middle East regresses to desert tribalism, so the heartland of Islam is to be transferred to the world's fourth largest nation – located in our northern approaches" (186). The Pact also details the Islamic powers' bid to obtain nuclear weapons, but makes the point that "the Islamic nations do not have significant amounts of fissionable materials within their present boundaries" (187). The deposits of uranium in Australia's "empty" north are thus cast as a key factor in the threat of invasion. Indeed, Article 7(c) of the Damascus Pact states:

For two hundred years Canberra has claimed the right to the entire northern part of the continent, even though it is largely unused and unpopulated, even though climatically and geographically it is part of Asia. This is a region of great potential, both for Asian forms of agriculture, and for mineral wealth, including the Western world's richest lodes of uranium at Jabiluka and many other sources of radioactive materials. There is historical evidence that this region was once a part of Indonesia three hundred years before it was invaded by British imperialists. As a former land of Majapahit, its eventual return to its rightful place must become a part of history. (188)

In the world of the text, the Pact confirms Australia's worst fears: that an Asianised pan-Islamic power bloc covets its empty northern regions, both for its land and its uranium. The claim that northern Australia was once part of the historic Javanese empire of Majapahit and that it is geographically and climatically part of Asia speaks to those anxieties expressed at the start of the novel over the legitimacy of white Australia's security of tenure. The added dimension of an Islamic nuclear bomb magnifies the nightmarish quality of the scenario, as it invokes the ultimate horror of nuclear devastation; such a massively destructive weapon in the hands of those classified as irrational, unstable and prone to extreme violence is indeed the stuff of nightmares. Furthermore, towards the end of the novel it is revealed that, unbeknown to Australia, its northern border has already been breached. In the manner of the clandestine Asian colonies featured in early invasion texts, the Akbar Jihad has set up a terrorist training base in the Northern Territory with plans for recruiting a militia from arriving refugees and seizing quantities of uranium. The other is already at work inside the national boundary. When the true nature of the Arab-owned Billy Hill station is realised, a violent battle ensues. The Australians give the Akbar Jihad the opportunity to surrender, but they continue to fight, running straight into the line of fire. The reluctant Australians are left with no choice but to shoot them down. In keeping with the binarised dichotomy established by the Orientalist-informed discourse of terrorism, the peaceful Australians only kill the invaders when left with no other option when, in what is constructed as an act of nonsensical irrationality, the terrorists actually run head-on into the bullets, in effect morally absolving the Australians of the killing.

Tens of Thousands of Refugees Flood South

The novel invokes the topical issue of Australia's response to refugees when the Akbar Jihad campaign of terror in eastern Indonesia forces persecuted Christian and Chinese minorities to flee for their lives. Word filters through to Australia that a great number of boats is gathering in Ambon and that people smugglers are plying their trade. "So it's started," Roberts remarks, and sends word to Canberra to "put every ship we have into the northern approaches" (141, 144). But before Australia has a chance to organise an adequate response, events quickly escalate out of control. As the defence minister tells the prime minister,

Bad news.... About as bad as it gets.... Boats. Hundreds of refugee boats. Many, many more than there's ever been before. We have all three available ships in the north ... and they're all reporting that from first light this morning they've sighted small craft moving towards the north-west coast ... many more than they can possibly handle. (189-90)

The repeated evocation of the overwhelming numbers of boats making their way towards Australia activates the generic fear of being “swamped” by aliens. For Australia, this threat to its nationhood is “About as bad as it gets.” As this “armada of boats stretching from horizon to horizon” edges closer, the Australian cabinet holds an emergency session (205-06). The prime minister decides that in order to win the upcoming election, they will act according to the will of the Australian people and attempt to turn the boats back. He foresees complications with “Operation Turnaround” but determines that “Whatever else you said about it, it was good politics” (200). Here, especially, the text represents contemporary Australian politics of border protection and its fortress mentality.

Howard’s strengthening of border protection in the wake of the *Tampa* crisis, including the implementation of Operation Relex – the real world correlative of Operation Turnaround – had overwhelming popular support and played an important part in the Coalition victory in the 2001 federal election. Operation Relex, a comprehensive military mission to intercept and prevent asylum seekers from reaching Australia was, from this point of view, very successful. ABC’s *Four Corners* asserts that throughout the federal election campaign of 2001 Operation Relex prevented thousands of asylum seekers from landing in Australia by forcing overcrowded and unseaworthy vessels back towards Indonesia through the use of intimidation and violence (“To Deter”).⁶ These aggressive border politics and the dehumanising rhetoric that often represents asylum seekers are in direct tension with the way in which Australia constructs itself as a tolerant and harmonious multicultural nation that enjoys a good quality of life. This disjunction indicates the powerful conceptual division between what is deemed acceptable practice at the border, as opposed to what is acceptable within the interior of the nation space (except of course, for the detention centres which are enclosed spaces of exclusion, despite being inside the nation). If in contemporary Australia these questionable practices constitute “good politics,” and given the massive popular support they undoubtedly do, in the fictional world of *Northern Approaches* the human impact of Operation Turnaround proves disastrous, at least in the international political context.

The text departs from contemporary discourses of Australian security and from the generic narrative of Asian invasion in its representation of refugees. In contrast to the depiction of refugees as threat, the novel portrays refugees in a sympathetic light by examining the conditions that have led them to the point of seeking refuge – something not often done in the mainstream Australian media. Passages of the narrative are written from the point of view of individual refugee

subjects, and detail the sheer desperation that compels them to leave their homes and undertake the treacherous journey, under harrowing conditions, to Australia. The inclusion of the stories and perspectives of individual refugees in the narrative emphasises their humanity and disturbs conceptions of refugees as an undifferentiated mass of illegal aliens set to descend on Australia. In this vein, Operation Turnaround is shown to be a tactical mistake that has tragic consequences when a great storm breaks up the effort to turn the boats back and thousands of refugees drown. An international outcry ensues accusing Australia of being cruel and inhumane. After the demonstrated failure of Operation Turnaround, refugee policies are recast and an alternative course of action is proposed – accepting the refugees and allowing them to settle the north for the good of the nation.

While this reconceptualisation of refugees as positive contributors to the business of nation building is counter-discursive, it still wholeheartedly participates in discourses of national security that emphasise the necessity of populating the “empty” north as a bulwark against the more threatening Asian other – an Islamic Indonesia. The fact that the refugees are Asian Christians is important. The Christianity of the refugees renders them less other to Christian Australia and hence as more acceptable subjects for incorporation into the national culture. The change in policy to accept the refugees does not come from within Australia itself, however, but on the suggestion and insistence of the more enlightened United States. The text positions the United States within the rubric of the “great and powerful friends” strain of Australian foreign policy and is obsequiously pro-American. The words on the base of the Statue of Liberty are invoked (twice) to illustrate that mass migration and population growth have been the reason for America’s greatness and that Australia should follow suit. As the president of the United States says to the Australian prime minister,

It’s my impression that Australia is a very big place, and that you have, what is it? about twenty million people. And your north, with a lot of fertile regions, plenty of good water, is very hot. Tropical. Not very encouraging for white people to settle.... But now, look what you’ve got.... Thousands and thousands of people used to living and farming in that kind of country.... Why not just keep them, let them get at it.
(208)

Enduring concerns about the unsuitability of tropical climates for white bodies are here given a new twist, with the proposal of settling the area with Asian-Australians for reasons of regional security.⁷ In the final analysis, Australia is forced to follow America’s suggestion, rather than lose their much needed alliance and promise of protection.

A Utopian Asian-Australian North

The settlement of northern Australia with east Indonesian Christian people is presented as the solution to a number of different national problems: it will solve the refugee issue, ensure a secure boundary against Islamic Indonesia (which has already made one incursion) and provide a ready population of people suited to the tropical climate. The new state of "Capricornia" will consist of land north of the twentieth parallel. Mason's choice of name for the Asian-Australian state not only suggests the geography of the tropic of Capricorn but also Xavier Herbert's canonical Australian novel *Capricornia* (1938) and its relatively progressive (within the context of its times) conception of race. Considering the logic of the generic Asian invasion narrative, the proposal of an Asian-Australian north as a desirable outcome is equally progressive. The novel concludes on an optimistic note with an ambitious vision of the utopian potential of the settlement, courtesy of the forward-thinking Asian-Australian political advisor Dr Wendy Chan. "Capricornia" is conceptualised, like Mao's China, as "a blank page" on which anything can be written (235). Dr. Chan envisages

solar towers a kilometre high in the desert areas and tidal generators feeding immense amounts of renewable power to a fertile and productive north, comfortable, efficiently-organised – and beautiful – urban complexes, a genuine 21st century education system designed to pick up and nurture individual talents. (235)

Opposition to this optimistic vision of an Asian-Australian north is voiced by Arthur Crouch, the agriculture minister, whom the text depicts in a disapproving light. Crouch is described as "a red neck from north Queensland" and is the mouthpiece for generic anti-Asian sentiments throughout the text (182). Crouch fears that the Asian-Australians of Capricornia will try to take over the south, but this concern is quickly dismissed by the authoritative Dr. Chan:

I have two comments on that. The last census showed that more than a million people in this country already are Asians or are of Asian descent. Most, I believe are decent, hardworking, and law abiding, and certainly have no wish to "take over." My second remark is this: I can't imagine people who're used to working and living in the tropics wanting to live through a Canberra winter. (236)

As a very recent novel engaging with the discourses of Asian invasion, *Northern Approaches* exhibits some significant shifts in the conceptualisation of national threat. It is no longer simply "Asian-ness" that signifies the threat to Australia. The presence of "decent, hardworking and law abiding" Asians within Australian society has, from the perspective of this novel, worked to defuse fears of the insurmountable otherness of Asian people, and shown them to be productive members of the nation-state. But commensurately, fears of insurmountable otherness

are mobilised in the extreme in the representation of the Islamic Asians, against which the Asian-Australian settlement will be pitted.

This textual manoeuvre signals a shift in the hierarchies of otherness produced by Australian nationalism since Islam and terrorism were identified as a primary locus of threat in 2001. As Inderpal Grewal observes of similar changes in the "post-September 11" United States, "When the Middle Eastern/Muslim became a threat racism against other non-whites did not occupy domestic politics as much as before, and other groups could be mobilised to be American in order to produce the non-American, Middle Eastern Muslim male as the new category of racial visibility" (546). Within this logic, Asian-Australians thus become more "Australian" through their difference from Islamic terrorists (546). The classification of terrorist in the Australian context, however, can refer to those categorised as being of "Middle Eastern appearance" (to borrow the common phrase used in the reportage of the 2005 Cronulla race riots) and to Muslims from South-East Asia. The reconfiguration of threat performed in *Northern Approaches* thus also suggests a transition in markers of otherness from race to religion, or in other words from biological difference to the cultural difference of the Islamic faith. In this vein, Chris Allen's study of British "Islamophobia" suggests that "while racism on the basis of markers of race obviously continues, a shift is apparent in which some of the more traditional and obvious markers have been displaced by newer and more prevalent ones of a cultural socio-religious nature" (49). Allen proposes that the pejorative emphasis on Islamic culture and religion is the "changing face" of racism that draws its discursive power from "post-9/11 reificatory processes that have both re-established and newly identified Muslims as chimeral, monstrous others" (49). The discourses of prejudice expressed in *Northern Approaches* are framed in more socially acceptable terms of the cultural superiority of Australia as a western nation as opposed to the cultural otherness of Muslims and Islam, but are clearly no less discriminatory than similar discourses based on racial otherness. As Hage argues,

Australia's historically favourite 'other' has always been 'the Asians'. The White Australia Policy was designed with 'Asians' in mind, and in 1996 Pauline Hanson was still being swamped by 'Asians'. In the last couple of years however, probably to the relief of 'Asians', White paranoia has shifted its gaze towards a more global threat: 'Muslims' and 'Islam'.... If one listens to – and believes – the now regularly reported musings of the White paranoid mind, Muslims are capable of doing everything the Asians did and more (such as committing terrorist acts). (66-67)

Northern Approaches forges new narrative trajectories by departing from historical fears of the Asian other to embrace the possibility of a productive Asian-Australian north, but at the same time asserts a politics of otherness based on the

incommensurable cultural difference of Islam. The narrative frames its discrimination in cultural terms but it still deploys long established one-dimensional depictions of an inherently evil foe (one of the final remarks of the text is that the Akbar Jihad are carrying out forced circumcisions on men, women and children in brutal and unhygienic conditions [238]). These stereotypical representations are, of course, the common currency of the War on Terror, the influence of which is clearly discernable in this fiction. The novel reformulates national threat so that the threat of "Asian-ness" is, in some ways, overshadowed by the threat of fundamentalist Islam. If these two threats are combined, however, as in the representation of fundamentalist Islamic Indonesian terrorists, multiple discourses of menace are activated to form very powerful negative stereotypes in which the politics of otherness are once more reinvigorated and perpetuated into a new historical era.

The vision of the Asian-Australian utopian community signals an important evolution of the generic invasion narrative. Invasion novels, as I discussed in Chapter One, primarily function as critiques of Australian society at the time of writing and often include utopian directives as to the sort of society to which Australia should aspire: that is, historically, one based on the white race. In invasion novels of the Federation era, when Australian identity was being forged, these utopian imaginings are especially clear in the formulation of all-white bush guerrilla groups that function according to democratic and egalitarian principles (it is significant, of course, that these are guerrillas rather than terrorists within one's own culture). One hundred years later, Mason's utopia of Capricornia is to be populated by hybridised Asian-Australian citizens in high-rise cities. But Capricornia will be self-contained within the tropical climatic zone. Although the Capricornians will be Australian citizens, they will belong to what will almost be a separate country – a deliberately built buffer against a hostile Islamic Indonesia – in a kind of graduating racial/cultural order from extremist Islamic Indonesians, to Asian-Australian Christians, to white Australians happily fortified in the mild south-east corner.

In this regard, the transformative vision of *Northern Approaches* still operates within serious limitations. The proposal to accept Indonesian refugees is radical but the logic behind it centres on strengthening Australia's borders rather than acknowledging their porosity. Furthermore, the text is not suggesting an integrated Asian-Australia but rather the formation of an Asian-Australian bulwark to protect vulnerable white Australia; it is in effect creating borders within borders. The discursive possibilities rendered open to the Asian invasion narrative by the text's acceptance of the Indonesian refugees thus remain disappointingly unexplored. The opportunity to integrate rather than separate Australia from Asia is not taken. Old markers of racial otherness may become new markers of cultural otherness, but the

xenophobic fear of the other remains the same, as the generic invasion narrative reiterates itself and adapts to the evolving socio-historic circumstances of the twenty-first century.

Upping the Stakes: Recent Novels of Asian Invasion and the Thriller Genre

Mason's *Northern Approaches* is to date the most recently published prototypical novel of Asian invasion. There are, however, three additional contemporary texts – David Rollins' *Rogue Element* (2003) and *Sword of Allah* (2004) and Kerry B. Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* – which can be located on the expanding edges of the invasion novel subgenre. Significantly, these twenty-first century novels are all thrillers, as are a number of invasion texts published in the late twentieth century, including Page's *A Nasty Little War* (1979), Lyons' *The China Tape* (1981) and Willmot's *Below the Line* (1991). There is, then, clearly an increasing trend in Australian works of invasion fiction towards the conventions of the thriller and a resulting reconfiguration of the generic forms that constitute the subgenre. The thriller pivots on the manufacture of suspense through the evocation of a mystery of conspiratorial threat and the deadly action of heroic masculine adventure. David Glover in his authoritative article "The Thriller" asserts that "the thriller was and still is to a large extent marked by the way in which it persistently seeks to raise the stakes of the narrative, heightening or exaggerating the experience of events by transforming them into a rising curve of danger, violence or shock" (137). These literary techniques are frequently achieved through the implementation of a fast and relentless pace, intensified by a sense of time running out and by cross-cutting across a range of narrative streams: following each to a decisive point in the story before switching to another in order to generate the suspense of the "cliffhanger" scenario. Urgency is also conveyed through the imperative of unravelling the mysteries at the centre of the novels, as unfolding events – often including repeated assassination attempts on the protagonists – escalate the magnitude of the unknown threat. As Glover argues,

The world that the thriller attempts to realise is one that is radically uncertain in at least two major senses. On the one hand, the *scale* of the threat may appear to be vast, its ramifications immeasurable and boundless. Thus the thriller trades in international conspiracies, invasions, wholesale corruptions.... On the other, the thriller unsettles the reader less by the magnitude of the terrors it imagines than by the intensity of the experience it delivers: assaults upon the fictional body, a constant awareness of the physicality of danger.... (137-38)

The literary techniques of the thriller and its twin narrative impacts – the scale and the seriousness of threat it evokes paired with the very intensity of the reading

experience – concord particularly well with the subject matter and ideological concerns of invasion novels.

The thriller is, however, a very broad and capacious category; these seven late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century Asian invasion novels are specifically political thrillers that deal with national security (obviously the threat of invasion), military and intelligence services and, with the exception of *Below the Line*, include settings of Parliament House in Canberra and the White House in Washington D.C.. They feature Australian heroes and conspiring Asian villains, spies, devious double-agents, and civilian populations largely unaware of the growing threat to the nation. The origin of the political thriller is often held to be Erskine Childers' influential 1903 British invasion novel *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service*. Childers' cautionary tale, written to awaken Britain to its vulnerability to German invasion from the North Sea, describes the protagonists' uncovering of the German invasion plot during a boating holiday around the Frisian Islands (and interestingly – in regard to recent Australian invasion narratives preoccupied by refugees – Childers' German invasion was to be carried out via a vast flotilla of small boats designed to outfox British battleships). As Tony Davies concisely argues, Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* conflates the articulation of political ideology, detective mystery, espionage and adventure to supply the formal preconditions of the political thriller genre (123). These specific narrative formations exemplified in Childers' foundational text are clearly borne out in the Australian invasion thrillers, as they feature imperilled Australian protagonists discovering the truths behind the mysterious machinations of Asian powers.

The three most recent novels to engage with the threat of Asian invasion – Rollins' *Rogue Element* and *Sword of Allah* and Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* – are contemporary political thrillers in the "airport novel" style. At four to five hundred pages each, they are great thick books, much longer than prototypical invasion novels, and have a suggestion of commercial bestseller status about them. Although positioned on the edges of the invasion narrative subgenre, these texts are significant because, like *Northern Approaches*, they demonstrate how historic conceptions of Asian threat to the Australian nation are being recast in the form of the mass arrival of refugees and the fanatical violence of Indonesian Islamic extremists. The storylines deployed in the three novels work to incorporate recent historical events – such as Australia's ongoing intervention in East Timor and the 2002 Bali Bombings – into enduring discursive frameworks of Asianised menace, thus effectively updating and refreshing their poignancy for contemporary readers.

Rogue Element: Unravelling the Indonesian Conspiracy

David Rollins' *Rogue Element*, published by Pan Macmillan in 2003, is a political-military thriller that centres on unravelling the mystery surrounding the disappearance of a Qantas jumbo jet over the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. The four-hundred-passenger plane crashes in thick virgin jungle and two young Australians, Joe Light and Suryei Hujan, are, at length, the only survivors. Indonesia claims that it cannot locate the wreckage of the plane, but military generals secretly dispatch a Kopassus unit to secure the site and eliminate anyone left alive. As the blurb on the back cover states, "This is no accident" and indeed the reader knows that the Indonesian military itself shot the plane down. Its reason for doing so is the key to the mystery and is not fully revealed until the end of the novel. The back cover of the novel also features an endorsement from fellow successful Australian thriller writer John Birmingham, stating that *Rogue Element* "Shrieks across the page like a scream jet and hits home like a small nuke."⁸ The novel does invite compulsive reading. Its narrative sets a racing pace from beginning to end, fulfilling Glover's thriller descriptor of the "rising curve of danger, violence or shock." There are no chapters but simply subheadings signalling different locations, the date and elapsing time. The weapons imagery of Birmingham's endorsement reflects the novel's emphasis on the military, aircraft and guns, all described in lengthy detail in a manner akin to bestselling author Tom Clancy's techno-thrillers. The hero of the story is the Australian S.A.S. sergeant Tom Wilkes, who leads his men into the jungles of Sulawesi to find the survivors and the truth behind the plane crash.

This truth is eventually revealed to be an Indonesian conspiracy to invade northern Australia, as suggested by the front cover's dark-toned, sinister-looking illustration of the northern landmass of Australia blending into the islands of Indonesia, accompanied by the blunt statement "A country to our north wants to take what we've got. By force." The villains responsible for the planned invasion are, as the novel notes, ironically not Islamic terrorists but the Indonesian military, the Tentara Nasional Indonesia or T.N.I. (178). As the train of events becomes clear, the reader learns that during the Qantas flight Joe Light, a computer hacker, watched a news broadcast of T.N.I. soldiers terrorising West Papuans which sickened him. In an effort to exact a small revenge, he hacks into T.N.I. General Suluang's personal computer and copies highly guarded files from the hard drive which are, in fact, the invasion plans. Joe does not realise this as the files are in Indonesian, but he does notice a map with Australia redrawn as part of Indonesia and renamed Selat Irian Jaya, which Asian-Australian Suryei translates as "Southern High Victory." Sophisticated computer technology developed by United States Intelligence allows

the Indonesians to learn the identity of the hacker and to trace his location to the Qantas aeroplane, which they shoot down to destroy the evidence.

The prologue to the novel depicts Indonesian generals conspiring in the back of a seedy low-lit Indonesian restaurant, which suggests the literary geography of hardboiled crime writer Dashiell Hammet's "mean streets." Glover describes such archetypal settings, common to the thriller genre, as a masculine network of "Private offices, backrooms, hotel suites and rear booths in restaurants and bars, secured spaces where meetings can be arranged between men seeking to make a deal, hammer out a compromise, or stage a confrontation: the true loci of power" (142). The conspiring T.N.I. generals, the "rogue element" of the novel's title, are "hunched in the circle of dim light" over the restaurant table (1). The setting and the manner in which the men are introduced clearly identify them as villains. The head of Indonesia's security police is described as having lips "stretched tight across yellow teeth, giving him the appearance of an animal baring its fangs" (1). The generals are discussing their dissatisfaction with the growing unrest in Indonesia's separatist provinces and the lack of respect accorded to the T.N.I.. They blame what they see as the Australian invasion of East Timor as the cause of this national disintegration. The tone of the conversation is steeped in menace. General Suluang

let his face assume a hard, conspiratorial mien. He leaned forward. 'It started with East Timor. Now, every other island and province with the vaguest historical grudge against Java is moving towards secession. There are racial tensions, religious pressures. Gentlemen, we are sitting on the complete disintegration of Indonesia, nothing less.'

Blood flushed into Colonel Jayakatong's head at the mention of East Timor. He had been chased through a jungle trail there, humiliated by Australian soldiers, and he hit the table with a closed fist. 'Australians! Asia's white trash! They are to blame for so much unrest within our country.' (3)

With hindsight, it is easy to discern that the generals are planning an invasion of northern Australia in order to focus Indonesia on a common external enemy, to unite its disparate provinces and to punish Australia for its interference in Indonesia's internal affairs. They determine that the United States will not intervene, given that an authoritarian military government in Indonesia would be preferable to disintegration and the possibility of Islamic extremists gaining power.

The catalysts of the novel's subject matter and moral ideology are the events surrounding East Timorese independence: the Indonesian and Indonesian-sponsored brutality and Australia's subsequent intervention. The novel does not engage with the 1975 Indonesian invasion of newly decolonised East Timor nor Australia's arguable complicity in that event (through successive Australian governments' endorsements of Indonesia's sovereign rights, media silence on atrocities and ongoing joint training exercises with Kopassus units that operated in

East Timor). Its focus is limited to the T.N.I.-led killings and implementation of a scorched earth policy following the August 1999 pro-independence ballot and Australia's intervening role as peacekeeper. This solely recent focus allows the novel to construct the Indonesian military as ruthless, cold-blooded killers and the Australian military as a highly professional defensive force: a simplistic good versus evil dynamic. The novel's storyline and characters are created in reference to East Timor. Plane crash survivor Suryei, a photo journalist in East Timor during the referendum, makes many long speeches describing the horrors perpetrated by the T.N.I.. The leader of the Kopassus unit pursuing Suryei and Joe through the jungle, the pock-marked rapist Maturak, becomes a symbol of Indonesian inhumanity distilled through the locus of East Timor: "He'd come to represent for her all the senseless brutality of a nation, the torment of East Timor – the graves, so much destruction. He had pursued them through the jungle in order to kill them" (335). Conversely, the Australian S.A.S. sergeant Wilkes, a peacekeeper in East Timor, is a military hero of the highest integrity: a jungle expert, bristling with lovingly described high-tech weaponry.

Australia learns of Indonesia's invasion plans from a dissenting T.N.I. general named Masri. This confessional passage is the great revelation that the story has been building towards and lays bare the truth behind the Indonesian mystery. Masri, with "demonic" blood-shot eyes (380), explains to the Australian prime minister and various military and intelligence chiefs the political benefits of the invasion and emphasises Indonesia's anti-Australian sentiment:

'The army must regain face within our own country. To achieve that, we need a focus *outside* Indonesia. You think that you are part of Asia when it suits you to think that way. But you are full of yourselves. You patronise us. You act like moral policemen. Look at East Timor. Bali too. You didn't even trust us to root out the criminals, even suggested using your troops to hunt terrorists in Java! You think you have the right to behave this way. Why? You think you are superior, because you are *white*!' Masri almost spat the final word. (381)

The Australian Prime Minister Bill Blight, endorsed throughout the text as an honest, hard-working man, quickly retorts, "We aren't bloody racists. Your inferiority complex is in your own bloody heads" (381). Rather than being described as "demonic," Blight is more reassuringly likened to "an old diesel motor" and is clearly assigned a superior integrity in this exchange, effectively negating any truth-value in Masri's charge of Australian racism. The text as a whole would seem to support this view. None of the Australian characters ever think or say anything racially prejudiced, and one of the protagonists, Suryei, is Asian-Australian. The effect, however, is a problematic denial of the existence of Australian racism; it is a sanitised text, rather than one which engages with racial intolerance and attempts to

move beyond it. Rollins' avoidance of statements of overt racism and inclusion of the culturally white Suryei are undercut by the implicit racism of a narrative that pivots on the presence of diabolical racialised others.

The planned invasion was to be carried out by Indonesian soldiers disguised as arriving refugees. Masri begins to explain that in the First World War "the French delivered its troops to the Western Front in the cabs of Paris. Japan invaded Indo-China on bicycles in the Second World War. And Indonesia, as you know, has fishing boats. Many thousands of fishing boats" (384). The chief of the Australian Defence Force, Ted 'Spike' Niven, suddenly understands exactly how the invasion would be orchestrated and how the Australians had failed to see it coming:

... it was so bloody obvious, all the musings by defence academics and strategists had failed to consider it. 'Jesus...' he swallowed. The navy could barely cope with half a dozen slow, leaking refugee vessels at any one time. A flotilla of such boats – they would only need a few hundred or so – would swamp Australia's coastal warning systems. It would be impossible to determine which boats held troops and which did not; many would obviously be decoys. The new over-the-horizon Jindalee radar would certainly provide information about the closing flotilla to Australia's armed forces, but there simply wouldn't be enough defence to go round. In a sense there would be too much information. The navy and air force would be overwhelmed. (384-85)

Rollins' potential invasion by a flotilla of Indonesian fishing boats recalls not only Mason's mass arrival of Indonesian boat people and Willmot's Indonesian invasion via forward strike troops disguised as refugees, but also Childers' German plans for the invasion of Britain one hundred years earlier. In *Rogue Element* the swamping of Australian defences by a multitude of small boats continues to be a devastatingly effective invasion strategy. Niven foresees that in this state of confusion and diversion the T.N.I. would be able to drop paratroops into Townsville and blow up ships in Darwin harbour: the "Indonesian plan would probably succeed at the cost of possibly thousands of Australian lives" (385). Importantly, however, in this novel, both Indonesia and Australia believe that, having effected its invasion, Indonesia would not be able to hold its position for more than a few days. In fact, having re-established the strength of the T.N.I. in the minds of the Indonesian people and having secured Australia's consent to never again interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs, the generals planned a complete withdrawal. This narrative trajectory marks a decisive shift away from the generic invasion narrative's long-time concern with the paucity of the Australian defence forces to an assertion of Australian military superiority. *Rogue Element* is in no way dystopian: it has an altogether happy ending in which Australia as a righteous free nation has thwarted the conspiracy of Indonesian generals and deflected the planned attack through the exemplary efforts of its hardworking military and intelligence personnel. In this triumphant conclusion

the novel bears out the conventions of the commercial thriller genre; the evil conspiracy is foiled and the free world continues unharmed, much like the novels of Tom Clancy or Ian Fleming.

Rollins' *Rogue Element* is a novel that centres on the threat of an Asian invasion of Australia but it is not a generic invasion narrative. In the "Acknowledgements" that precede the text, Rollins states that "This novel is a work of fiction, written to sound like fact, the line between the two are blurred so that you don't twig to where one stops and the other begins. Of course, whether I've succeeded in that is up to you, the reader to decide." Although the novel employs the characteristic realist style of generic invasion narratives, it lacks the urgent pedagogy of those texts. Rollins hands the final judgement of the plausibility of the text to the reader. He is neither trying to convince the reader of the validity of his narrative nor predicting imminent danger: the emphasis is more on telling a good story. Prior to becoming an author Rollins was not a politician or journalist specialising in Asian affairs but rather an advertising executive with an interest in aeroplanes. *Rogue Element* does not concern itself with the usual tropes of the invasion narrative. It is a celebration of the Australian military rather than a work of criticism. The empty north is never mentioned, nor is the discrepancy in populations between Australia and Asia. The novel does, however, adopt an instructive tone in detailing the Indonesian treatment of East Timor. While entertaining, the text is overdetermined by a moral ideology that aligns the Australian military with the forces of good and the Indonesia's T.N.I. with the forces of darkness.

Swords of Allah: Indonesian Islamic Terrorist Strikes on Australia

Of the four novels considered in this final chapter, Rollins' *Rogue Element* is an aberration in its allocation of threat to the Indonesian military. The other three novels – Mason's *Northern Approaches*, Rollins' second novel *Sword of Allah* and Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* – all locate fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups within Indonesia as the harbingers of threat to Australia. The latter two novels take their inspiration from the Indonesian Islamic terrorist organisation Jemaah Islamiyah, the perpetrators of the October 2002 bombings in Bali's Kuta district. These attacks deliberately targeted nightclubs frequented by western tourists and eighty-eight – the largest national grouping – of the two hundred and two people killed were Australian. The Bali Bombings, sometimes referred to as "Australia's September 11," have served to localise the threat of terrorism in the Australian psyche and explicitly position Jemaah Islamiyah as a national enemy.⁹ The Al-Qaeda affiliated Jemaah Islamiyah (which translates as "Islamic community") has its roots

in the Darul Islam organisation suppressed by the Suharto government and shares its objective of establishing a pan-Islamic state in South-East Asia, consisting of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the southern Philippines and, according to some reports, northern Australia (Saniotis 1-2).¹⁰ Arthur Saniotis argues that there is a “mutual misrecognition” between Australia as a western nation and the Islamist Jemaah Islamiyah, in which each constructs the other as an oppressive hegemon antithetical to morality (1-3). He asserts that, given Australia’s intervention in East Timor and participation in the War on Terror, it was inevitable that Australia would become a target of Jemaah Islamiyah:

Having supported East Timor’s secessionism from Indonesia, and committed troops to Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003, Australia was perceived by many Indonesian Muslims as being ‘anti-Muslim.’ Given that the Taliban ambassador to Pakistan, Mullah Abdul Salem Zaeef, declared a holy war against Australia on October 31st 2001, it is perhaps not surprising that J.I. has avowed to take up the Taliban’s declaration. (3)

It is important to recognise that, like the Japanese bombing of northern Australia in World War Two, the actuality of the Jemaah Islamiyah bombings and statements of threat against Australia ground the current climate of fear in a more tangible reality than less historically grounded threats attributed to China, Japan in the early twentieth century or the Indonesian nation as a whole. It is in this contemporary context of potential Asian threat that Rollins’ *Sword of Allah* and Collison’s *Crescent Moon Rising* spin their narratives. These novels are on the very margins of the invasion narrative subgenre, as they do not depict the invasion of Australia by Asian armies, but the breaching of Australia’s borders by terrorist networks and the invasion of Australian space through terrorist strikes of weapons of mass destruction. Although the hostility of Jemaah Islamiyah to Australia has been established, the representation of attacks on Australia with weapons of mass destruction is, of course, stretching the reality of the situation into the sensational world of the thriller.

Rollins’ second novel *Sword of Allah* is a five-hundred-page political-military thriller published by Pan Macmillan in 2004. Its cover depicts a dark horizon of continuous domes of mosques and jutting minarets and a line of a review from the *Sunday Telegraph* endorsing the plausibility of the novel: “Lots of military hardware and relentless action ... but with a chilling ring of truth.” The text is prefaced by a passage from the Koran which ostensibly instructs Muslims to kill non-Muslims and from which the novel’s title is drawn:

What an excellent slave of Allah: Khalid bin Al-Waleed, one of the swords of Allah, unleashed on the unbelievers!
Prophet Mohammed, may His name be praised.

Fight and slay the pagans (infidels) wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war.

Qur'an, Sura 9:5 (iv)

The story revolves around the clandestine activities of an Indonesian fundamentalist Islamic group called Babu Islam which has links to the Middle East. Australian intelligence becomes aware that Babu Islam is trafficking guns and drugs in the region as part of a large and, as the text repeatedly illustrates, pointedly amoral, money-making enterprise. The effort to find out for what purpose then becomes the central structuring point of the narrative. A high level briefing is called, attended by the intelligence, military and police personnel spearheading Australia's War on Terror and Rollins' recurring hero Wilkes. The A.S.I.S. chief explains the crux of the concern: "terrorists from either side of the world are joining forces in our back yard to raise a large amount of money for something. We just have to find out what that something is" (98). The briefing also identifies the arch villain of the story, the Babu Islam member Duat, who in true villain style has one front tooth missing and the other made of gold:

This is Duat. No second name, just Duat – that's an Indonesian thing, by the way. A nasty piece of work. Duat teaches people how to kill with swords, guns, ammonium nitrate bombs, whatever. He belongs to a little known terrorist group called Babu Islam, which basically means 'servants of God.' Like a lot of groups in this part of the world, such as Jamaah Islamiah, they're dedicated to awakening Indonesia to their view of Islamic responsibility – namely, to kill as many non-believers as possible. (95)

After many plot convolutions it eventuates that Duat and Babu Islam have acquired a great quantity of deadly VX nerve agent from Saudi Arabia and have constructed a chemical weapon of mass destruction, dubbed the "Sword of Allah," which they intend to "plunge into the heart of the unbelievers" – an unknown Australian target presumed to be Darwin (403). The heroic Wilkes arrives at the terrorist camp – described as "an epicentre for the export of death and destruction" – just moments too late to halt the launching of the weapon towards Australia (430). In an excruciating race against time, extending over many pages, a crack fighter pilot tries to intercept the pilotless drone carrying the weapon before it reaches its target. At the very last moment the pilot succeeds in destroying the drone and its deadly cargo and Australia is saved in another triumphant happy ending.

As Jerry Palmer argues, the central structuring point of the thriller is the contest between the hero, as representative of the free world, and the criminal conspiracy that seeks to destroy the free world (23-24). Interestingly, in *Sword of Allah*, the role of the hero is transferred from Wilkes to the young fighter pilot in the culmination of the novel's moral mission to save righteous Australia from Islamic

conspiracy. Palmer's continued assertion that "the hero's behaviour is justified by the fact that he reacts to prior aggression in defence of the status quo" is certainly born out in Rollins' narrative (24). *Sword of Allah*, like *Rogue Element*, depicts its military heroes as part of a highly professional defensive force, whose use of extreme violence is both justified and necessary in the fight to save Australia. As Rollins writes, "The SAS were the elite of the Australian Army, trained to kill but not killers. There was a big difference and Wilkes' men were proud of their level of professionalism" (15). In this regard, the generic conventions of the thriller (ideologically loaded in themselves) seamlessly mesh with the moral ideology of the War on Terror professed by the Bush administration and endorsed by the Howard government. Simplistic constructs of an essentially peaceful west positioned in direct opposition to the violence of Islamic terrorists (hell-bent on the destruction of freedom-loving peoples) are strengthened by this synthesis of form and ideology deployed in Rollins' texts.

Kerry B. Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising*, published in 2005 by Sid Harta, returns to a more overtly pedagogical narrative structure. This is a text driven by an imperative to educate the reader and its entertainment value is accorded only a secondary importance. The back cover of *Crescent Moon Rising* designates the novel as a "fact-based political thriller" and describes its content: "Based on indisputable fact, a step by step account of the Bali Bombers, the rise of extremist Islam across Asia and what the future might hold when terror is unleashed on Australia's doorstep." The cover depicts an Islamic man swathed in a scarf and holding a great knife, against a black background broken by exploding balls of fire. The narrative juxtaposes the perspectives of Indonesian, Australian and United States politicians; intelligence personnel; powerful Jakarta businessmen; various elements within the T.N.I.; Jemaah Islamiyah and its offshoot organisation the Laksar Jihad; and Christian separatists in eastern Indonesian provinces. The manifold plot focuses on the growing power of Jemaah Islamiyah and the Laksar Jihad, their goal to establish a pan-Islamic state in South-East Asia and to launch a Jihad on Australia. The novel depicts a massive escalation in violence in Indonesia's separatist provinces as members of the Laksar Jihad, aided by Islamic elements within the T.N.I., pour into the conflicted regions to exterminate Christians. Speculation in Jakarta that Australia may intervene in the conflict as it did in East Timor heightens regional tensions. Hence, the Laksar Jihad determine to discourage Australia from interfering in Indonesian affairs by "sending a clear warning to the Australian public as to what they might expect should their government continue to try and support the disintegration of the Indonesian Republic" (383). This "clear warning" is a dirty nuclear bomb, also named the "Sword of Allah," sourced from the former Soviet

Union, via Muslim Chechyan rebels and Saudi Arabia. Additionally, the Islamic elements within the T.N.I. decide to orchestrate the crashing of a fully loaded passenger plane into central Sydney. Subject to a proliferation of setbacks and confusions, the two attacks do not go according to plan. The dying pilot of the passenger plane realises that he will not live long enough to reach Sydney, and redirects the plane to crash into Kuta. After the assassination of the leader of the Laksar Jihad, the nuclear bomb sits in a holding yard in Darwin for some months, before it is inadvertently shipped to Melbourne. The novel concludes with its detonation.

The four-hundred-page text of the novel is followed by twenty-five pages of notes detailing the historical accuracy of the material presented in the narrative, including a timeline of Indonesian media releases and copies of official documents. Collison, a former member of the Australian military and intelligence services posted to Jakarta and a successful businessman in South-East Asia, also has his own website detailing alarmist predictions for the region. *Crescent Moon Rising* is Collison's sixth novel on Indonesian politics and predicted catastrophe. Over a five-year period beginning in 1996 he produced five Indonesian-themed novels of approximately five hundred pages each: *The Timor Man* (1996), *Merdeka Square* (1997), *The Fifth Season* (1998), *Jakarta* (1998) and *Indonesian Gold* (2001). Unlike Rollins' novels, Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* is implicitly critical of the Australian and United States intelligence services. Much of the story is designed to illustrate the specific failures on the behalf of Australia and the United States to halt the rise of extremist Islamic movements in South-East Asia and, of course, the "Sword of Allah" in this novel does manage to strike an Australian target. The "line between fact and fiction" referred to by Rollins is, in the case of Collison's novel, very artfully concealed. The text's meticulously detailed documentation of recent historical events logically continues into an account of fictional terrorist strikes. In a similar manner to the dystopist prototypical invasion narratives described in Chapter One, Collison's ponderously realist text works hard to persuade the reader of the imminence of an Indonesian Islamic attack on Australia.

Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* and Rollins' *Sword of Allah* thus concentrate on the violation of the Australian nation by Indonesian Islamic terrorists. They depict an Indonesia webbed with terrorist networks that are plotting the mass murder of Australian citizens through the contamination of Australian space with chemical or nuclear weapons of mass destruction. These contemporary narratives revisit and amplify colonial Australian concerns with the contagion attributed to arriving Chinese and the potential decimation of Australian populations (Bashford 346). They magnify a conflation of threatening Asian-ness with the contamination

and suffering of Australia. Most of all, these novels demonstrate how the reality of terrorism and Australia's participation in the foreseeable unceasing War on Terror reinvigorate the fearful politics of otherness and the potentiality of national threat in the Australian literary imagination.

These four most recent texts of Asian threat highlight matrices of historic continuity and difference that are axiomatic to the subgenre. The location of a destabilised post-Suharto Indonesia as the enemy of Australia is both an obvious continuation of the already existing nomination of Indonesian threat, and the source of a new wealth of material to inspire predictions of mass terror and overwrought narratives bearing out catastrophic trajectories. The old urgency of the generic tales of impending invasion finds new form in the fast-paced paranoid textuality of the thriller, and expands the borders of the subgenre to encompass new textual configurations of Asian threat that both look forward (with trepidation) to the future and link back to Childers' classic invasion thriller *The Riddle of the Sands*. Mason's *Northern Approaches* highlights how renewed stereotypes of Muslims as fanatical and intrinsically violent are, in some ways, effecting a shift in hierarchies of otherness which then allows for relatively sympathetic and inclusive conceptualisations of (non-Muslim) Asian-Australians and refugees. But in Rollins' *Rogue Element* old fears of Asian duplicity are recast in a narrative depicting the prospect of innumerable fishing boats carrying invaders disguised as refugees, utilising their poverty to undercut Australia's technologically driven military defences. Desperate pedagogical agendas and rhetorical strategies (now with links to alarmist websites) continue in the work of Mason and Collison but are absent from the more entertainment-orientated novels of Rollins. Rollins' novels may occupy the fuzzy edges of the subgenre, intersecting with the realm of the bestselling techno-thriller, but his popular books are still clearly informed by the generic fears of the invasion narrative.

Combining the evolving geopolitical realities of refugees and terrorist threat with the bestselling formula of the thriller infuses the subgenre with a new dynamism and relevance that makes likely the continued production of Asian invasion novels in the future. The implications of Jemaah Islamiyah's reported goal to establish a pan-Asian Islamic state incorporating northern Australia could well be borne out in a yet to be written prototypical novel of Asian invasion. Similarly, the *Bulletin's* recent feature "The Gathering Storm" (mentioned in the opening of this thesis), which predicts a climate change driven exodus of millions of Asian refugees to Australia, contains all the ingredients for a future invasion novel. Or, perhaps, in another contemporary context apart from terrorism and refugees, the economic rise of China to the level of world super-power may see yet another return to allocations

of threat to Australia's original, and periodically recurring, Asian invader.¹¹ The subgenre's demonstrated ability not only to reiterate its formulaic fears but to maintain its poignancy across time is realised through this conjoining of the political concerns of the present moment with embedded historic anxieties. It is this very dynamism and the evolving, adaptive nature of the Asian invasion subgenre – paradoxically denied by traditional prescriptive genre theories – that ensures its continued existence and viability in past, present and predictably future contexts.

Conclusion

This thesis provides a formative mapping of the corpus of novels depicting an Asian invasion of Australia. By considering the body of texts as a whole, this study differentiates itself from previous critical work on invasion novels. The majority of prior scholarship performs the important work of identifying the early texts of the Federation era and describing the narrative tropes central to the genesis of the Australian nation. Some critical works extend their focus to consider invasion novels of the mid-twentieth century. But the 1968 publication of John Hay's *The Invasion* effectively marks the endpoint of existing scholarship. Marsden's *Tomorrow* series has been noted as revisiting the invasion narrative, but other late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century texts have received minimal, if any, recognition. This study has pushed through the conventional line drawn after Hay's *The Invasion* to delineate the more recent novels of Asian invasion and integrate them into the subgenre.

The argument that this grouping warrants the descriptor "subgenre" has been asserted on the basis that these texts have a quality of sameness about them. With few deviations, they tell the same story of a well-off, naïve, young nation paying insufficient attention to its unsettled regions, empty spaces that beckon to the overcrowded, seething masses of Asia. They imagine an Australia into being that is premised on its whiteness, be it racial or cultural. This is an Australia that defines itself against the foil of racialised others, not only the obviously demonised Asians, but implicitly and perhaps more significantly against its own indigenous people. The texts' didactic tone instructs readers as to the rectitude of Australia's defining myths of nation: the bush ethos, masculinism, egalitarianism and the colonial imperative of settlement. They tell this story in much the same way, by adhering to a narrative formula and deploying a particular mix of realism, adventure and science fiction.

Yet the novels are at once the same and different. They repeat the timeworn tropes of the fiction of impending invasion but each enunciation is necessarily distinct and singular. As Derrida argues, the logic of "iteration" implies both "identity *and* difference." The repetition of the same in other contexts will always entail a remainder; it will mean something slightly different each time (*Limited Inc*

53). The novels are individual texts while at the same time belonging to the broader literary category of Asian invasion narratives. All are premised on the act of invasion, on the breaching of the spatial and psychic borders of the Australian nation, but the invasions take different forms as they are inflected with the particular socio-cultural concerns of the time of production. The nationality of the enemy changes from China to Japan, then returns to China before assuming its current location of Indonesia. But the enemy is essentially interchangeable: one could be swapped with another and the story would remain the same. Each enemy is constructed through the most general of negative stereotypes, in order to place it in opposition to white Australia. The language of racialised threat changes through the history of the novels' production. The enemy is no less demonised but comes to be described in cultural rather than racial terms.

Regardless of the progression of time, the manner of the incursion differs across the body of texts. In most of the novels the invasion is military, in the form of a devastating surprise attack. In some texts, such as *The Australian Crisis*, *The Big Five* and *Northern Approaches*, the invasion is migratory and conducted in secret by founding clandestine colonies in uninhabited regions. The degree of centrality accorded the invasion in each narrative also varies. In most, the invasion itself dominates the unfolding of the narrative, but in others the backdrop of the invasion enables the exploration of other subjects. The invasion is thus supplemented by other narrative trajectories, such as colonial exploration in *The Big Five*, stories of the occult in Vincent's *The Celestial Hand*, science fictional adventures in Pullar's *Celestalia*, the sublimity of the Australian landscape in *The Bush Soldiers* or mediations on white settler belonging in *Below the Line*. The process of reiterating the standard tropes of the invasion narrative can thus lead to the emergence of new textual formations, the same yet different in each instance. In Bhabha's words, "any change in the statement's conditions" can "lead to the emergence of a new statement: the difference of the same" (22). The iterability of the invasion topos, its manifestation in specific narratives across time, results in an expression of anxiety that is both old and new, multifaceted in its similarities and dissimilarities.

But one point of similarity can paradoxically be constituted by what each novel does not say. As Meaghan Morris argues,

Any revision of historic materials creates a remainder, something left over each time; we can think of this as an edge of difference or an incommensurability, but it can also be something that *returns* as an element excluded from differing versions of a story securing their similarity. (247)

This excluded element, the colonial invasion of Australia, is the point of convergence from which the novels of Asian invasion are generated. With the exception of

Willmot's *Below the Line* (which is decidedly atypical in its indigenous authorship, postcoloniality and references to what it terms the first invasion of Australia), this body of novels are joined by what they do not say, as much as by what they do. The great unsaid of colonial invasion haunts the narratives at every turn. It at once drives their paranoid exclamations of Asian threat and deconstructs the legitimacy of their claims. Attention to this subconscious stratum of the textual psyche of invasion narratives has shown that, at their base level, these novels try to ground the anxious white settler subjectivity in its new land. This grounding is performed through processes of deferral (of the event of invasion onto Asians) and displacement (of Aborigines as Australia's indigenous people). But such strategies of deferral and displacement will always be fraught with the unconscious knowledge that it is white Australians who are the real invaders.

This thesis has been written in the hope of contributing to the acknowledgement of this fact. It illuminates the configurations of white settler anxieties underlying the Asian invasion narrative so as to enable those anxieties to be better understood, and to facilitate the move beyond them to an open recognition of the reality of Australia's colonial invasion. Such recognition forms a vital step in the process of reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians and in the dismantling of prejudice engendered through paranoid projections of threat onto Asian-Australians and neighbouring Asian nations.

Appendix

An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Novels of Asian Invasion

Listed in Order of Date

Lane, William. "White or Yellow? A Story of the Race-war of A.D. 1908." *Boomerang* 18 Feb. 1888 – 5 May 1888.

Lane's "White or Yellow" was serialised in the Brisbane weekly the *Boomerang* in twelve instalments in early 1888 under the pseudonym "Sketcher." It is most likely the first substantial piece of Asian invasion fiction published in Australia and is informed by socialist and republican ideals. The instructive story depicts a future Queensland overrun by demonised Chinese migrants and the "inevitable" race war between the "whites" and the "yellows" that follows. Queensland in 1908 is a colony controlled by a capital-driven, pro-British elite who have betrayed white Australia by opposing anti-Chinese legislation and allowing the white masses to be suppressed into lives of desperate poverty. The premier of Queensland, Lord Stibbins, is plotting to marry his beautiful daughter Stella to the powerful Chinese capitalist Sir Wong Hung Foo and effect a Chinese takeover of Australia. Pitted against this threat is John Saxby, president of the Farmer's Union and secretary of the Anti-Chinese League, and his sturdy friend Bob Flynn, who is engaged to Saxby's darling daughter Cissie. When Cissie dies defending her honour against Sir Wong, the event ignites the flames of racial hatred and war is declared on the "yellow devils." Uncharacteristically for an invasion narrative the whites triumph, imperialism is struck down, the Republic of Australia proclaimed and twelve million Chinese are shipped back to Asia.

The Author:

William Lane (1861-1917) was a labour activist, impassioned journalist and powerful figure in the Queensland trade union movement. Born in England, Lane lived in Australia (Brisbane) from 1885 to 1893. He wrote for the *Boomerang* (which he co-founded) and the *Brisbane Worker* as editor, campaigning for socialism and an exclusively white Australia. His most famous literary work is *The Working Man's Paradise*. In 1893 Lane departed for Paraguay where he founded the racially pure utopian community "New Australia." Lane has been the subject of numerous critical and biographical studies – see for example Whitehead's *Paradise Misland* (1998) – as well as having entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* and other similar publications. Lane is also entered in the AustLit database.

Criticism:

"White or Yellow" is one of the most analysed texts of Asian invasion. It is discussed in the work of Yu (1995), Meaney (1996), Webb and Enstice (1998), Walker (1999), and Crouch (2006).

Maitland, Edward. *The Battle of Mordialloc: Or, How We Lost Australia*. Melbourne: Samuel Mullen, 1888. (67 pages)

The Battle of Mordialloc is a novella in pamphlet form and depicts the successful invasion of the colony of Victoria by allied Russian and Chinese forces. It is the first

Australian text of Asian invasion to utilise a realist pseudo-historical framework to communicate its political message and appears to have been modelled on George Tomkyns Chesney's foundational British invasion narrative *The Battle of Dorking* (1871). The body of the text is presented as a manuscript authored by white Australian Herbert Ainslie that describes the lead-up to, and the event of the invasion in 1888. Prefacing Ainslie's manuscript is an introduction set ten years in the future, written from the perspective of a British lieutenant who served in the battle to reclaim the lost Australian colonies. *The Battle of Mordialloc* is notably pro-British: Ainslie's manuscript describes how young Australia foolishly declares independence from Britain. Thus leaving itself defenceless and vulnerable, it is consequently invaded. The focus of the text is on the battle against the incoming Chinese at Mordialloc, south of Melbourne. The Victorians fight bravely but are overwhelmed by the sheer force of numbers of the invaders. Ainslie's account concludes with the ominous arrival of the victorious Chinese into the streets of Melbourne and the suggestion of the horror to follow.

The Author:

Recent research has established that the anonymous author of *The Battle of Mordialloc* is Edward Maitland (1824-1897). Maitland, an Englishman, settled in Australia from 1850-58. He was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands and police magistrate at Wellington in 1854 and then Goulburn in 1855. Upon his return to England Maitland helped to found the Theosophical Society. He has written four novels and is entered in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Battle of Mordialloc is briefly discussed by Yu (1995), Webb and Enstice (1998), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999), Walker (1999) and Kendall (2005).

Mackay, Kenneth. *The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia.* London: Richard Bently, 1895. (435 pages)

Mackay's *The Yellow Wave* depicts the successful military invasion of Queensland by allied Russian and Chinese forces. The narrative details how, under the guiding hand of city-based politicians, the security of white Australia has been undermined by the prevalence of "coloured labour" and foreign ownership. The resulting invasion is coordinated by Russian officers and carried out by an undifferentiated mass of bloodthirsty Chinese: the eponymous "Yellow Wave." Blind to the threat and totally unprepared for war, Australia has no adequate defence against the invasion and the British fleet is preoccupied elsewhere. Defence is thus left to those on the front line, the bushmen of the Queensland frontier. The hero of the story, Dick Hatten, founds a mounted guerrilla troop and the idealised men of "Hatten's Ringers" fight bravely, but are too vastly outnumbered and outclassed in both discipline and weaponry to have any chance at success. *The Yellow Wave* also includes an ill-fated romance between the squatter's daughter, the lovely Heather Cameron, and the Russian General (of Australian birth) Philip Orloff.

The original publication of *The Yellow Wave* was illustrated by Frank Mahony. In 2003, *The Yellow Wave* was republished in a scholarly edition in the Early Classics of Science Fiction Series by Wesleyan University Press, with an introduction and notes by Andrew Enstice and Janeen Webb.

The Author:

Kenneth Mackay (1859-1935) was a long-standing politician and military officer, a writer of bush verse and founder of the Australian Light Horse Brigade. He was

elected to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly as a Protectionist in 1895. In 1898 he was returned to office as a member of Edmund Barton's National Federal Party and in 1899 was nominated as a government representative to the Legislative Council. Apart from a period of service in the Boer War, as the commander of the New South Wales Imperial Bushmen's Contingent, Mackay remained a Member of the Legislative Council until 1933 and continued to be active in the military until his death in 1935. Mackay is entered in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Yellow Wave is one of the most analysed texts of Asian invasion. It is mentioned briefly by Ikin (1982) and discussed by Yu (1995), Meaney (1996), Webb and Enstice (1998, 2003) Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999) and Walker (1999).

Vincent, Joyce. *The Celestial Hand: A Sensational Story*. Sydney: J.C. MacCartie, 1903. (256 pages)

The Celestial Hand is the only Australian novel of Asian invasion that is authored by a woman. The novel incorporates the conventions of the invasion narrative within a larger science-fictional story of an occult inspired world-wide battle between good and evil with the Chinese cast in the role of enemy. It is less political than the majority of invasion narratives and more character driven. The supernatural content of the narrative ensures that the text is not realist, however, such events are carefully explained through pseudo-rational logic. The majority of *The Celestial Hand* is set in Sydney and depicts a series of mysterious supernatural events that suggest that complacent Australia is threatened by a formidable unknown force, in possession of previously unthought of military power. Eventually, this force is revealed to be "the mighty Eastern genius" Armarbel, a descendent of an ancient Mongolian race of great spiritual knowledge. Armarbel has combined his supernatural powers with the science of western civilisation in order to launch a holy war on white nations, beginning with Australia. The protagonists Fred Crosby and the Prichard family flee war-torn Australia for the safety of London. Armarbel then, in a manner akin to Genghis Khan, leads his army westward across Asia to Europe. Through the powerful medium of spiritualist Ella Prichard, however, the British army is able to create science-fictional future weaponry and defeat Armarbel's army. In the penultimate conclusion, Ella – possessed by the spirit of her murdered brother Arthur – is able to kill Armarbel but gives her own life in the process to ensure the future safety of Aryan civilisation.

The Author:

There is little published information available on the author Joyce Vincent. She is entered in the *AustLit* database and it states that she published one other novel, *Sellbridge & Co: An Australian Story*, also through J.C. MacCartie in 1903.

Criticism:

The Celestial Hand is listed in invasion literature surveys by Yu (1995) and Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999). Both sources incorrectly refer to the author as Vincent Joyce rather than the correct – and, significantly, female – Joyce Vincent.

Roydhouse, Thomas. *The Coloured Conquest*. Sydney: Bookstall, 1904. (128 pages)

Roydhouse's *The Coloured Conquest*, written under the pseudonym "Rata," employs a pseudo-historical narrative structure to document the successful Japanese invasion of

Australia. The novel opens with a preface set nine years in the future in 1913. The Australian narrator Danton is the only "free" white man in a dystopian world under the control of the Japanese-led "coloured races". The broken-spirited Danton is urged by his Japanese companion to write a record of the events of the last ten years in order to supply the Mikado's archives with an account of the invasion from the white man's perspective. The body of the novel then consists of Danton's manuscript and begins with an account of the 1903 visit of the Japanese naval squadron to Melbourne. The narrative methodically charts Australia's downfall from its foolhardy welcoming of the fleet and highlights the nation's stupidity in ignoring Danton's repeated warnings of the building threat. Once Japan invades it enslaves the Australian population, segregates the sexes and removes children in a bid to exterminate the white race. Most sensationally, however, the most beautiful whites, including Danton's former fiancée Mabel, are selected as breeding pairs and placed in "Fair Lily Colonies" to provide attractive future wives for Japanese officers.

A ten-page extract of *The Coloured Conquest* is included in the anthology *Australian Science Fiction* (1982) compiled by Van Ikin (92-102).

The Author:

Thomas Roydhouse was born in 1862 in Wales (the date of his death is unknown). He worked as a journalist in Australia from 1888, for the Melbourne *Herald*, the Sydney *Sunday Times* and as a Sydney correspondent for the Melbourne *Argus*. In addition to *The Coloured Conquest*, Roydhouse authored several works of nonfiction; most notably the political study *The Labour Party in New South Wales* (1892) which he co-wrote with H.J. Taperell. Roydhouse is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Coloured Conquest is discussed by Ikin (1982), Webb and Enstice (1998), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999), Walker (1999) and Kato (2003).

Pratt, Ambrose. *The Big Five*. London: Ward Lock, 1910. (301 pages)

Pratt's *The Big Five* is a colonial adventure story that depicts an expedition to explore an unmapped area of the Northern Territory and concludes with the discovery of a clandestine Chinese/Malay gold mining colony. Pratt's narrative draws on colonial anxieties concerning the "emptiness" of northern Australia, proposing that if white Australia does not develop the land, more industrious Asian neighbours may utilise the land themselves. The exploratory party primarily consists of the exemplary muscular Australian men who constitute "the big five" of the novel's title, the effeminate English gentleman Sir Trevor who owns the land, and his headstrong wife, Lady Trevor, whose obstinacy often puts the party in danger. As the party travels up river, much of the narrative centres on violent encounters with "treacherous blacks" and the novel is atypical within the subgenre for these frequent references to Aborigines. A more serious threat to white Australia is located in the Asian other, a cunning foe who understands the value of economic development, as demonstrated by the party's discovery of the gold mining settlement deep in the interior of Arnhem Land. Brutal Malay soldiers slay all the explorers but three. McLean and Lady Trevor are taken captive and the other survivor of "the big five" escapes to get help. Eventually, in an uncharacteristically "happy" conclusion, the Asian settlement is destroyed, renamed and populated by white Australians.

The Big Five was serialised in the *Lone Hand* between December 1907 and September 1908 before being published in book form by London publishers Ward Lock in 1910 and is illustrated by Norman Lindsay and Lionel Lindsay in both publications.

The Author:

Ambrose Pratt (1874-1944) was a journalist with the *Australian Worker*, *The Age* and the *Australian Industrial Mining Standard*, a businessman and a prolific author of both fiction and non-fiction. Pratt wrote some thirty novels which, according to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, he unashamedly admitted were potboilers: bestselling adventure stories mostly centred on Australian themes such as bushranging and larrakinism, a number of them published by the New South Wales Bookstall Company. Pratt is also entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Big Five is mentioned briefly by McQueen (1970) and discussed in detail by Dixon (1995) and Walker (1999).

Kirmess, C. H. *The Australian Crisis*. London: Walter Scott, 1909. (335 pages)

The Australian Crisis is an overtly didactic novel that portrays the successful founding of a clandestine Japanese colony in the Northern Territory. The text is structured to provide an account of the events of the near future date of 1912 written retrospectively from 1922. The pseudo-factual narrative imitates the style of a sombre work of political history. The first part of the novel documents Australia's reluctance to comprehend the existence of the Japanese colony. When Australia finally grasps the reality of the situation, the news is met with nation-wide consternation and the federal government appeals to Britain for military support. But crucially, not wanting to offend their ally Japan, the British take no action, nor do Australia's sister dominions come to her aid. Left defenceless, the country is gripped by hysteria and the politicians argue amongst themselves as to the best course of action. Only the bushmen of the frontier recognise that direct action alone can save Australia and form themselves into a volunteer movement called the "White Guard" in order to launch an attack on the Japanese colony. Overwhelmingly outnumbered, the White Guard sacrifice their lives in defence of white Australia. The third part of the novel depicts the ensuing internal disintegration of the nation and Western Australia's bid to secede from the Commonwealth. The narrative concludes with the thriving Japanese colony being granted protection by the British to ensure its ongoing survival.

The Australian Crisis was initially serialised in the *Lone Hand* in eleven monthly instalments between October 1908 and August 1909 under the title *The Commonwealth Crisis*. It was then published in book form under the title *The Australian Crisis* by Melbourne's George Robertson in 1909, London's Walter Scott, also in 1909, and Melbourne's Lothian in 1912. In 2003 the novel became available as an electronic text through The University of Sydney Library Scholarly Electronic Text and Image Service: <<http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/kiraust>>.

The Author:

There is some confusion over the identity of C.H. Kirmess (Charles H. Kirmess) as there is little evidence to attest to his existence. It has been claimed that "C.H. Kirmess" was in fact a pseudonym for Frank Fox and this contention is discussed and dismissed by Meaney (the authority on this matter). The *AustLit* database entry for Kirmess, suggests that the name is a pseudonym used by Ambrose Pratt. Meaney asserts that records held by the Lothian publishing company reveal Kirmess to have been a German man who spent some years in Australia.

Criticism:

The Australian Crisis is one of the most frequently examined Asian invasion texts. It is analysed in detail by Dixon (1995) and Meaney (1996) and discussed by McQueen (1970), Ikin (1982) Webb and Enstice (1998), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999), Walker (1999) and Kato (2003).

Fox, Frank. *Beneath an Ardent Sun: A Novel*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923. (320 pages)

Beneath an Ardent Sun is primarily a romance novel, not in the sense of masculine adventure, but in its depiction of a love story. The central focus of the narrative is the unfolding love affair between protagonists Rose Allington and Henry Trent. The perfection of their true love is, however, complicated by the fact that the (platonic) lovers are both already married to others and that Henry Trent is the prime minister of Australia. This plot of love, politics and scandal is played out against a backdrop of Asian invasion. An unnamed island, half within and half outside the Gulf of Carpentaria, has been occupied by what the text euphemistically refers to as "let us say the Cambodians". Prime Minister Trent, who is presented as a man of common sense and sound judgement, seeks to negotiate the removal of the Cambodian colony from Australian territory without igniting a race war. The novel is significant in its departure from generic, alarmist contentions of the inevitability of race war, to depict a conflict averted through the use of diplomacy and tact. Trent's credibility as prime minister is threatened by the growing scandal surrounding his relationship with Rose Allington. The narrative maps the tension between the lovers' need for each other and Australia's need for a sensible prime minister to lead the nation successfully through "the Cambodia situation" and save it from war. The majority of the novel is, however, devoted to rhapsodic descriptions of the love of Rose and Trent. The story concludes happily with the successful resolution of the Cambodia situation, Trent's subsequent resignation from politics and his unification with Rose.

The Author

Frank Fox (1874-1960) was an author of novels, short stories and poetry, a subeditor of the *Bulletin* (1901-07) and co-founder and editor of the *Lone Hand* (1907-09). Fox was appointed O.B.E. in 1919 and knighted in 1926 for distinguished service in the First World War and prolific war correspondence. Fox is entered in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *AustLit* database.

Criticism

Beneath an Ardent Sun is discussed by Meaney (1996) and Webb and Enstice (1998).

Pullar, A.L. *Celestalia: A Fantasy A.D.* 1975. Sydney: The Canberra P, 1933. (279 pages)

Pullar's *Celestalia* depicts a migratory Chinese invasion of Australia and the defeat of a Japanese plot to acquire a military force that could terrorise the world. The novel contains the generic elements of the Asian invasion narrative and is politically didactic in parts but also contains atypical plot trajectories shaped by the conventions of science fiction. The body of the novel is prefaced by a foreword that provides a pseudo-factual history of near future events that lead to great movements of people around the world and reconfigurations in the racial makeup of nations. In the body of the text, set from the 1950s to the 1970s, millions of Chinese consequently settle in Australia's "empty" north and eventually take over the rest of the country. Australia thus becomes

"Celestalia," a province of China, and white Australia is pushed into Tasmania. Australia is presented as having brought these events on itself by failing to populate its "empty" spaces and thus leaving the land idle and vulnerable. The fate of Australia is, however, just one strand of an intensely convoluted science-fictional plot that mostly centres on the transnational life of the female protagonist Talia, a British Secret Service agent, who is understood to be of mixed Italian and Chinese blood. The narrative focuses heavily on eugenicist themes and is preoccupied with blood, race and the horror of hybridity, but it also contains significant moments of ambivalence regarding these subjects.

The Author:

There are no biographical details available for A.L. Pullar. He is listed on the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

Celestalia is mentioned briefly by Ikin (1982) and discussed by Yu (1995) and Webb and Enstice (1998).

Mitchell, George Dean. *The Awakening*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1937.
(280 pages)

Mitchell's *The Awakening* portrays the successful invasion of Australia by an unnamed enemy (modelled on Japan) and adheres strictly to the generic formula of the invasion narrative. The protagonist Major Cromwell, a veteran of World War One, uses his military experience to organise an egalitarian, guerrilla resistance against the invaders. Cromwell establishes a bush settlement and trains and organises commando units who attack the advancing invaders and impede their progress through Queensland. The narrative is triumphant in tone as Cromwell's commando units repeatedly use their bravery and initiative to beat back the enemy and much of the text reads like a military manual for successful counterattacks. Australia as a whole, however, is not doing as well, because it lacks sufficient numbers of trained men and arms to combat the invaders. When Cromwell and his army are called south to aid the defence of Port Kembla they find the Australians vastly outnumbered, ill-equipped and starving. The narrative concludes as Cromwell goes out to meet his near-certain death. The didactic point of the novel is to illustrate the military proficiency Australia could have achieved if it had not neglected its defences. Notably, Cromwell's army includes women, most acting as nurses and some participating in the fighting.

The Awakening is prefaced by a didactic foreword by the former Prime Minister of Australia Billy Hughes.

The Author:

G.D. Mitchell (1894-1961) was a World War One veteran and distinguished A.I.F. Captain was awarded the Military Cross and the Distinguished Conduct Medal. He also published an autobiography *Backs to the Wall* (1937) and a military handbook *Soldiers in Battle* (1940). Mitchell is entered in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Awakening is briefly mentioned by Kato (2003).

Cox, Erle. *Fools' Harvest*. Melbourne: Robertson and Mullen, 1939. (194 pages)

Cox's *Fools' Harvest* is set in the near future and depicts the successful conquest of Australia by the "Cambasians," who are closely modelled on the Japanese. The novel is staunchly didactic and adopts a realist pseudo-historical structure. It opens with an introduction written by the "editors" of the volume: two historians writing in the future year of 1975. The editors introduce the body of the novel as being a manuscript authored by a former journalist Walter Burton, which documents the 1939 invasion of Australia. Burton's manuscript then methodically charts the events of the invasion and is meticulously realist. The invaders are perfectly organised and utterly ruthless and complacent Australia with its inadequate defences is swiftly captured. Much of the narrative details the horror, destruction and anarchy of the first days of the invasion and the flight of refugees from the cities. Burton and his companions escape to the bush and take part in a two-year guerrilla war before being forced into a slave labour camp where Burton risks his life to write the record of the invasion.

Fools' Harvest was initially serialised in the *Argus* in fourteen instalments in November 1938 before being published in book form by Robertson and Mullen in 1939.

The Author:

Erle Cox (1873-1950) was a successful science fiction writer and literary journalist with established ties to the *Argus*. Cox wrote regularly for the Melbourne broadsheet and held a position on the editorial staff from 1921 to 1946. His most notable work is the novel *Out of the Silence*, a science fiction classic with racial themes, initially serialised in the *Argus* in 1919 before being published internationally in multiple editions. Cox is entered in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

Fools' Harvest is mentioned briefly by Ikin (1982) and discussed by Cottle (1988), Webb and Enstice (1998), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999) and Kato (2003).

Pothan, Kap. *A Time to Die*. Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1967. (192 pages)

Pothan's *A Time to Die* portrays the near-future invasion of Australia by Chinese-backed, communist "Indoasia." The novel is prefaced by the verses of a "traditional balad" of the "Third A.I.F." which lament the loss of Australia. The text conforms to the typical conventions of the invasion narrative but is more character based. The story opens in the final stages of the successful Indoasian conquest. Australia is shown to have lacked sufficient defences and the United States fleet offering protection has been forced to withdraw following China's threats of nuclear strikes on American cities. Australia is then quickly defeated, except for two separate groups of survivors living in the bush around Sydney who form themselves into guerrilla bands. The text is mostly a psychological portrait of the leaders of the two groups. Paul Wallace, the leader of the Blue Mountains contingent, is a megalomaniacal dictator who rules by force. He organises his followers into a trained army and formulates a strategy to attack the invaders. Conversely, Clin McKeller, the leader of the group based in caves north of the city, is democratic and inspires loyalty in his people by gaining their respect. Clin's group – which includes an Italian-Australian – acquire a boat and are planning to escape to New Zealand. In the conclusion of the novel, the two groups meet and after tense negotiations it is agreed that they will join forces and try to win back Australia.

The Author:

Kap Pothan (1929-) is a New Zealand-born surveyor and artist of Indian heritage who spent some years in Australia. *A Time to Die* is his only novel. Pothan is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

A Time to Die is briefly mentioned by Yu (1995).

Hay, John. *The Invasion*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968. (192 pages)

Hay's *The Invasion* depicts the invasion of Australia by the Chinese-backed, communist forces of the "South East Asian Republic." The story is set on the Four Hills sheep and cattle station in outback New South Wales. With the coastal cities destroyed by nuclear strikes, a group of survivors take refuge at the Four Hills homestead. Notably, the Australian survivors are of multicultural composition. The owner of the station, John Stanley-Harris, who typifies the white Australian masculine archetype, is accompanied by the Chinese station cook Chee, the "New Australian" of Polish origins Bezjak, the Aboriginal James Lucas, his wife Alice and two children, and the despicable white suburbanite Eddie Burke, his wife Shirley and daughter. In the second part of the novel, the invaders occupy the homestead, renaming it "Number One Mao," and the imprisoned Australians make a plan to escape based on their knowledge of the land and its seasons. When the predicted floods come, the Australians escape to a new life in the surrounding hills. The conclusion of the novel presents the mixed race group of survivors living in a cave society and points forward to an utopian vision of Australia's race-less future. *The Invasion* is the only novel within the subgenre to include an Aborigine as a major character.

The Author:

John Hay (1928-) has also produced a biography and critical pieces, but *The Invasion* is his only novel. There are few biographical details available for Hay except that he is farm owner in New South Wales and a former employee of Australia's New Guinea administration (Kendall 39). Hay is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

Hay's *The Invasion* has received a relatively large amount of critical attention in comparison to other post-Federation era invasion novels. It also effectively marks the cut off date for critical considerations of invasion texts: scholarship that lists and surveys novels of Asian invasion frequently presents *The Invasion* as the final novel in the grouping. It is mentioned briefly by Ikin (1982), discussed by Webb and Enstice (1998), Blackford, Ikin and McMullen (1999) and analysed in detail by Kendall (2005).

Page, Michael Fitzgerald. *A Nasty Little War*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1979. (286 pages)

Page's *A Nasty Little War* is set in the near future with communist China cast in the role of Asian invader. It is a fast-paced political thriller and is the first Australian invasion text to adopt the thriller format. The main protagonist is white Australian Adam Frankau, a professor of Chinese studies at Adelaide University. Frankau is mysteriously called to Canberra to examine a document given to the Australian prime minister by China, which proclaims that a Chinese explorer landed in northern Australia about a century before Captain Cook. It is on this basis that China intends to invade. In order to pave the way for the invasion Chinese agents arrange the

assassinations of individuals capable of advising the Australian government on the ways of Chinese culture. Frankau is thus subject to repeated assassination attempts throughout the novel. China also covertly mobilises a worldwide publicity campaign directed against Australia's treatment of Aborigines in order to further legitimise its planned invasion. The novel includes a number of male Aboriginal characters who are unwittingly duped by Chinese agents into performing terrorist acts including an assassination attempt on Frankau. Pointedly, the invasion does not eventuate. The Chinese are drowned in their tens of thousands when a storm breaks up the attempted landing. It is inferred, however, that "timeless" China will wait with infinite patience to make another attempt to invade at a future date.

The Author:

Michael Page (1922-) was the manager of Rigby publishers (1967-82). He has published three children's books and eleven adult novels, mostly historical adventure narratives with warfare and naval themes. Page is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

A Nasty Little War is discussed briefly by Yu (1995).

Lyons, Peter L. *The China Tape*. Sydney: Horwitz, 1981. (223 pages)

Lyons' *The China Tape* is a complex political thriller that portrays the lead up to the successful invasion of Australia by communist China in the future year of 1988. The text employs many of the generic tropes of the subgenre: China has been planning the invasion for years and desires Australia for its resources and space for excess population. The novel also contains prominent espionage themes. It employs the pseudo-historical narrative structure and the novel begins and ends in the year 2017 with an historian in "Brisbane, New China" studying a newly acquired archive of material that documents the preparations for the Chinese takeover. The body of the novel is then constituted by the story told in a "series of notes, diaries, letters and old newspaper cuttings" plus the eponymous tape recording. The plot begins in 1973 with Australia's recognition of communist China and the dispatching of a trade delegation. The delegation is, in fact, a propaganda stunt, as the Australian prime minister is already complicit in a planned Chinese invasion. Two businessmen on the trade mission to China begin to suspect that something is wrong when they are given a tape which (unknown to them) is a recording of the Australian prime minister and Chinese leaders discussing the takeover. Both businessmen are eventually murdered, but not before enabling the smuggling of the tape out of China. A United States expert on China uncovers the plot but is quickly silenced by his own government which is also complicit in the invasion. In the novel's conclusion, China, who never intended for the Australian prime minister to remain in power, destroys Canberra in a nuclear strike before taking over the country.

The China Tape was published by the mass-market genre fiction house Horwitz, in the second series of "Pocket Books" (1974-1981) with a lurid cover depicting an eroticised Asian woman that has no relevance to the actual text.

The Author:

There are few biographical details available regarding Peter Lyons, except that he has had a varied career and authored one other novel, *The New Guinea Club* (1998) and a short story "The Re-Union" in *A Realm of Writers* (1982). Lyons is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The China Tape is mentioned briefly by Yu (1995).

Sweeney, Gerald. *Invasion*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1982. (222 pages)

Gerald Sweeney's *Invasion* is a political satire that draws on the established tropes of the invasion narrative but does so in an essentially comic manner. The novel focuses on the ineptitude of Australian politicians faced with an invasion scenario and parodies political rhetoric and the inability to take action. It is set in the near future and opens with the Australian foreign minister trying to work out what the ANZUS treaty is – nobody seems to know – and the Americans offer nothing but hyperbole. In this context Indonesia invades Darwin. No allies come to Australia's aid and the Australian people are more concerned with barbeques and football. The politicians meet in councils of war but are more interested in devising strategies and playing with the coloured lights on their maps than actually mounting a counter attack. After almost a year of political inertia a military madman stages a coup d'état and tries to attack. But at this point India invades Western Australia and Japan invades the eastern states. Australia is pushed into Tasmania and the Indonesians, Indians and Japanese divide the Australian mainland up between them. The novel is light-hearted but its satirical nature facilitates strident criticism of Australian politics and effects similar censure to the more pointedly didactic and realist texts.

The Author:

There are few details available for Gerald Sweeney (1930-) except that he has authored one other novel: *The Plunge* published by Angus and Robertson in 1981. He is listed on the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

Invasion is discussed by Reeve (1998) and mentioned briefly by Yu (1995).

Hooker, John. *The Bush Soldiers*. Sydney: Collins, 1984. (439 pages)

Hooker's *The Bush Soldiers* is an alternative history novel that depicts the Japanese invasion of Australia during World War Two. It is the only Australian novel of Asian invasion to be set in the past rather than the future. *The Bush Soldiers* is also notable for its relative literariness and progressive treatment of the relationship between white and Aboriginal Australians. The text incorporates the generic elements of the invasion narrative but also supplements it with divergent trajectories. The story centres on figures of colonial masculinity in invaded Australia. It details Australia's lack of defences: how the Australian military were in Europe when the invasion came and the under-equipped and sorry state of the Australian Volunteer Defence Corps that was left to defend the homeland. The protagonist, Geoffrey Sawtell, and his band of bush soldiers are members of the Defence Corps and are carrying out a scorched earth policy in the wake of the invasion. They travel to Broken Hill to sabotage a mine worked by the Japanese and then flee inland in the footsteps of the old explorers. Eventually, the invading Japanese cease to figure altogether in the bush soldiers' battle for survival in the unforgiving Australian desert. Significantly, in the end, it is not the Japanese who attack Sawtell and his men, but an Aboriginal man avenging past wrongs.

The Author:

John Hooker (1932-), a successful writer and former influential figure in the Australian publishing industry in the 1970s and early 1980s, has authored seven novels as well as non-fictional texts and critical articles for the *Australian* and the *Age*. His novels are primarily works of historical fiction, often concerned with the military, wars and Australian race relations. In 2001 he was the joint recipient of the Australia Council for the Arts Writers Emeritus Award for outstanding life-long contribution to Australian literature. Hooker is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The Bush Soldiers is discussed by Cottle (1988).

Willmot, Eric. *Below the Line*. Milsons Point: Hutchinson, 1991. (202 pages)

Willmot's *Below the Line* is a fast-paced mystery thriller set in the early twenty-first century. Indonesia has invaded Australia and the continent has been divided along the Brisbane line: to the north is the Indonesian-affiliated nation of "South Irian" and to the south is what remains of Australia. *Below the Line* is the only Asian invasion novel to be written by an indigenous Australian and to recognise the British invasion of 1788. The narrative both incorporates and departs from the generic invasion narrative to explore questions of home and belonging in postcolonial Australia. The text is also significant for its female protagonist. White Australian Angela Steen has been interned in a brutal Indonesian prison camp for the duration of the war, and upon her release knows nothing of what has happened, nor does she understand why she is being pursued by both the Australian and Indonesian authorities. Originally from Townsville, now north of the line, Angela feels displaced in the new world order, and the narrative follows her quest to discover how and why Australia was invaded, why she is being pursued and where she truly belongs. Notably, *Below the Line* posits indigenous Australians as the only people who legitimately belong to the country.

The Author:

Eric Willmot (1936-) is a former high-level public servant in educational planning. He was head of the Australia Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and editor of the 1984 *Out of the Silent Land* report on Aboriginal and Islander broadcasting and communications. Willmot is a member of the Order of Australia (1984). He gave the 1986 ABC Boyer Lecture Series (*Australia: The Last Experiment*) which addressed Australian culture and identity and in 1991 gave the inaugural David Unaipon Lecture (*Dilemma of Mind*) on the history of Aboriginal and white race relations. He is also the author of the novel *Pemulwuy* (1987) which depicts indigenous resistance to the British colonisation of the Sydney area. Willmot is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

Willmot's *Below the Line* is briefly discussed by Reeve (1998) and has attracted some critical attention for its treatment of Aboriginal and Asian discourses from critics focused on cultural intersections between indigenous and multicultural Australia. See Jacobs (2003, 2006) and Stephenson (2003, 2005).

Marsden, John. *The Tomorrow Series*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1993-2000.

Tomorrow, When the War Began (1993), *The Dead of the Night* (1994), *The Third Day, the Frost* (1995), *Darkness, Be My Friend* (1996), *Burning for Revenge* (1997), *The Night is for Hunting* (1998), *The Other Side of Dawn* (2000).

Marsden's bestselling *Tomorrow* series closely conforms to the generic formula of the traditional Asian invasion narrative. It tells the story of the invasion of contemporary Australia by an unnamed Asian country (implicitly positioned as Indonesia). Aimed at a young adult readership, the series follows the adventures of a group of resourceful rural teenagers. It opens with the teenagers leaving home to camp in a local wilderness area called "Hell." Several days later they return from their camping trip to find that Australia has been invaded. With their parents either dead or impounded in prisoner-of-war camps, the teenagers must take responsibility for their own lives in occupied Australia. They return to the relative safety of Hell and industriously create a bush settlement from which they mount heroic and often elaborate attacks on the enemy. Although Marsden's teenage heroes are of multicultural composition and the enemy is not named, the *Tomorrow* series still reproduces historic constructs of Asian threat in contemporary guise. The series is also notable for its female protagonist.

The *Tomorrow* series is phenomenally successful. The first novel *Tomorrow, When the War Began* has been reprinted forty-five times alone since its initial publication in 1993.

Marsden has also written a sequel series named *The Ellie Chronicles*, consisting of the three novels *While I Live* (2003), *Incurable* (2005) and *Circle of Flight* (2006), which follows on from the conclusion of the *Tomorrow* series and is set in post-war divided Australia.

The Author:

Marsden (1950-) is a prolific author and has published twenty-two young adult novels, five children's novels, five picture books and non-fiction and autobiographical texts. He is frequently interviewed by the media and has been featured on the ABC's social documentary series *Australian Story* twice (9 September 2002 and 17 September 2007). His writing has been awarded a multitude of prizes: primarily for his first novel *So Much to Tell You* (1988), the *Tomorrow* series and his picture book *The Rabbits* (1998). Marsden has a background as an English teacher and continues to hold creative writing workshops on his rural property in Romsey, Victoria. In 2006 he opened an alternative bush school – named Candlebark – on the property, which (like his novels) propounds an ethos of adventure (see <http://candlebark.info/>). Marsden is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

The *Tomorrow* series is critically analysed in terms of its representation of race by Bradford (2001) Caesar (1999), Reeve (1998) and Scutter (1999) and is discussed more generally in terms of its status as young adult fiction by Foster (1997), Mayers (1998), Johnston (2003) and Michaels (2004).

Harper-Nelson, John. *The Day They Came*. Northbridge: Access P, 1998. (69 pages)

John Harper-Nelson's novella *The Day They Came* is a very basic invasion narrative that depicts the successful invasion of the Northern Territory and Western Australia by Indonesia. The text is staunchly realist and didactic and is accompanied by documentary-style photographs of featured landmarks and buildings, along with incongruous pictures of Indonesian faces. The story opens with the Indonesian

"General Sudorno" laughing as Australia declares itself a republic and severs its ties with Britain. Sudorno, the recipient of a western education, is now in a position to launch "Operation South Irian": the long-planned invasion. The Indonesians represent themselves to the United Nations as a liberation army for the Aboriginal population but this theme is not developed in detail. The narrative alternates between the perspectives of Sudorno, an Indonesian-Australian man named "Sammy" (who has been living in readiness for the invasion for ten years) and numerous everyday Australians who are depicted as unwittingly carrying on with their banal routines. Australia is represented as foolishly complacent and without adequate defence forces. The Indonesian invasion is so efficient that it is accomplished before the Australian people realise what has happened. When they do realise, national apathy is so great that life carries on as normal. No allies come to Australia's aid and northern and western Australia are successfully incorporated into the Indonesian Republic as the territory of "South Irian."

The Author:

John Harper-Nelson (1922-) migrated to Western Australia in 1962 where he was a popular ABC radio and television presenter until his retirement in 1981. He has also published an autobiography and a biography, edited a number of annual Western Australian poetry anthologies and made contributions to the journal *Artlook*. Harper-Nelson is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

There are no critical works on *The Day They Came*.

Mason, Colin. *Northern Approaches*. Avalon: Halbooks, 2001. (239 pages)

Mason's *Northern Approaches* recasts the generic invasion discourse of multitudes of Asians "swamping" Australia's "vulnerable north" in the context of a fundamentalist Islamic Indonesia triggering a mass exodus of refugees to Australia. The text positions fundamentalist Islam and the threat of terrorism as the new enemies of Australia, by portraying Islamic Indonesian terrorists in terms of ultimate alterity. It is a political thriller with a complicated and fast-moving plot, split between multiple settings. The novel's hero, the Democrats senator Roberts, is focused on unravelling the mystery of the intensifying ferment in Indonesia and its implications for Australia. Gradually, it is revealed that fundamentalist Islamic elements within Indonesia – the "Akbar Jihad" – in league with Arab nations of the Middle East and Osama Bin Laden plan to seize control of Indonesia and turn it into the world's new Islamic power-base, with plans to invade the empty regions of northern Australia. Brutal terror campaigns are carried out by the Akbar Jihad against Indonesia's Christian minorities, causing them to flee in their thousands towards Australia. The novel's conclusion is markedly different from the generic invasion narrative, as it depicts the acceptance of the Indonesian refugees and the formation of an Asian-Australian north as a positive outcome.

The Author:

Colin Mason (1926-) was an Australian Democrats senator for the years 1978 to 1987 and has a long career specialising in South-East Asian affairs. He was a foreign correspondent in South-East Asia, beginning in 1956 as the first ABC journalist in the region. He also acted as an advisor with the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and has written a number of non-fiction books on Asian history and affairs such as *Asia Emerges* (1968), *Man in Asia* (1968), *Understanding Indonesia* (1970) and *A Short History of Asia* (2000). Mason is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

There is no available criticism on *Northern Approaches*.

Rollins, David. *Rogue Element*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2003. (428 pages)

Rollins' *Rogue Element* is a political-military thriller that depicts the foiling of an Indonesian conspiracy to invade northern Australia. The novel bears out the conventions of the commercial thriller genre and does not concern itself with the usual tropes of the invasion narrative. Thus, although the narrative portrays the threat of an Asian invasion of Australia, it is not a generic invasion narrative. The complicated plot centres on unravelling the mystery surrounding the crashing of a Qantas plane in the jungle of Sulawesi and the masterful rescue of the survivors by Australian S.A.S. sergeant Tom Wilkes. Eventually it is revealed that the Indonesian military itself (the T.N.I.) shot the plane down because one of the passengers had accidentally uncovered the invasion plans. The villainous T.N.I. generals (the "rogue element" of the novel's title) had been planning an invasion, to be carried out via soldiers disguised as arriving refugees, in order to unite Indonesia's disparate provinces against a common enemy and to punish Australia for its intervention in East Timor. The novel concludes happily with the defeat of the Indonesian invasion plot through the exemplary efforts of Australia's hardworking military and intelligence personnel.

Rollins, David. *Sword of Allah*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2004. (395 pages)

Rollins' *Sword of Allah* is a political-military thriller that depicts the thwarting of an Indonesian Islamic terrorist plot to strike Australia with a weapon of mass destruction. The novel is positioned on the margins of the Asian invasion subgenre because it represents the threat of an Asian attack but not an outright invasion. Additionally, *Sword of Allah*, like Rollins' previous novel *Rogue Element*, is shaped more by the conventions of the commercial thriller genre than by the generic concerns of the invasion narrative. The story revolves around the clandestine activities of an Indonesian fundamentalist Islamic group called Babu Islam which is likened by the text to the terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah. It eventuates that Babu Islam have acquired a great quantity of deadly VX nerve agent from Saudi Arabia and have constructed a chemical weapon of mass destruction, dubbed the "Sword of Allah," which they intend to "plunge into the heart of the unbelievers" – an unknown Australian target presumed to be Darwin. Rollins' recurring hero Wilkes arrives at the terrorist base just moments too late to halt the launching of the weapon towards Australia. At the very last moment, however, the weapon is destroyed and Australia is saved in a triumphant happy ending.

The Author:

There are few biographical details available for David Rollins except that he is a former advertising director and copywriter. He has authored two other novels (both popular thrillers), published by Pan Macmillan: *The Death Trust* (2005) and *A Knife Edge* (2006). Rollins is entered on the AustLit database.

Criticism:

There are no critical works on either *Rogue Element* or *Sword of Allah*.

Collison, Kerry B. *Crescent Moon Rising*. Hartwell: Sid Harta, 2005. (425 pages)

Collison's *Crescent Moon Rising* is a political-thriller that charts the rise of Indonesian Islamic extremism and the threat it poses to Australia. This novel is positioned on the margins of the invasion narrative subgenre because it does not depict an invasion of Australia, but rather the breaching of Australia's borders by terrorist networks and a nuclear strike on Melbourne. The text is didactic and informed by generic concerns over Australian vulnerability and Asian menace. The manifold plot centres on the growing power of Jemaah Islamiyah and the Laksar Jihad and their goals to purge Indonesia of non-Muslims, establish a pan-Islamic state in South-East Asia and to launch a Jihad on Australia. The Laksar Jihad determine to pre-emptively discourage Australia from interfering in Indonesian affairs by striking it with a dirty nuclear bomb, also named the "Sword of Allah," sourced via transnational networks of Islamic extremists. Additionally, Islamic elements within the T.N.I. plan to crash a passenger plane into central Sydney. Subject to setbacks, the two attacks do not go according to plan. The plane crashes into Kuta instead of Sydney and, after the assassination of the leader of the Laksar Jihad, the nuclear bomb sits in a holding yard in Darwin for some months, before it is inadvertently shipped to Melbourne. The novel concludes with its detonation.

The four hundred page text of the novel is followed by twenty-five pages of notes detailing the historical accuracy of the material presented in the narrative, including a timeline of Indonesian media releases and copies of official documents.

The Author:

Kerry B. Collison is a former member of the Australian military and intelligence services posted to Jakarta and a successful businessman in South-East Asia. *Crescent Moon Rising* is Collison's sixth novel on Indonesian politics and predicted catastrophe. Over a five-year period beginning in 1996 he produced five Indonesian-themed novels of approximately five hundred pages each: *The Timor Man* (1996), *Merdeka Square* (1997), *The Fifth Season* (1998), *Jakarta* (1998) and *Indonesian Gold* (2001). He also has his own website detailing alarmist predictions for the region. Collison is entered in the *AustLit* database.

Criticism:

There are no critical works on *Crescent Moon Rising*.

Notes

Introduction

¹ Walker has also published a book chapter and two articles, drawn from the text of *Anxious Nation*, which discuss early Asian invasion novels: "Survivalist Anxieties" (2002), "Race Building and the Disciplining of White Australia" (2003), and "Shooting Mabel" (2005). For a history of Australian perceptions of Asia, also see Alison Broinowski's *The Yellow Lady* (1992): a wide-ranging survey of Australian artistic and literary responses to Asia from the mid-nineteenth century to the late-twentieth century. Broinowski makes minimal specific reference to Asian invasion novels but documents the general culture of threat attributed to "Asia" across white Australian history.

² Material on early-twentieth-century invasion novels in Dixon's *Writing the Colonial Adventure* was published in two earlier incarnations as book chapters: "The Boundaries of Civility" (1992) and "The Unfinished Commonwealth" (1994).

³ "South-East Asia" is capitalised throughout this thesis, as per the *Oxford English Dictionary*, as it is the proper name denoting the south-eastern division of the Asian continent.

⁴ This study uses the Australian pamphlet edition of Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* published by Melbourne's George Robertson in 1871.

⁵ Clarke's *Voices Prophesying War* (originally published in 1966 and revised and extended in 1992) provides the most substantial account of British invasion literature, within a much broader study of European and American future war fiction. Clarke analyses in detail the numerous British texts produced from 1870 to 1914, which most often depict invasions by France (often in combination with Russia) or Germany. Notably, many of these texts are shaped by conceptions of the romance of war and an understanding that battles are constrained events between national armies observing the codes of chivalry. Clarke contends that the unprecedented destruction and duration of the First World War effectively ended the British preoccupation with the invasion narrative, as literature began to focus instead on the morality of warfare. The bibliographical "Checklist of Imaginary Wars, 1763-1990" (presented at the end of Clarke's text) lists some post-World War One titles, not discussed by Clarke, that suggest later invasion novels. For analysis of British invasion fiction see also Cecil D. Eby's *The Road to Armageddon* (1987); Joseph S. Meisel's "The German's Are Coming!" (1990); A. Michael Matin's "'We Aren't German Slaves Here'" (1997/98); and his lengthy two-part article "'The Hun Is at the Gate'" (1999). The scholarship of Clarke, Eby, Meisel and Matin concentrates on the period from 1870 to 1914. Although this period was clearly the heyday of the British invasion narrative, it is possible that there are post-World War One British invasion novels (as suggested by the tone of some of the titles in Clarke's checklist) that are yet to receive critical attention.

⁶ There is one exception in the body of Australian invasion novels: George Rankin's *The Invasion* (1877), written under the pseudonym W.H. Walker, depicts a Russian, rather than an Asian, invasion of Australia.

⁷ Early Californian invasion novels cast the Chinese in the role of enemy invader and were produced in a similar socio-historical context to early Australian invasion narratives. The most substantial critical work on the subject is William F. Wu's *The*

Yellow Peril (1982): an historical survey of representations of Chinese Americans in American fiction from 1850 to 1940. Wu identifies four novels depicting a Chinese invasion of the United States: Atwell Whitney's *Almond-Eyed* (1878) presents a migratory invasion of a representative Californian town; Pierton W. Dooner's *Last Days of the Republic* (1880) portrays how mass Chinese immigration paves the way for a military conquest of the United States; Robert Wolter's *A Short and Truthful History* (1882) presents a pseudo-historical account of the successful military invasion of the Pacific coast states by the Chinese; and Oto Mundo's science fiction novel *The Recovered Continent* (1898) depicts a Chinese take-over of Europe and the United States. See also R. Valerie Lucas' "Yellow Peril in the Promised Land" (1985) for analysis of Wolter's *A Short and Truthful History* and Mundo's *The Recovered Continent* in terms of representations of Chinese immigrants as threats to American national identity, and H. Bruce Franklin's *War Stars* (1988) which includes analysis of American "future-war" novels appearing between 1880 and the First World War. Franklin demonstrates that during this period American fiction featured a large range of invading or attacking enemies including Britain, Spain, Russia and Germany as well as China and Japan. In terms of Asian invasion novels, he provides analysis of the texts of Dooner, Wolter and Mundo, and additionally discusses novels featuring Japanese invasions of the United States that were produced after the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905: Marsden Manson's *The Yellow Peril in Action* (1907) which presents a story of the successful invasion of the United States by combined Japanese and Chinese forces; Ernest H. Fitzpatrick's *The Coming Conflict of Nations* (1909) in which the Japanese invasion of the United States is eventually defeated; General Homer Lea's *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909) which features a war between Japan and the United States for control of the Pacific and a treatise on the ease with which Japan could invade; and John Ulrich Giesy's *All For His Country* (1915) in which Japan seizes California but is eventually defeated by the superior United States armaments (33-43). As I stated in the context of British invasion narrative scholarship, it is probable that there are post-World War One novels depicting an invasion, and specifically an Asian invasion, of the United States that have not yet received critical acknowledgement. Interestingly, although Canada and New Zealand share the British colonial heritage and Pacific geography of Australia and the United States, there is no evidence of the production of novels of Asian invasion in either country.

⁸ Fox's location of Cambodia as the invading enemy assigned the generalised Asian threat to a small, politically peripheral country at a time when Japan was allied to Britain. In "The Yellow Peril" Meaney argues that Fox's relocation to London in 1909 and subsequent embrace of life at the centre of the Empire and devotion to imperial causes (resulting in his later knighthood), may have led him to rewrite the Asian invasion scenario "to suit his new loyalties and the Empire's new circumstances" (260). Thus, in Fox's novel, the Asian invaders are more tactfully Cambodians rather than Japanese, the hero of the story Prime Minister Trent adopts British policies of diplomacy rather than war, and the co-operative Cambodians are repatriated back to Asia (261).

⁹ The Japanese bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942 evidenced the lack of organised Australian defence so often highlighted in the standard invasion narrative. According to Douglas Lockwood's *Australia Under Attack* (1966), Darwin, despite being an important military base, was quite unprepared for war and suffered heavily under the Japanese attack. Two hundred and forty-three Australians died and three to four hundred were wounded in the raids. Ships were sunk and aircraft were destroyed on the ground or as they tried to take off into the air; military and civilian buildings were also heavily damaged (ix). In the aftermath of the bombing, the majority of the population of Darwin fled inland in a mass panic and the empty town was subject to uncontrolled and widespread drunken looting, mostly perpetrated by members of the military police (145, 158). On 3 March 1942 a Royal

Commission headed by Mr Justice Lowe was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the attack. The ensuing report detailed how Darwin authorities had received warnings of the impending raid but inexplicably there had been a failure to sound the alarm. It also detailed the lack of military resources and communications equipment, the lack of effective leadership and trained troops, the breakdown of civil and military authority and the large-scale desertion of R.A.A.F. personnel into the surrounding bushland (179-87). Fortunately, for Australia, the much-feared follow-up invasion never eventuated.

¹⁰ In the aftermath of World War Two a spate of Australian novels were written that included references to the bombing of Darwin and the fear of Japanese invasion within broader narratives. These novels – such as Dora Birtles' *The Overlanders* (1946), Owen Griffiths' *Dhidgerry Dhoo* (1947) and Dymphna Cusack's *Southern Steel* (1953) – fit more properly into the traditional genre of historical fiction. They are not alarmist texts focused on awakening the populace to Asian threat, but rather representations of recent history. Historical novels that contain references to the Japanese bombing of Darwin and the fear of invasion have, of course, continued to be written up to the present time.

¹¹ Pauline Hanson, a self-described spokesperson of “commonsense” and “mainstream Australia,” famously stated in her 1996 maiden speech that Australia is “in danger of being swamped by Asians.” Hanson’s maiden speech also called for compulsory national service as it reiterated the generic Asian invasion narrative imperative to immediately recognise Australia’s vulnerability to a more populous Asia:

time is running out. We may have only 10 or 15 years left to turn things around. Because of our resources and position in the world, we will not have a say because neighbouring countries such as Japan, with 125 million people; China, with 1.2 billion people; India with 846 million people; Indonesia, with 178 million people; and Malaysia with 20 million people are well aware of our resources and potential. Wake up, Australia, before its too late.

Hanson’s listing of Asian populations directly recalls similar strategies employed in the push for federation a century earlier, as does the prediction of Australia’s Asian future contained in the text *Pauline Hanson: The Truth* published in 1997. Reinvigorations of white anxiety were also fuelled by the pronouncements of popular historian Geoffrey Blainey during the multiculturalism debates of the 1980s and the “history wars” of the 1990s and 2000s. Peter Mares draws our attention to the fact that as recently as 1999, Blainey stated in an article in the *Age* that

it is not certain whether Australia in the next 200 years will be allowed to retain the whole of such a landmass and simultaneously insist that it must remain sparsely populated. This, in human terms, is one of the world’s empty zones.... In nearer Asia as distinct from Europe, governments might not always see the merit in Australia occupying such a huge area, on the doorstep of Asia, and refusing to allow the normal processes of human settlement inside it. (Blainey, “The Risks” 13; Mares 29)

The statements of Hanson and Blainey, framed in the same terms as similar pronouncements made one hundred years earlier, signify the continuation of white Australian fears of Asian invasion within multiculturalism. The Howard government’s failure to distance itself from Hanson, along with its heralded return to a “relaxed and comfortable” conception of white Australian history and rejection of so-called “black armband” revisionist histories, suggests an implicit endorsement of this fearful rhetoric and a recognition that it strikes a chord with a significant proportion of voters. The recent comments of Senator Bill Heffernan, quoted at the beginning of this study, which predict that climate change will cause a mass movement of Asian refugees to Australia, further illustrates the continuation of white anxiety.

¹² The exception here is Eric Willmot's early 1990s text *Below the Line* (1991) in which a fundamentalist Islamic Indonesia invades by using forward strike troops disguised as refugees. This element of the story is, however, peripheral to main narrative and is recalled only in hindsight.

Chapter One: Genre

¹ Apart from Colin Mason, author of *Northern Approaches* (2001) and a former Democrats senator, the political connections of writers of more recent invasion novels are not as evident as they were for the earlier texts. This may be due to cultural changes in determining publicly acceptable ways to discuss race since the legislative dismantling of the White Australia policy. Mason's enemy are depicted as culturally rather than racially other. The political text *Pauline Hanson: The Truth* (1997), a portion of which predicts an Asianised future for Australia in the xenophobic terms popular a century ago, is a notable exception.

² Unfortunately, it is very difficult to establish accurate figures of print runs and sales figures for older Australian novels. Overseeing bodies to collate statistics did not exist at that time. Figures of print runs would have been recorded in individual publishing company records. However, not all of these records have been deposited in existing archives. Additionally, the number of a print run does not necessarily mean that all the novels were sold, and if they were sold that does not mean that they were read (Morrison 3 May 2007). Conversely, each sold book may have been read by more than one person. Richard Nile and David Walker note the difficulty in establishing reliable sales figures in their essay "The Mystery of the Missing Bestseller" (2001). They comment: "For the period 1890 to 1945 there is no study that relates reading practices and popular tastes to an overview of book sales. It would certainly be difficult to generate a full profile of bestsellers from the uneven and often unreliable publishing records and trade publications that still survive in Britain and Australia..." (235). In regards to newspapers and periodicals, official auditing did not begin until 1932, again making it difficult to calculate precise circulation figures (Arnold 256). Accordingly, this study provides printing and sales statistics where I have been able to locate them. Hence, they appear for some texts but regrettably not for others.

³ See the wealth of essays contained in Lyons and Arnold's *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945* (2001).

⁴ Carter is not referring specifically to the *Boomerang* subtitle but is discussing the then common phrase "racy of the soil" in the general terms of the Australian environment producing a distinctive national literature. Elizabeth Webby provides two quotations from the 1860s that exemplify the usage of the phrase, in the context of the projected formation of a national literature, in "Before the Bulletin" (1981) (3, 25).

⁵ Although Australian-born Mackay wrote of a specifically local concern and emphasised Britain's refusal to come to Australia's aid in the invasion scenario, the novel was published by British house Richard Bentley. This was usual practice, as local publishing remained limited within an imperial economic dynamic that saw British publishing houses effectively monopolise the Australian market with cheap colonial editions. Thus, paradoxically, many of the early invasion novels which criticised Britain and championed Australian independence were produced within this "imperial cultural space" dominated by London (Lyons, "Britain's Largest Export Market" 22).

⁶ There is some confusion over the identity of C.H. Kirmess (Charles H. Kirmess) as there is little evidence to attest to his existence. The authority on this matter is Meaney. In his 1976 text *The Search for Security in the Pacific* Meaney argued that C.H. Kirmess was a pseudonym for Frank Fox and provided detailed evidence to support this proposition (159-61). Dixon then cited Meaney to assert the same in his discussion of *The Australian Crisis* in *Writing the Colonial Adventure* (1995). In 1996 Meaney revised his argument in "The Yellow Peril" to claim that Fox did not author *The Australian Crisis* and that C.H. Kirmess was in fact a German man who had spent some years in Australia as attested by records held by the Lothian publishing company (see 347-48 for Meaney's detailed research into the issue of Kirmess' identity). The *AustLit* database biographical entry for Kirmess suggests that the name is quite possibly a pseudonym for Ambrose Pratt, for reasons of the striking similarities between Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis* and Pratt's *The Big Five* and the fact that both appeared in the *Lone Hand*. I would argue, however, that there are striking similarities between the majority of Australian novels of Asian invasion – some to greater degrees than between these two particular texts – and as such I do not see this as evidence of Pratt's authorship of *The Australian Crisis*.

⁷ For an interesting account of J.F. Archibald's conception of the *Lone Hand* during his period of mental breakdown see Sylvia Lawson's *The Archibald Paradox* (1983).

⁸ Kirmess' *The Australian Crisis* was published by the London house Walter Scott and the Melbourne house George Robertson in 1909 and by the Melbourne house Lothian in 1912. This study utilises the Walter Scott 1909 edition of the novel.

⁹ Peter Lyons' later invasion novel *The China Tape* (1981) is also notable for its elaborate pseudo-historical textual strategies. Its narrative of Chinese invasion is structured by archival material under examination by a future historian in the year 2017. The body of the text is constituted by the story told through the notes, diaries, letters, newspaper cuttings and the eponymous tape recording that document the lead up to the invasion. The text as contains a paratextual declaration which states that: "This adventure was light heartedly thought up, but there is little that conceivably could not happen" (3). *The China Tape* was published by Horwitz, a former leading producer of Australian mass-market genre fiction, most notably the immensely successful "Carter Brown" detective mystery novels.

¹⁰ At the time of writing *Fools' Harvest* Cox was already a successful science fiction writer and literary journalist with established ties to *The Argus*. Cox wrote regularly for the Melbourne broadsheet on a number of topics and held a position on the editorial staff from 1921 to 1946. His most notable work is the novel *Out of the Silence*, a science fiction classic with racial themes, initially serialised in *The Argus* in 1919 before being published internationally in multiple editions (O'Neil 130). Cox's science fiction background is significant given the speculative structure of invasion narratives and the requirement of the plausible future setting. Interestingly, Cox's first works, a number of short stories, were published in the *Lone Hand* in 1908 and 1909.

¹¹ Figures recorded in Australian population census years show that the *Argus* boasted a circulation of 123,000 in 1919, before the impact of the Great Depression and increased competition from more modern newspapers lowered the 1933 figure to 97,000. The 1947 figure then shows a recovery and increase in circulation to 129,000 (Nolan 1, Arnold 258).

¹² Cox's inclusion of fictitious editorial comment in *Fools' Harvest* parallels the similar textual strategies of Erskine Childers' earlier British invasion novel *The Riddle of the*

Sands (1903), which includes a preface and epilogue authored by a fictitious editor. Childers' editor introduces a narrative that describes two English yachtsmen's discovery of a German invasion plot and emphasises the pressing importance of its publication. In the epilogue the editor relays to the reader the contents of a confidential memorandum (seized by the main protagonist from Germany), which methodically outlines the means by which Germany could invade England, in an effort to draw public attention to weaknesses in Britain's North Sea defences.

Chapter Two: Gender

¹ For feminist contestations of the masculinist legend of the 1890s, see Kay Schaffer's *Women and the Bush* (1991), the essays collected in *Debutante Nation* (1993) – particularly the reproduction of Marilyn Lake's important 1986 article "The Politics of Respectability" – and Susan Sheridan's *Along the Faultlines* (1995).

² See Lake's "The Politics of Respectability."

³ Walker's article "Shooting Mabel" (2005) takes its title from an incident in Roydhouse's *The Coloured Conquest* in which the protagonist Danton declares that he would rather shoot his fiancée Mabel than see her defiled by a Japanese. The article is substantially drawn from the text of *Anxious Nation* and examines a breadth of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts that enact gendered and racialised constructions of Australia, China and Japan. In addition to *The Coloured Conquest*, Walker's article also makes reference to gender configurations in the invasion novels of Lane, Pratt and Kirmess. See also Dixon's *Writing the Colonial Adventure* for an analysis of gender discourses in Pratt's *The Big Five* (126-29). Dixon's reading focuses on the narrative enactment of the taming of the dangerously wilful "New Woman," Lady Trevor, by the "Coming Man," the archetypal Australian hero Jim McLean. Note that Dixon's article "The New Woman and the Coming Man" (1993), which was later incorporated into *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, does not include an analysis of *The Big Five*.

⁴ An extended analysis of *Below the Line* is provided in Chapter Three.

⁵ A 1993 article in the *Adelaide Advertiser* entitled "Book's Rape Scene Attacked in Court" states that a disgruntled former employee of Willmot attacked the novel's rape scene in court proceedings. In his capacity as director-general of education, Willmot had terminated the man's employment in a primary school after he published an article containing extreme sexual violence. Willmot's own writing was then held up in court and he was accused of the same. In response Willmot said his depiction of rape was based on reports of violence in a camp in Timor (Revalk 4).

Chapter Three: Land

¹ Pratt's *The Big Five* was serialised in the *Lone Hand* between December 1907 and September 1908 before being published in book form by London publishers Ward Lock in 1910. This study uses the Ward Lock edition. The reading of *The Big Five* performed in this thesis focuses on colonialist discourses of land and settlement. For an analysis of gender discourses (a key element in this text) see Dixon's *Writing the Colonial Adventure* (126-29).

² Dixon's *Writing the Colonial Adventure* devotes two chapters to discussing "lost-race" romances. Dixon locates Henry Rider Haggard's 1885 *King Solomon's Mines* as the founding text of the genre and writes that J.J. Healy's pioneering article "The

Lemurian Nineties" drew attention to a spate of Australian texts, and texts set in Australia, modelled on the "lost-race" formula, including J.F. Hogan's *The Lost Explorer* (1890), Ernest Favenc's *The Last of Six* (1893) and *The Secret of the Australian Desert* (1895), J.D. Hennessey's *An Australian Bush Track* (1896) and G. Firth Scott's *The Last Lemurian* (1898). Dixon adds to this list such later works as Rosa Praed's *Fugitive Anne* (1902), Oliphant Smeaton's *The Treasure Cave of the Blue Mountains* (1898), Alexander Macdonald's *The Lost Explorers* (1906) and *The Invisible Island* (1910), and William Sylvester Walker's *The Silver Queen* (1908). Dixon further notes that many Edwardian/Federation romances use parts of the Haggard formula in modified contexts, Pratt's *The Big Five* being one example (62-63).

³ The alternate history structure of Hooker's narrative has parallels to science fiction writer Philip K. Dick's widely acclaimed novel *The Man in the High Castle* (1962), in which the Axis powers emerge victorious from the Second World War and the western United States comes under Japanese rule.

⁴ Willmot's *Below the Line* has attracted attention for its treatment of Aboriginal and Asian discourses from critics focused on cultural intersections between indigenous and multicultural Australia. See Lyn Jacobs' "Homelands vs 'The Tropics'" (2003) and "Mapping Shared Space" (2006). Jacobs argues that *Below the Line* enlarges the frames of reference of Australian colonialism through the depiction of an Indonesian invasion, in order to comment on the ongoing struggle for indigenous rights. Also see Peta Stephenson's "Cross-Cultural Alliances" (2003) and "New Cultural Scripts" (2005). Stephenson makes passing references to *Below the Line* and contends that the text displays anxiety about Asian immigration and positions Indonesian peoples alongside Anglo-Australians as violent invaders.

⁵ Ellipses in this quotation appear as in the original text.

Chapter Four: Historicity

¹ For an account of the formative inspiration provided by Stanner's lecture "The Great Australian Silence" for the work of Henry Reynolds, see Reynolds' memoir *Why Weren't We Told?* (1999) (91-92).

² I discuss Terry Goldie's work on the representation of indigeneity through primitivism, savagery and violence later in this chapter. See also Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other* (1983) for a classic account of how anthropological discourses of temporality oppressively position objectified others in non-contemporaneous primitive pasts, Marianna Torgovnick's *Gone Primitive* (1990) for a wide-ranging critique of western discourses of primitivism and Andrew Lattas' "Aborigines and Contemporary Australian Nationalism" (1997) for an analysis of how the idealisation of Aborigines as mystical primitive others positions Aboriginal culture as a repository of primordial truths seen to be lacking in white Australian culture.

³ The term "Aboriginalist" or "Aboriginalism" was formulated by Hodge and Mishra in *Dark Side of the Dream* (1991). It refers to a discursive regime within Australian culture that involves speaking for Aborigines and thus negating their right to speak on their own behalf, in a manner akin to Edward Said's Orientalism (Hodge and Mishra 27). While Aboriginalist representations often celebrate and defend Aboriginality they also tend to romanticise authentic Aboriginal culture as belonging to a mystical past that is valued in terms of its ability to fulfil white desires and needs (63). Hay's sympathetic representation of Lucas in *The Invasion* does contain Aboriginalist elements in terms of positing him as ideally belonging to an uncorrupted primitive past. Significantly, however, the text also includes Lucas, Alice and their children as key members of Australia's future society.

Chapter Five: Symptoms

¹ This study uses the 2001 edition of the *Tomorrow* series.

² *Tomorrow, When the War Began* was first published by Pan Macmillan in 1993 and, according to the 2006 edition, was reprinted by Pan Macmillan in 1994, 1995 (five times), 1996 (four times), 1997 (four times), 1998 (three times), 1999 (six times), 2000 (four times), 2001 (three times), 2002 (twice), 2003 (three times), 2004 (three times), 2005 (four times), 2006 (three times). The novel has been and continues to be recognised as a popular text to be taught at the year nine or ten level in Australian high schools. It is, however, difficult to quantify exact dates and figures for the inclusion of the text in high school English syllabuses, as individual schools choose their own texts for study. The New South Wales Board of Studies has listed *Tomorrow, When the War Began* as an option for study within years seven to ten English syllabus for government and non-government schools since 2003, however, anecdotal evidence suggests that the text has been widely taught since the mid 1990s. See the New South Wales Board of Studies English syllabus support document "Fiction, Film and Other Texts" at <http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus_sc/#english>.

³ For analysis of Marsden's *Tomorrow Series* as young adult fiction see the following critical works (listed in order of date): John Foster's "John Marsden: Fighting On" (1997), Rhona Mayers' "'As if this were Narnia or Somewhere'" (1998), Heather Scutter's *Displaced Fictions* (1999), Rosemary Ross Johnston's "Summer Holidays and Landscapes of Fear" (2003) and Wendy Michaels' "The Realistic Turn" (2004).

⁴ For example, it is Homer's "superior mustering skills" which help effect the group's first coup d'état in the finale of book one (*Tomorrow* 252). The teenagers come up with a plan to blow up a strategic bridge and disrupt the flow of enemy convoys. To do so, Homer, the "natural with stock," musters a paddock of "Gowan Brae Poll Hereford Stud" and drives them stampeding down the bridge (252-53). The stampede distracts the enemy soldiers while Ellie, her driving skills gleaned from driving tractors, parks a stolen petrol tanker under the bridge and sets it alight. The explosion destroys the bridge and the group revel in their position as real guerrilla fighters who have experienced true courage for the first time.

⁵ The displacement of Australia's colonial frontier wars by the commemoration and memorialisation of Australia's wars overseas has been widely discussed by revisionist historians. See Henry Reynolds' *The Other Side of the Frontier* (1981) and *Why Weren't We Told?* (1999), Ann Curthoys' "Expulsion, Exodus and Exile" (1999) and "National Narratives" (2000), and Marilyn Lake's "The Howard History of Australia" (2005).

⁶ Interestingly, Marsden's 1998 picture book *The Rabbits*, illustrated by Shaun Tan, is an allegory of colonisation told from the perspective of animals. The prose is simple: "The rabbits came many grandparents ago. At first we didn't know what to think. They looked a bit like us. There weren't many of them. Some were friendly" (1-4). The emphasis is on the detailed illustrations which depict militarised, technocratic rabbits dominating round, marsupial-like creatures that are positioned as closer to nature. The text concludes "Who will save us from the rabbits?" (29). Bradford rightly identifies *The Rabbits* as a highly problematic "Aboriginalist" text. For her detailed analysis of the book and its critical reception see *Reading Race* (113-16, 136-38).

⁷ Jennifer Rutherford's *The Gauche Intruder* (2000) and Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs' *Uncanny Australia* (1998) both productively examine Australian race relations through the locus of psychoanalysis, but accord emphasis to cultural configurations that are different – although related – to the analytic trajectory that I am pursuing in regard to Marsden's *Tomorrow* series as symptomatic invasion novels. Rutherford utilises Freudian and Lacanian theory to assert that the white fantasy of the good and neighbourly Australian nation camouflages an incumbent aggression directed towards both an internal and external other. She draws this cultural formation into contiguity with the discourses and practices that refer to the encounter with the void, which, following Patrick White, she refers to as "the Great Australian Emptiness." Gelder and Jacobs consider how Aboriginal claims for sacredness in contemporary Australia disturb white Australia's understanding of itself by rendering the cultural landscape unfamiliar or uncanny. They examine sites of Aboriginal land rights claims, postcolonial racism and the reconciliation process.

⁸ I was alerted to this quotation from de Certeau by Rutherford's usage of it as an epigraph to the sixth chapter, "An Australian Love Story," of *The Gauche Intruder* (126).

⁹ I was directed to Foucault's statements on silence and to the work of Christine Bold, Ric Knowles and Belinda Leach by L.K. Hart's article "Against Hauntology and Historicide" (2006).

Chapter Six: Borders

¹ For example, the 6 August 2007 episode of *Border Security* featured the questioning of a South Korean woman with little money, the 20 August 2007 episode involved the detention of a Vietnamese man with a suspiciously padded jacket and the 27 August 2007 episode featured an elderly Chinese couple with a large quantity of medication.

² The term "fortress Australia," which refers to the Howard government's increased emphasis on border security since the *Tampa* incident of August 2001, has been used in a number of critical articles by different scholars. See for example Ien Ang's "From White Australia to Fortress Australia" (2003) and Tseen Khoo's "Fortress Australia" (2004).

³ During the court case contesting the legality of the government's expulsion of the *Tampa* asylum seekers, solicitor-general David Bennett argued that the government must have the power to protect Australia from the sort of people "who did what happened in New York yesterday" (qtd. in Marr and Wilkinson 145). Commensurately, in radio interviews defence minister Peter Reith also implied that there could be terrorists amid the asylum seekers. Derryn Hinch of 3AK questioned Reith as to whether "Bin Laden appointees" might be among the boat people, to which Reith replied: "We shouldn't make assumptions about that.... But there is a simpler, broader point to make ... you've got to be able to manage people coming into your country. You've got to be able to control that otherwise it can be a pipeline for terrorists" (qtd. in Marr and Wilkinson 151). This is despite the fact that, as Ian Buchanan points out, terrorists would be highly unlikely to risk the hazardous journey in a leaky boat and interception by authorities when other methods of arrival would ensure more chance of success (8).

⁴ For an account of the sectarian violence in Indonesia following the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 see Adrian Vickers' *A History of Modern Indonesia* 214-19.

⁵ See Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and for a specific analysis of the problematical nature of Huntington's thesis see Said's "The Clash of Ignorance" (2001).

⁶ This special edition of *Four Corners*, named "To Deter and Deny" after the instructions given to the Australian armed forces for Operation Relex, contends that overcrowded and unseaworthy boats of asylum seekers were forced (through the use of electric batons and capsicum spray) to turn back to Indonesia, despite the fact those on board were suffering from mental trauma, untreated illnesses and poor hygiene, and had limited drinking water ("To Deter"). Although not documented, there undoubtedly would have been resulting fatalities. In October 2001, in an event referred to by the government as "a certain maritime incident," a boat referred to as the SIEV X (Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel number 10) is known to have sunk in water patrolled by Operation Relex, killing 353 people. The now discredited "Children Overboard Affair" also occurred in October 2001, in which politicians falsely claimed that asylum seekers had thrown their children into the water and were therefore not welcome in Australia, and was also a part of Operation Relex.

⁷ The proposal to settle and develop "empty" northern Australia with Asian people more suited to the tropical climate is a new narrative trajectory for an Asian invasion novel, but it is a historically recurring idea. In *Anxious Nation*, Walker cites incidents of this argument being deployed by journalist William Snowden in 1897, by J. Langdon Parsons (a former Government Resident in the Northern Territory) in a report tabled in the South Australian Parliament in 1901 and in recommendations made by the President of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, George Merivale, in 1907 (115-16).

⁸ John Birmingham's bestselling *Axis of Time* trilogy – *Weapons of Choice* (2004), *Designated Targets* (2005) and *Final Impact* (2006) – published in Australia by Pan Macmillan and in the United States by Del Rey – is an alternative history military-thriller series with two relevant but undeveloped parallels to Asian invasion novels. The trilogy opens in the year 2021 with a multinational military force being deployed in Indonesia which has been taken over by Islamic extremists laying claim to the whole of South-East Asia and northern Australia. This scenario is not developed, however, as the multinational force is transported back in time to the Pacific theatre of World War Two. In the second novel of the series Japan invades Australia down to the Brisbane line. But this is just one small part of a much broader international narrative that is primarily focused on the United States. The novels appear to have been written for an American audience and do not include any sustained treatment of Australia's fear of Asian invasion.

⁹ Jemaah Islamiyah also claimed responsibility in August 2003 for a suicide bombing outside the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta that killed twelve Indonesians and in September 2004 for another suicide bombing outside Jakarta's Australian embassy which claimed nine Indonesian lives.

¹⁰ The 28 October 2002 edition of ABC's *Four Corners* entitled "The Network: A Road Map to Terror in our Neighbourhood" asserts that Australian and South-East Asian nations' intelligence reports show that Jemaah Islamiyah aims to establish "an Asian Islamic super-state" stretching across the South-East Asian region and including parts of northern Australia. See also Arthur Saniotis' "Why is Amrozi Smiling?" (2006) for discussion of the *Four Corners* report and an examination of *Sydney Morning Herald* articles representing the prospect of an Islamic state in Australia.

¹¹ In the paranoid logic of the invasion narrative, the current opposition leader and potential future prime minister of Australia Kevin Rudd's fluency in Mandarin and degree in Chinese studies could well suggest political complicity in a Chinese take-

over of Australia. Such a narrative would parallel depictions of political leaders conspiring with Chinese invaders in Lane and Mackay's early invasion novels and Lyons' relatively recent *The China Tape* (1981).

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No items at any location.

Title	Outlook [electronic resource] : environmental journal / Temple University School of Law
Imprint	[Philadelphia, Pa.] : The School, [c1982]
Descr.	1 v. : ill. ; 28 cm.
Author	Outlook (Philadelphia, Pa.) Temple University. School of Law. Temple University. Environmental Law Council. Jurist (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Notes	Title from cover. Issued by: Environmental Law Council. Vol. 1 published as a special issue of The Jurist. Continued in 1983 by: Outlook environmental law journal.
Subjects	Environmental law -- United States -- Periodicals.
Other title	Outlook environmental journal
Uniform title	Outlook (Philadelphia, Pa.)
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1982 to 1982 (UTas only)
ISSN	0736-0665
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0046227
Bib#	842441
OCLC number	ssj0046227
Continued by	Outlook environmental law journal
Supplement to	Jurist (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Local information	ejournal

No items at any location.

Title	Oxford University commonwealth law journal [electronic resource].
Imprint	Oxford, England : Published on behalf of the Oxford University Faculty of Law by Hart Publishing, 2001- v. 1-24 ; 24 cm.
Author	University of Oxford. Faculty of Law.
Notes	Title from cover.
Subjects	Law -- Commonwealth countries -- Periodicals.
Other title	Commonwealth law journal OUCLJ
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 2001 to 2003 (UTas only)
ISSN	1472-9342
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0024352
Bib#	842442
OCLC number	ssj0024352
Local information	ejournal

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Title	Pace yearbook of international law [electronic resource].
Imprint	White Plains, N.Y. : Pace University School of Law, c1989-c1992.
Descr.	4 v. ; 26 cm.
Author	Pace University. School of Law.
Subjects	Law -- Periodicals -- New York (State) International law -- Periodicals. Law reviews -- New York (State) .
Other title	Yearbook of international law
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1989 to 1992 (UTas only)
ISSN	1052-3448
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0030095
Bib#	842446
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Title	Pacific law journal [electronic resource] / McGeorge School of Law, University of the Pacific
Imprint	Sacramento, Calif. : Published by the students of the University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law, 1997.
Descr.	28 v. ; 26 cm.
Author	Pacific law journal (Sacramento, Calif.) McGeorge School of Law.
Notes	Title from cover. Vols. for <1985- > of the Review of selected Nevada legislation are separately published as the review of selected Nevada legislation.
Subjects	Law reviews -- California. Law -- Periodicals.
Other title	Pac. L. J. Review of significant California legislation. Review of selected California legislation. Review of selected Nevada legislation.
Uniform title	Pacific law journal (Sacramento, Calif.)
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1970 to 1997 (UTas only)
ISSN	0030-8757
Library Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0022029
Bib#	842447
OCLC number	ssj0022029
Continued by	McGeorge law review
Other formats	Pacific law journal (Sacramento, Calif. : Online)
Related to	Pacific law journal review of selected Nevada legislation
Local information	ejournal

No items at any location.

Title	Pacific McGeorge global business & development law journal [electronic resource].
Imprint	Sacramento, Calif. : University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law, c2006-
Descr.	v. ; 26 cm.
Author	McGeorge School of Law.
Notes	Title from cover.
Subjects	Law -- Periodicals. Commercial law -- Periodicals. International law -- Periodicals. Conflict of laws -- Periodicals. Law and economic development -- Periodicals. Law -- United States -- Periodicals.
Other title	Pacific McGeorge global business and development law journal Global business & development law journal
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 2007 to 2007 (UTas only)
ISSN	1936-3931
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0054412
Bib#	842448
OCLC number	ssj0054412
Continues	Transnational lawyer
Other formats	Pacific McGeorge global business & development law journal (Online)
Local information	ejournal

No items at any location.

Title	Pamphlet series [electronic resource] / World Peace Foundation.
Imprint	Boston : The Foundation, 1911-1917.
Descr.	7 v. ; 21 cm.
Author	Pamphlet series (World Peace Foundation) World Peace Foundation.
Subjects	Peace -- Periodicals.
Uniform title	Pamphlet series (World Peace Foundation)
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1911 to 1917 (UTas only)
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0056518
Bib#	842449
OCLC number	ssj0056518
Continued by	League of Nations (Boston, Mass.)
Local information	ejournal

No items at any location.

Title	The Patent, trade-mark, and copyright journal of research and education [electronic res
Imprint	Washington, D.C. : Patent, Trade-mark, and Copyright Foundation of the George Wash c1963.
Descr.	7 v. ; 25 cm.
Author	George Washington University. Patent, Trademark, and Copyright Foundation. George Washington University. Patent, Trademark, and Copyright Research Institute.
Notes	Title from cover. Title varies slightly. Vols. 1-7 include Proceedings of the annual public conference of the Institute. Vols. for 1957-summer 1963 issued by: Patent, Trademark, and Copyright Foundation Washington University; fall 1963-1964 by: Patent, Trademark, and Copyright Resea George Washington University.
Subjects	Patent laws and legislation -- United States -- Periodicals. Trademarks -- Law and legislation -- United States -- Periodicals. Copyright -- United States -- Periodicals.
Other title	Patent, trademark, and copyright journal of research and education
E-Access	Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1957 to 1964 (UTas only)
ISSN	0893-1429
System Control #	(WaSeSS) ssj0034928
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OCLC number	ssj0034928
Continued by	Idea (Washington, D.C.)
Other formats	Patent, trade-mark, and copyright journal of research and education (Online)
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No items at any location.

Title Peabody law review [electronic resource].

Imprint Portland, Me. : Law Review Association of Peabody Law School, c1937-41.

Descr. 5 v. ; 25 cm.

Author Peabody Law School (Portland, Me.)

Subjects Law -- Maine -- Periodicals.

E-Access Full text available from HeinOnline Law Journal Library: 1936 to 1941 (UTas only)

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