'White' Nation – 'White' Angst

The Literary Invasion of Australia

Stefanie Affeldt

Australian invasion novels were meant to be a tocsin for a country allegedly more interested in sports and leisure than in politics and defence. By telling dystopian stories about a dismal future, their authors urged the establishment of a national army, to unite the classes against the invading foe, and to populate the country while challenging the ties to Britain. These novels not only provide a picture of the stereotypical depiction of Asians and the efforts to close the borders against these undesired immigrants, but also shed light on the intrasocietal tension of a country during its early years as a 'white' nation. This article shows how the novels authors used racist elements related to colour, gender, nation, and class to tell tales of invasion in an allegedly endangered 'white' Australia around the time of the Federation in 1901.

> *"Australia was true to her destiny ... she stayed white"*
> *(William Lane)*

The years after the autumn of 1912 turned out to be a tough time for Australia. A stretch of land in the north had been clandestinely invaded. Now a small Japanese society flourished in a British protectorate there on the northern shore. The attempts of the 'White Guard' to fend off the intruders were fruitless. Warnings and appeals for help by the Australian government went unheard. Sold out by a motherland that put trade relations before the safety of its dominion and without a proper national army to defend the vast continent, Australia was falling prey to a nation that was not only numerically superior but also more adapt and suitable to populate the tropical north. White Australia was lost ... or was it?

This dismal vision, contrived by Charles H. Kirmess in his novel 'The Australia Crisis' (1909), is no isolated horror story but part of a genre that became substantial in the last three decades of the nineteenth century in Australia, as well as in Britain and the United States.[1] The novels were

---

1   Cf. Charles H. Kirmess, The Australian Crisis, Melbourne 1909. For a survey of Australian invasion novels see, for example, Robert Dixon, 'Imagined Invasions', in: id., Writing the Colonial Adventure. Race, Gender, and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914. Cambridge etc. 1995; Neville Meaney, 'The Yellow Peril'. Invasion Scare Novels and Australian Political Culture, in: Ken Stewart, ed., The 1890s. Australian Literature and Literary Culture, St. Lucia 1996, pp. 228-263; David Walker, 'The Invasion Narratives', in: id., Anxious Nation. Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850-1939. St Lucia 1999. For invasion novels from Britain and Anglo-America see, amongst others, Ignatius F. Clarke, Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984, London 1966; Patrick Brantliner, Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914, Ithaca

dystopian phantasies as well as serious considerations of a possible future which told of the probable invasion by foreign forces and the assumed ensuing consequences.[2]

Additionally, the expiring century saw the questioning of the heretofore taken for granted white supremacy in the European colonies. Although being white meant being a member in "an aesthetically as well as morally, intellectually, and culturally privileged part of humankind",[3] the ideology of white superiority was increasingly pressurised. Of all things, it was Charles H. Pearson's twenty-year residence in Australia that was the inspiration to the pivotal study which made him the thought leader of imperilled global white domination. In his main work, 'National Life and Character', Pearson distinguished two kinds of 'inferior races'. Australian Aborigines, 'Kanakas', and other 'primitive' indigenous peoples were deemed "evanescent races" which posed no menace since they were considered doomed to extinction. However, there were those who were not moribund but "too numerous and sturdy to be extirpated". Pearson was concerned that certain nations of the world, in particular African Americans, Chinese, and Japanese, seemed to reproduce at a much higher rate than the 'white race'. By the virtue of their adaptability to the tropical climate they were able to populate landscapes which seemed out of bounds for the climatically unfit whites and would become a hindrance to the expansion of European colonies. Eventually this would lead to a "globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races".[4]

In Australia, the invasion genre proved especially popular due to its remote and isolated geographical position. The continent which was to become the white bastion in the southern hemisphere was forced to bid defiance to what was scandalised as the "growing flood of coloured races". As the "isolated outpost of western civilisation" it was considered "the most vulnerable part of the British Empire" – threatened by external as well as internal foes.[5] In particular the 'empty north' posed a problem due

1988; Brian Stableford, 'The Battle of Dorking and Its Aftermath', in: id. Space, Time, and Infinity. Essays on Fantastic Literature, San Francisco 1998.

2   One of the first invasion novels was George T. Chesney's 'The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer', London 1871, a fictional account of Germany's invasion of Britain in the context of the Franco-Prussian war.

3   Wulf D. Hund, Die weiße Norm. Grundlagen des Farbrassismus, in: Max S. Hering Torres, ed., Cuerpos Anómalos, Bogotá 2008, pp. 171-203, here p. 197.

4   Charles H. Pearson, National Life and Character. A Forecast. London 1894, pp. 34 ('evanescent'), 33 ('extirpated'), 89 ('globe').

5   Wulf D. Hund, White Australia oder der Krieg der Historiker, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 51, 2006, 3, pp. 345-353, here p. 351 ('flood') – for the importance of 'whiteness' in the context of Australia see also id., Mit der Weißheit am Ende. Australien und das Erbe des Rassismus, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 46, 2001, 5, pp. 600-609; Andrew Markus, Of Continuities and Discontinuities.

to both its tropical climate allegedly unhealthy to northern Europeans and its closeness to the highly populated Asian countries which were thought to use the unpeopled northern coasts as stepping stones to unobserved immigration.

At the same time cheap, coloured labour from Asia and the Pacific Islands was introduced to replace former convict labourers on cotton and sugar plantations and in the pearl industry. This fanned internal racial fears and, at the end of the nineteenth century, led to strong anxieties about the 'yellow peril' and a fierce debate concerning the 'Kanaka question'. The former expressed a perceived danger coming from without Australia. It was assumed that the overpopulation in the neighbouring Asian countries, especially China and Japan, would cause large-scale (legal and illegal) migration to Australia and, in the worst case, the displacement of white Australian settlers. First signs of this were perceived in the influx of Chinese during the goldrushes in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The second debate played an important part in the intra-Australian pre-Federation discourse. It related to the labour question in the Queensland sugar industry and the demand, expressed most emphatically by the labour movement, to replace the sugar workers from the South Sea Islands (commonly called 'Kanakas') with European workers. Both of these strong concerns about 'aliens' in Australia eventually found legislative expression at the Federation. As the 'pillars' of the White Australia Policy two acts were passed: the Immigration Restriction Act which effected the exclusion of the majority of Asian migrants and the Pacific Island Labourers Act which initiated the expulsion of almost all the South Sea Islanders from Australia.[6]

'White or Yellow': A Literary Armament

In the context of the tension between the firm belief in white superiority and the direct experience of the susceptibility of whiteness in Australia, the

Reflections on a Century of Australian Immigration Control, in: Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, Jan Gothard, eds., Legacies of White Australia. Race, Culture and Nation, Crawley 2003, p. 178 ('outpost'); Joseph Cook, Defence Minister, in his address to Parliament upon the Defence Bill 1909, cited in Henry P. Frei, Japan's Southward Advance and Australia. From the Sixteenth Century to World War II. Melbourne 1991, p. 87 ('vulnerable').

6   For the 'yellow peril' see Bill Hornadge, The Yellow Peril. A Squint at some Australian attitudes towards Orientals, Dubbo 1976; Timothy Kendall, Ways of Seeing China. From Yellow Peril to Shangrila, Fremantle 2005. For an investigation into the 'whitening' of Queensland's sugar industry in the context of the 'White Australia' ideology see Stefanie Affeldt, A Paroxysm of Whiteness. 'White' Labour, 'White' Nation and 'White' Sugar in Australia, in: Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital, Berlin 2010, pp. 99-131 and id., 'White Sugar' against 'Yellow Peril', paper presented at the conference 'Images of Whiteness', Oxford 2011.

invasion genre increasingly attracted the attention of the Australian public. The Australian invasion novels described the sometimes triumphant, sometimes unsuccessful attempts to protect 'White Australia' against invading countries. While fears of invasion were invoked by a variety of countries, such as France, Germany, Russia, China, Japan, Vietnam and Indonesia, it was the stories of Asian invaders which were the most published.[7]

These narratives were meant to be understood as a tocsin, amplifying the public awareness to problems concerning the lack of defence, the intra-societal tensions and the perception of relations to of the British motherland. As "dramatic construction of the new world on the base of the old",[8] they warned the readers of a possibly dismal future and sensitized the public for the latent threat of an Asian invasion. The "Commonwealth" was to "be roused to a sense of danger ... by patient investigation of its real position in the world and of the possibilities arising thence".[9] By setting the storyline in the near future, the authors of the novels suggested that the present situation was urgent but still offered the possibility to change the run of events to the better.

Among the invasion novels published in Australia until the First World War were: 'The Invasion' (1877) by George Ranken, 'The Yellow Wave' (1885) by Kenneth Mackay, 'White or Yellow? – A Story of the Race-War of A.D. 1908' (1888) by William Lane, 'The Battle of Mordialloc' (1888) by Edward Maitland, 'The Coloured Conquest' (1904) by Thomas R. Roydhouse, 'The Australian Crisis' (1909) by Charles H. Kirmess. Later novels of the same genre in the twentieth century and ongoing include 'Celestalia: A Fantasy A.D. 1975' (1933) by A. L. Pullar, Fools' Harvest (1939) by Erle Cox, 'The Invasion' (1968) by John W. Hay. This special genre of utopian literature spans as far as 1999 when John Marsden published the last part of his 'Tomorrow' Series.[10]

---

7   Cf. Timothy Kendall, Using the Past to Serve the Present, p. 110. For an invasion by European powers see, amongst others, the anonymous novella 'The Fall of Melbourne' (1885) which deals with French invaders in South Australia. Cf. Enstice, Webb, Aliens & Savages. Fiction, Politics, and Prejudice in Australia, Pymble 1998, p. 144.

8   Nan Bowman Albinski, A Survey of Australian Utopian and Dystopian Fiction, in: Australian Literary Studies 13, 1987, 1, pp. 15-28, here p. 16; see also Meaney, Peril, p. 230.

9   Kirmess, Crisis, p. i ('Commonwealth', 'investigation').

10   Ranken described the invasion by Russians while in Mackay's and Maitland's novels Russians and Chinese were the invaders. Solely Chinese invasions were depicted by Lane, Pullar and Hay, Cox let the fictive Cambasia intrude, and Marsden used an undefined country in South-East Asia. Not few of the invasion novels were published under pseudonyms: Ranken adopted 'W. H. Walker' as the nom de plume, Lane used the pen name 'Sketcher', Maitland published his 'Battle' anonymously and Roydhouse called himself 'Rata'. For a bibliography of invasion novels see Lyman T. Sargent, Australian Utopian Literature: An Annotated, Chronological Bibliography 1667-1999, in: Utopi-

The invasion novels of the time around the Australian Federation established a genre which closely interlinked four complexes of racist argumentation discussed in this article.[11]

'Savage Chinamen' & 'Cunning Japs' identifies the colour racism which served to draw boundaries between those invading and those defending. In defining the Asian invaders in contradistinction to the white Australians, the classist chasm could be bridged and the otherwise heterogeneous white society was united against the 'yellow waves' of invaders.

'New Women' & 'Lascivious Invaders' analyses how gender racism constituted the Australian men as the defenders of both 'White Australia' and white women, while at the same time urging the latter's need for supervision and submission. An emphasis was put on the women's need for protection and the role of women as bearer of racial purity but also, due to their susceptibility for the Asian men, as the crucial weak spot of the 'racial health' of the Australian society.

'Conniving Capitalists' & 'True Australians' is the contraposition of two factions exposing the class racism which was reversed in these narrations. Not the lower classes endangered the society by their inability, lethargy and collaboration with 'racial others' but the capitalists and politicians. The businessmen were accused of putting their business before the nation by bonding with the Chinese or Japanese while the political leaders grovelled before the imperial government.

Lastly, *'Nigger Empire' & 'White Australia'* sheds light on national racist elements in the Anglo-Australian relation which was overshadowed by Australian anxieties caused by Britain's siding with China and Japan. Indignation was voiced against the attitude of indifference towards the reports of Asian invasion and the British refusal to support Australia with weapons or arms.

'Savage Chinamen' & 'Cunning Japs'

As "textual productions of a nation obsessed with ceaselessly marking out, and protecting, its borders" the invasion novels mapped the delimitations of who could qualitatively call themself Australian in soon-to-be White Australia.[12] The guarding and maintenance of both these borders was,

---

an Studies 10, 1999, 2, pp. 138-173 and Russell Blackford, Australian Science Fiction, in: Nicholas Birns, Rebecca McNeer, eds., A Companion to Australian Literature since 1900, Rochester 2007, pp. 375-386.

11   For the manifestations of racisms see Wulf D. Hund, Rassismus, Bielefeld 2007, in particular pp. 16 ff., 70; for the foundations of colour racism see id., Die weiße Norm.

12   David Crouch, Insane Lane: Crowds, Contamination and Violence in Australia, in: Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature 5, 2006, pp. 72-85, here p. 75.

therefore, considered a matter of "Life or Death of a White Continent".[13] In this context, the fictional confrontations with Asian invasion functioned to put the ability of the 'Coming Australian' to the test. He was seen as the manly, courageous and coarse antagonist of the English gentleman, though he, too, was endangered by physical weakness, moral uncertainty, weakness for women and alcohol, and infatuation by luxury.[14] In contrast to this stood the generic Chinese who was already lost to vices like gambling and licentiousness and immoral behaviour like opium smoking and bribery, and also was accused to be the bearer of diseases like cholera, typhoid and small-pox.[15]

The invasion novels urged a revision of the perception of Chinese as "ze common chow", i.e. market gardeners and furniture producers. In fact, told the narratives, "after a sleep of centuries" these Chinese have "shaken off their death-like stupor". They have the "faces of devils mad with lust and carnage ... sworn to offer up womanly purity, prattling babyhood and helpless age on the altar of a blind, unreasonable revenge". The dehumanizing description of the Chinese as "brave as lions, enduring as dogs, and rapacious as wolves ... cunning as foxes and far-sighted as ravens" acknowledged their war efforts while at the same time devaluating as animalistic instincts the skills of the "savage-looking devils" who are "swarming like ants".[16]

In 'White or Yellow' Lane describes how, after the relaxation of immigration restriction by an Anglo-Asia-affiliated Queensland government, the Chinese "over-ran everything", "monopolised a score of important industries", "sat in Parliament, directed State departments" rendering Australia "more and more distasteful to the Caucasian peoples".[17] The anti-Chinese revolters feel "degraded" when they are forced to fight against the governmental troops, "men of their own race side by side with these aliens", but eventually the members of the troops recall the 'truth' of distinction by skin colour. "[I]t was no longer 'Law and Order' against the anti-Chinese; it was white against yellow". In the end the "race-fight" is won by the white Australians. The Chinese "passing northwards like great droves of cattle" are expelled from Australia.[18]

13   Kirmess, Crisis, p. 92
14   Cf. Dixon, Writing the Colonial Adventure, p. 137.
15   Cf. Kendall, China, p. 23.
16   J. A. Kenneth Mackay, The Yellow Wave. A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia, Andrew Enstice, Janeen Webb, eds., Middletown 2003 [1895], pp. 231 ('common chow'), 160 ('sleep', 'stupor'), 167 ('faces'), 160 ('lions'), 207 ('devils'), 239 ('ants').
17   Lane, White or Yellow, 14, 18.2.1888, p. 9.
18   Lane, White or Yellow, 19, 24.3.1888, p. 9; 25, 5.5.1888, p. 6 ('fight', 'cattle'). In contrast to the banishing Asian invaders, elsewhere Russians were allowed integration

The focus of fear started shifting from China to Japan shortly before the Federation. The Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War led to the consideration of Japan as the now "real yellow peril".[19] In 'The Australia Crisis' Kirmess took up the contrasts between the "'energetic' Asia" and the "'complacent' Australia" which emerged from the 'empty north' debate.[20] He was sure that it is not the numerical superiority that enables the Japanese to slowly conquer the continent by usucaption but moreover their ability to 'subdue' and cultivate the tropical areas of the Northern Territory and to connect to the "conquered soil by the most sacred ties – by little brown babies".[21]

'New Women' & 'Lascivious Invaders'

Defence was promoted necessary to repel invaders from the outside, but likewise dangers manifested within the Australian society. Women posed a threat both to the racial hygiene of the society and the masculinity in Australia. As bearers of racial purity, white women could not be trusted and needed supervision. As supporters of female suffrage, better education and the right for women to pursue a profession, the 'New Woman' of the early 1890s acted as the antagonist of the 'Coming Man' who was the one to found 'White Australia'.[22] Instead of fighting for their political rights and the possibility to pursue a career, as the 'New Woman' did, the "True Woman" (a term used by the anti-suffragists) would recall her plight to the Australian society and bethink of her role as mother and housewife.[23]

The Asian's alleged "unbridled lasciviousness" was turned into a tactic of invasion when the Japanese sailors in Roydhouse's 'The Coloured

into society. Wounded Russians left behind are nursed back to health, the blame for the mutual hostility and the "red demon war" bears the blame for former hatred. Eventually "many of them lived among us, and became as our brothers" – Ranken, Invasion, p. 150.

19   Hugh H. Lusk, The Real Yellow Peril, in: The Northern American Review, 1907, 186, pp. 375-383.

20   David Walker, Anxious Nation. Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850-1939. St Lucia 1999, p. 120.

21   Kirmess, Crisis, p. 216.

22   'The Bulletin' defined as Australians all "white men who come to these shores" (but then adding some further restrictions) – 'Australia for the Australians', in: The Bulletin, 2.7.1887. For the perception of feminism at the time of Federation see Marilyn Lake, Historical reconsiderations IV: The politics of respectability: Identifying the masculinist context, in: Australian Historical Studies 22, 1986, 86, pp. 116-131; Anne Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police, chap. 11. For the Coming Man of Australia see Webb, Enstice, Aliens, pp. 12 f.; Richard White, Inventing Australia. Images and Identity, 1688-1980, St Leonards 1981, pp. 101 ff.

23   The accomplishments of the 'New Woman' were carried to extremes by Millie Finklestein in her dystopian novel 'The Newest Woman: The Destined Monarch of the World'

Conquest' availed themselves of the Australian women.[24] In the invasion novels of the 1880s onwards, the character of the young blond girl falling for Chinese or Japanese treachery and vices features as a further threat to the stability of the white society. In the light of the danger of miscegenation and 'mongrelization', white women cooperating with Chinese men were considered betrayers of their race.

Although Lane granted agency to three white Australian women in his serial 'White or Yellow', he actually combined the two sides of 'racial intermixture' and the allegedly typical treatment of white women by Chinese: on the one hand, the attempted rape and murder of the young white women, on the other, the miscegenous marriage between Stella and her Chinese husband who were supposed to found a dynasty of Chinese-Australians.[25] Cissie is the "heroic Australian girl who by her life had saved her honour, and by her death had roused Australia and saved the white race". Her murder not only causes the female Australians to give up their indifference to the Chinese presence in Queensland, but is also the final straw "to produce a sympathetic rising on the South" which commences the "race fight" between 'white and yellow'. Stella initially plans to "rule a yellow race and rear a yellow brood" with her Chinese husband but realizes the dramatic scale of her fatal liaison when her husband confesses to having killed Cissie. She eventually experiences salvation by assuming the role of housewife for the leader of the anti-Chinese revolt. Lady Stibbins, Stella's mother, is the one who kills Cissie's murderer. While the white revolters "with a blush of shame" refrain from "cowardly" shooting Stella's husband, Lady Stibbins is eager to save her daughter from "a fate worse than death".[26]

That nothing seems worse than 'racial intermixture' was also elucidated by Mackay: the Australian woman was advised not only to carry weapons for her defence but also to "have poison on her, so that protection from worse than death may be assured".[27] The outcome of the battle for Australia in the 'Yellow Wave' remains open. The female Australian protagonist,

(1895). The "True Woman" is not the 'monarch' but the "great power behind the throne" (p. 107).

24 Robin Gerster, Representations of Asia, in: Peter Pierce, ed., The Cambridge History of Australian Literature, Port Melbourne 2009, pp. 303-322, here pp. 311 f.; see also David Walker, Shooting Mabel. Warrior Masculinity and Asian Invasion, in: History Australia 2, 2005, 3, pp. 89.1-89.11, here 89.3.

25 Cf. Crouch, Insane, p. 76.

26 Lane, White or Yellow, 24, 28.4.1888, p. 9 ('heroic'); 16, 3.3.1888, p. 11 ('rising'); 22, 14.4.1888, p. 9 ('race fight'); 19, 24.3.1888, p. 9 ('brood', 'blush', 'cowardly'); 23, 21.4.1888, p. 9 ('fate').

27 Mackay, Wave, p. 206.

however, meets her demise in a sinking ship together with her Chinese-invasion-leading Russian lover.

"For hearth and homes", the war cry of Mackay's resistance fighters, was the concise depiction of the white male Australians' task to defend both the women (and family) and the white nation.[28] Just as Pearson conditioned the future of the country on the state of its manhood, the authors of the invasion novels were convinced that it was the "racially-pure and self-sufficient white man" who, graced with close bonds to nature by his bush skills, was capable of defending both the white woman and White Australia.[29] The endangerment of the white Australian women by Asian invaders allowed the white men to be depicted as the "principled defenders of female honour" at war for the "sacred cause of womanly purity".[30] Such a promotion of white racial purity and condemnation of racial mixture was obviously not an Australian novelty. It echoed the wider international eugenics movement among western scholars which, inter alia, endorsed ideas of racial purity, white supremacy and racial degeneration through miscegenation.

'Conniving Capitalists' & 'True Australians'

"Deeds, not words" were what the white Australians demanded.[31] Though the invasion novels largely described the imminent 'racial struggle', class was also an issue at stake. Rage was not only raised by Asian immigrants but also by the colonial circumstances and the groups enabling them. In this context, the common man of Australia is shown as falling victim to both the leaders' inability to act instead of debate and the capitalists' greed for money and power. The employers are accused of availing themselves of cheap, tractable immigrant labour and new trade relations with the Far East and, thereby, of fostering a large-scale immigration of Chinese into the country.

Australia as "China's natural prey" was "to be had for the taking" since the white workers in Queensland had been replaced and deterred by the cheap labour of Pacific Islanders, Chinese and Japanese so that the "white population" has "vanished" leaving no one to defend the north. The country was sketched as "divided into two hostile factions" which refrained from cooperating based on their "natural hatred" for each other. The working

---

28   Ibid., p. 275.
29   Kendall, China, p. 41. For Pearson see Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line, Cambridge etc. 2008, p. 140.
30   Walker, Nation, p. 103 ('honour'); Mackay, Wave, p. 257 ('purity').
31   Kirmess, Crisis, p. 67.

classes "had not improved either numerically or physically" and the "capitalistic classes ... had similarly degenerated".[32] In the narrations, the warnings of invasion went unheard by the capitalist class which put its interests before the nation's, by city dwellers who were unfit, hedonistic and specimen of the "sporting race", and by parliamentarians whose national longings and national fears were only weak.[33] The politicians, who "had grown to regard war-scares with ... equanimity" due to the "frequent cry of 'Wolf!' from the northern part of the continent, do nothing else "than flood the Hansard with hopeless twaddle". Thus, in the eyes of the novels' authors, rescue for 'White Australia' could only come from the "large body" of those who "were neither capitalists nor yet labourers", were "scorned by both", and constituted the "real intellectual and creating power of Australasia".[34] To further emphasize the class struggle, Mackay wittingly set his novel in the year 1954. This was the centenary of the Eureka stockade, an uprising by European diggers against Chinese on the goldfields which is seen as having been both a rebellion against Australian authorities and the initiation to the "first organised racist campaign".[35]

Lane, too, alludes to the Eureka uprising by letting the defenders of 'White Australia' rally around the Southern Cross flag.[36] "The poor whites ... were fast sinking to a position" worse than the "European masses" and it were the "plutocracy and the landocracy" who were on terms of intimacy with [the invaders'] prominent and wealthy men".[37] For the authors of the invasion novels the fault lay with the local ruling class which grovelled before the British government. They saw the 'Common Man' of Australia as exposed to 'racial danger' by the political leaders who subordinated national interests to British trade and political relations.[38]

In all invasion novels rescue came from rural Australia. The Australian bush of the last decade of the nineteenth century functioned as the imaginative refuge from the city and was presented by contemporary writers as the 'real Australia'.[39] The Australian bushman, the nomad worker who conquered the harsh landscape of the interior of the continent, was the per-

32 Mackay, Wave, pp. 79 ('prey'), 80 ('taking'), 81 ('white population', 'vanished'), 87 ('factions'), 256 ('natural hatred', 'not improved', 'degenerated').
33 Mackay, Wave, p. 60. Cf. also Walker, Nation, p. 111.
34 Mackay, Wave, pp. 223 ('hoax'), 250 ('equanimity', 'Wolf'), 251 ('twaddle'), 256 ('body'), 87 ('neither', scorned', 'real').
35 Lars Jensen, Unsettling Australia. Readings in Australian Cultural History. New Delhi 2005, p. 141.
36 Cf. Walker, Nation, p. 107.
37 Lane, White or Yellow, 14, 18.2.1888, p. 9.
38 Cf. Meaney, Peril, pp. 231, 249; David Walker, National Narratives: Australia in Asia, in: Media History 8, 2002, 1, pp. 63-75, here p. 71.
39 Cf. White, Inventing, p. 102. Also Meaney, Peril, p. 258.

sonification of health, wholesomeness, physical fitness, manliness, rough-
ness and, of course, mateship. He was the "true Australian" – therefore, the
"hardy pioneers who wrestled with and conquered the hostile nature" were
the only hope to defy the intruders.[40]

'Nigger Empire' & 'White Australia'

Australia lay helpless at the time of the invasion, there were "no plans of
defence ... everything was open, unprepared, and unguarded",[41] but this
was not only owed to the inability of defending the continent due to its
uninhabited northern shores. It was also a critique to the decrease of British
military presence at the end of the nineteenth century.

By the same token as the discontent of removal of the British navy,
the novelists' complaints about the inadequate weapons were aimed at the
British government. "This absurd British cheek sickens me", stated one
of the resistance leaders in Mackay's 'Yellow Wave', "here we are without
discipline, short of arms and ammunition, practically leaderless".[42] Though
in 'real' Australia, technology might have been seen as the "heart of white-
ness", it were the Chinese who were "armed with machine-guns and au-
tomatic rifles", while the Australians had neither but relied on their bush
skill to manufacture "Australian lance[s]" from their shearing machines.[43]
This return to the roots of rural survivability and bush smartness was not
so much a praise for old traditions and a statement against modernity but
rather symbolical for the under-provision of Australian defence with mod-
ern weaponry by the British and a plea for armament.

Australian suspicion of Anglo-Asian relations was furthered by the
British agreements with Japan in 1902. An unveiled reflection of the pub-
lic disapproval following the "Jap alliance", seen as a part of the politics
of "Edward VII.'s stupendous nigger empire" that "grows blacker every
day",[44] was Kirmess's novel. Japanese settlers have clandestinely arrived
on the shores of the Northern Territory. The two witnesses, bushmen of
course, vainly attempt to alert the representative of the British government.
England is flattered by the Japanese request for help and offers support in

---

40   Russel Ward, The Australian Legend, pp. 180 ff., 200 ('true Australian'). See also Warwick
     Anderson, The Cultivation of Whiteness, p. 64; White, Inventing, p. 103; Kirmess,
     Crisis, p. 108 ('hardy').
41   Ranken, Invasion, p. 12.
42   Mackay, Wave, p. 271.
43   Wulf D. Hund, In the beginning all the World was Australia. In the end all the World
     will be white, p. 11 ('heart'); Mackay, Wave, pp. 289 ('armed'), 187 ('lance').
44   The Bulletin, 22.2.1902, cited in Jürgen Matthäus, Nationsbildung in Australien von
     den Anfängen weißer Besiedlung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg (1788 - 1914), Frankfurt
     am Main 1993, p. 280.

the territorial conflicts. Thus Australia has to realize that it "was merely a pawn in the game, not a player" and that "British sentimentality and the White Australian ideal had nothing in common".[45]

The "old world was the enemy, and the Chinese were its most sinister agents".[46] The imperial government had repelled Chinese immigration restriction and thus laid the foundations for the takeover of the Queensland colony by European and Chinese capitalists. Lane advocated the cutting of ties with Britain, as there was "no hope in England and ... her aid will be given to the Chinese and against the whites". Maitland, by contrast, cautioned against this: without the British backing of Australia their position in the southern hemisphere would be fiercely challenged by Russian and Chinese invaders.[47]

All the same, it seemed a 'global liability' to defend the nation. Australia's role as the "precious front buckle in the white girdle of power and progress encircling the globe" meant that if Australia did not hold its position, this 'belt of whiteness' would give way to Pearson's "globe girdled with ... black and yellow races".[48] For this a closing of white ranks was necessary. In the novels, Australia was awakened to the seriousness of the invasion. Labour and capital, bushmen and city dwellers, 'New Woman' and 'Coming Man' united to face the Asian invaders, and eventually "when the race-fight came ... Australia was true to her destiny ... she stayed white". In this, the invasion novels took a dialectic turn, from quality to quantity, during the enfolding of events. After the 'suspect' parts of society – women, capitalists, imperialists, and politicians – were identified, the novels concluded by depicting how these opposed factions were in the end welded together to a united 'White Australia' facing the external Asian enemies.[49]

References

(Emphases in the originals are not included. All non-English quotations are my translations.)

Affeldt, Stefanie, A Paroxysm of Whiteness. 'White' Labour, 'White' Nation and 'White' Sugar in Australia, in: Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital, Berlin 2010, pp. 99-131.

45   Kirmess, Crisis, pp. 25 ('pawn'), 26 ('sentimentality').
46   Vance Palmer, The Legend of the Nineties, Melbourne 1966, p. 82.
47   Maitland, Mordialloc, p. 25.
48   Kirmess, Crisis, p. 252 ('buckle'); Pearson, Natural Life, p. 89.
49   For dynamics of inclusion by exclusion and for negative social integration in the Australian and German case see Wulf D. Hund, Negative Societalisation. Racism and the Constitution of Race, in: id., Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital, Berlin 2010, pp. 57-96.

—, 'White Sugar' against 'Yellow Peril'. Consuming for National Identity and Racial Purity, paper presented at the conference 'Images of Whiteness', Oxford 2011 (http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/affeldtwpaper.pdf).

Albinski, Nan Bowman, A Survey of Australian Utopian and Dystopian Fiction, in: Australian Literary Studies 13, 1987, 1, pp. 15-28.

Anderson, Warwick, The Cultivation of Whiteness. Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia, new ed., Carlton 2005.

Blackford, Russell, Australian Science Fiction, in: Nicholas Birns, Rebecca McNeer, eds., A Companion to Australian Literature since 1900, Rochester 2007, pp. 375-386.

Chesney, George T., The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer, London 1871.

Clarke, Ignatius F., Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984, London 1966.

Cox, Erle, Fools' Harvest. Melbourne 1939.

Crouch, David, Insane Lane. Crowds, Contamination and Violence in Australia, in: Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature 5, 2006, pp. 72-85.

Dixon, Robert, Writing the Colonial Adventure. Race, Gender, and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914, Cambridge etc. 1995.

Finklestein, Millie, The Newest Woman: The Destined Monarch of the World, Melbourne 1895.

Frei, Henry P., Japan's Southward Advance and Australia. From the Sixteenth Century to World War II, Carlton 1991.

Gerster, Robin, Representations of Asia, in: Peter Pierce, ed., The Cambridge History of Australian Literature, Port Melbourne 2009, pp. 303-322.

Hay, John, The Invasion, London 1968.

Hornadge, The Yellow Peril. A Squint at some Australian attitudes towards Orientals, 2nd ed., Dubbo 1976.

Hund, Wulf D., Die weiße Norm: Grundlagen des Farbrassismus, in: Max S. Hering Torres, ed., Cuerpos Anómalos, Bogotá 2008, pp. 171-203.

—, In the beginning all the World was Australia. In the end all the World will be white. Culture, race, whiteness and the message of Enlightenment. Paper presented to the conference of the Australian Sociological Association. Adelaide 2000. 17 pp.

—, Mit der Weißheit am Ende. Australien und das Erbe des Rassismus, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 46, 2001, 5, pp. 600-609.

—, Negative Societalisation. Racism and the Constitution of Race, in: id., Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital (Racism Analysis | Yearbook 1), Berlin 2010, pp. 57-91.

—, Rassismus, Bielefeld 2007.

—, White Australia oder der Krieg der Historiker, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 51, 2006, 3, pp. 345-353.

Jensen, Lars, Unsettling Australia. Readings in Australian Cultural History. New Delhi 2005.

Kendall, Timothy, Ways of Seeing China. From Yellow Peril to Shangrila, Fremantle 2005

—, Using the Past to Serve the Present: Renewing Australia's Invasion Anxiety, in: Charles Ferrall, Paul Millar, Keren Smith, eds., East by South. China in the Australasian Imagination, Wellington 2005, pp. 110-135.

Kirmess, Charles H., The Australian Crisis, repr., Melbourne 2009 [1909].

Lake, Marilyn, Historical reconsiderations IV: The politics of respectability: Identifying the masculinist context, in: Australian Historical Studies 22, 1986, 86, pp. 116-131.

—, Henry Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line. White men's countries and the international challenge of racial equality. Critical perspectives on empire, Cambridge 2008.

Lane, William ('Sketcher'), White or Yellow? A Story of the Race-War of A.D. 1908, in: The Boomerang, 14, 18.2.1888, p. 9; 15, 25.2.1888, pp. 8-9; 16, 3.3.1888, p. 11; 17, 10.3.1888, p. 9; 18, 17.3.1888, p. 9; 19, 24.3.1888, p. 9; 20, 31.3.1888, p. 9; 21, 7.4.1888, p. 9; 22, 14.4.1888, p. 9; 23, 21.4.1888, p. 9; 24, 28.4.1888, p. 9; 25, 5.5.1888, p. 6.

Lusk, Hugh H., The Real Yellow Peril, in: The Northern American Review, 1907, 186, pp. 375-383.

Mackay, J. A. Kenneth, The Yellow Wave. A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia, Andrew Enstice, Janeen Webb, eds., Middletown 2003 [1895].

(Maitland, Edward), The Battle of Mordialloc. Or, How We Lost Australia, Melbourne 1888.

Markus, Andrew, Of Continuities and Discontinuities. Reflections on a Century of Australian Immigration Control, in: Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, Jan Gothard, eds., Legacies of White Australia. Race, Culture and Nation, Crawley 2003, pp. 175-189.

Matthäus, Jürgen, Nationsbildung in Australien von den Anfängen weißer Besiedlung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg (1788 - 1914), Frankfurt am Main 1993.

Meaney, Neville, 'The Yellow Peril'. Invasion Scare Novels and Australian Political Culture, in: Ken Stewart, ed., The 1890s. Australian Literature and Literary Culture, St. Lucia 1996, pp. 228-263.

Palmer, Vance, The Legend of the Nineties, Melbourne 1966.

Pearson, Charles H., National Life and Character: A Forecast, London etc. 1894.

Pullar, A. L., Celestalia: a fantasy, A.D. 1975, Sydney 1933.

Ranken, George ('W. H. Walker'), The Invasion, Sydney 1877.

Roydhouse, Thomas R. ('Rata'), The Coloured Conquest, Sydney 1904.

Sargent, Lyman T., Australian Utopian Literature: An Annotated, Chronological Bibliography 1667-1999, in: Utopian Studies, 10.2, 1999, pp. 138-173.

Stableford, Brian, 'The Battle of Dorking and Its Aftermath', in: id. Space, Time, and Infinity. Essays on Fantastic Literature, San Francisco 1998, pp. 105-116.

Summers, Anne, Damned Whores and God's Police, Rev. ed., Ringwood 1994.

Walker, David, Anxious Nation. Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850-1939. St Lucia 1999.

—, National Narratives: Australia in Asia, in: Media History 8, 2002, 1, pp. 63-75.

—, Shooting Mabel. Warrior Masculinity and Asian Invasion, in: History Australia 2, 2005, 3, pp. 89.1-89.11.

Ward, Russel, The Australian Legend, 2nd ed., Melbourne 1966.

Webb, Janeen, Andrew Enstice, Aliens & Savages. Fiction, Politics, and Prejudice in Australia, Pymble 1998.

White, Richard, Inventing Australia. Images and Identity, 1688-1980, St Leonards 1981.