

**“INTO OUTSIDE COUNTRY”: THE INFLUENCE OF VIOLENCE ON DISCOURSES OF
HOMELAND IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AUSTRALIAN YOUNG ADULT NOVELS**

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3. The Yellow Peril: Nations of Europe Defend Your Holiest Possessions, c.1895; H. Knackfuss, (Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow*, 2011), p. 174.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Throughout this thesis I have followed the MLA style (eighth edition) apart from when it interferes with British and Australian orthography. In the appendix and in the list of works cited I have included the city of publication for the Young Adult novels, if available, as these details are important for historical reasons.

ABSTRACT

Representations of home and homeland in twentieth-century Australian Young Adult novels are regularly associated with violence towards people and place. I have worked with the *Nolan Historical Children's Literature Research Collection* to undertake close readings of seventy-eight Australian novels published between 1896 and 1968. In the method articulated by Literary Discourse Theory, I have examined paraliterature such as Australian literature, films, Acts of Parliament, and environmental texts to contextualise and elaborate the notions of home, homeland and violence which appear in these novels. The novels represent the Australian home as a place that is populated almost exclusively by British people, as a place in which eating together is highly valued and which is surrounded with English-style gardens. The novels actively devalue landscape features that pre-date white settlement and they portray sheep and cattle as the primary, critical inhabitants of the Australian homeland, ignoring the impact that these animals have on the environment. Australian young women in particular are personified as under threat by Chinese, Japanese and German peoples, who are construed in a variety of derogatory ways. Aboriginal characters are presented in one of two ways: as station workers, trackers or native police who “help” settlers, or as “wild” and threatening. Aboriginal women are described in extremely offensive terms and are sexualised. The novels do not generally recognise Aboriginal languages. I examine the depictions of people and place in the context of discourses of colonial settlement and Lorenzo Veracini's model of the tripartite social structure of settler colonial societies. I find that this model is reproduced in the novels, as settlers, immigrants and Aboriginal peoples are segregated. Drawing on theories of violence developed by Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, Giorgio Agamben and others enables an analysis that differs from previous studies of

Young Adult novels that have examined themes of racism, the environment or colonialism as individual subjects, which presume the presence of violence but which do not examine it. Several types of violence are identified by this study: written violence on the page; the book as a vehicle of violence; depictions of fictional or historic violence; hate-speech; structural violence of binary classificatory systems implicit in the novels; the ‘violences’ of various moral, environmental, scientific, political, racial, social and anthropological discourses, in which some of the novels participate and citational violence, in which the novels refer to historical discourses. I find that Walter Benjamin’s theory of mythic violence and its connection with law provides a productive framework with which to theorise the function of violence in the novels. Each of the different types of violence that appears in these novels is related to written or unwritten laws about the home and homeland and serves to promote or maintain those laws, as Benjamin theorised.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the expression of violence. It is also about depictions of home and homeland. These two themes are examined in a selection of twentieth-century Australian Young Adult novels. Children's and Young Adult literature can often tell us more about a culture, its values and ethics than many other literary genres because it functions both as a medium that transmits ideas to the next generation and as a vehicle of education. There is a great deal of critical work examining the capacity of Young Adult Literature to embody cultural ideology, social norms and the ethics and values of a particular society, such as John Stephens, *Language and Ideology* (57), Clare Bradford, *Unsettling Narratives* (2008), Margot Hillel, "Welcoming Strangers" (2010), Peter Hollindale, *Ideology and the Children's Book* (1988), Roderick McGillis, *The Nimble Reader* (1996) and "Criticism in the Theory of Literature" (2010) and Julia Mickenburg, *Learning from the Left* (2006). However, I have encountered no research that examines the themes of the expression of violence and the depiction of home and homeland in Australian Young Adult novels. Violence, in this context, is concerned with law-breaking and law-making and therefore with ethics and justice. Home-making and interacting with homeland traditionally also has a traditional ethical dimension, as many cultures have customs that govern how to treat guests (Eullul 2013) and how to behave within the home and towards the homeland

My enquiry is focused on the ideas of settlement and the home in relation to white settlers¹, rather than to Aboriginal peoples². This is a particular delimited reading of the term

¹ I use the words white, non-Aboriginal, British, European, coloniser, and settler interchangeably throughout this Thesis. None of these words is entirely adequate and there is no agreement in the field of Australian Studies on a standard term. I use the word 'white' to refer to non-Aboriginal and non-coloured people, while acknowledging that this is a constructed category, which has no natural or essential basis.

² I use the term Aboriginal peoples throughout the thesis and acknowledge that this term in itself is a colonial appellation that served to homogenise individual sovereign communities who never ceded sovereignty. I will use the plural when referring to groups of people to signify the people who were not one, but who were named as the other of the invaders. To be completely clear, I am writing about the people named in a colonial construct.

‘home’, which I make explicit from the start. Ken Gelder critiques the problematic use of the terms ‘home’ and ‘settler’ in Australian literature, in his 2015 article “Thirty Years On: Reading the Country and Indigenous Homeliness” arguing that these words are mostly used to refer to white settlers. He claims that the normalisation of these literary relations – between the terms ‘settlement’ and ‘home’ and ‘white settlers’ – implies a conceptual and legal framework that privileges white Australia (22). In this work, I acknowledge that the lack of literary depiction of Aboriginal homes and settlement was – and still is – part of colonising discourses and I wish to draw attention to this fact by examining some of the discourses surrounding what is effectively a colonisation of the word and concept of ‘home.’

I take the quote in my title from Joseph Bowes’ novel, *The Jackaroos* published in 1923 (117). He uses it to describe country that has not yet been ‘opened up’, a euphemism that refers to country that has not been occupied by settlers in order to make a home. ‘Outside Country’ refers to land that is unmarked by fencing and is unmapped by white settlers. On the level of metaphor, I borrow this phrase to refer to the literary space set outside the space occupied by the narrator or protagonist: the space beyond the home, where a figure might not even be assigned a proper name. I am referring to those others, outside the delimited definition of ‘home,’ who are subject to violence. I also use the term to suggest that with this thesis I am entering into areas which are currently not yet critically marked.

Many researchers have touched on issues of violence in Children’s and Young Adult literature, including fairy tales. However, despite the fact that a search through an instrument like Trove reveals an apparent plethora of scholars who have worked on violence and literature for young readers, few have critically engaged with the theme of violence as a dedicated point of enquiry. In the context of this thesis two scholars are of particular interest. John Foster is one of the earliest Australian writers to have studied violence in children’s literature in his 1982 unpublished thesis, *Violence in Children’s Novels, 1970-1979*. Foster

examined the representations of violence in a selection of children's books published in the 1970s from Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom and contrasted these depictions with television violence. He identified incidents of violence in most of the books he examined, with the violent death of humans or animals occurring in many of the books. Contrary to popular thought at that time, he found that the books did not become progressively more violent as the decade progressed, rather, the presence of violence remained steady (59). Mavis Reimer wrote an introduction to the 1997 special edition of the *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, "Violence and Violent Children's Texts". This special edition included five articles which together presented an in-depth exploration of violence in children's books. While these articles were based in the then current American context, Reimer observes, as John Foster did, that violence in children's books and stories has a transhistorical nature (103-4). Reimer described the word 'violence' as problematic and complex, isolated the depiction of violent acts from texts that support violent solutions or those that decouple violent acts from their outcomes (102), and discussed the construction of the other as often violent (103). Reimer emphasises that violence is about power and force, can involve contradictory elements and is connected to the power of language (102-3). She also discusses the ways in which violence in children's books can be used to wield power over children's minds and memory (103). Drawing upon the work of Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, Reimer argues that by naming certain practices as violent one takes a stance towards those practices (103). Foster's and Reimer's work on violence and children's books inform the questions that I ask about violence and the texts that I engage with in this study. Drawing upon Walter Benjamin's theory of violence allows me to ensure that, although I am taking a stance towards the practices that I identify as violent, I am also engaging in a broader discourse about violence, and introducing this broader discourse into the field of Children's and Young Adult Literature Studies.

No previous study has explored the interaction of the themes of home and violence in Australian Young Adult Literature. My key point is that a detailed focus on these related aspects allows for the development of better understandings of the ongoing nature of various cultural attitudes towards home and homeland and the question of whether violence has a role in forming and maintaining these ideas in Australia. Such knowledge contributes to important scholarly and cultural discourse. My contribution to new knowledge is this focus on violence, and the analysis of depicted actions, practices, discourses and their effects. Although writers such as Clare Bradford, Brooke Collins-Gearing, Margot Hillel, Stella Lees, Brenda Niall, J.G. Kwai and others have established that some Australian Young Adult literature is racist, this racism has not been contextualised in a study of violence and its relationship to notions of home and homeland.

Brenda Niall examines the theme of settling in Australia as it is portrayed in Children's and Young Adult Literature her 1984 book, *Australia Through the Looking Glass*. However, Niall does not consider the persistence of this trope in the twentieth century, as I do in Chapter One. Susan Finlay's 2005 unpublished thesis *She's Only a Colonial You See': The Australian Girl in the English Girls' School Story. 1909-1920* analyses relations between Britain and Australia through the depiction of friendships in children's literature including school stories. Maurice Saxby examines Australian Young Adult novels which feature the character of the "New-chums and cousins-come-lately". My research, unlike theirs, focuses on twentieth-century cultural discourses, the theme of emigration, and notions of home and violence. Belle Alderman explores setting and landscape in her 1984 unpublished thesis *Setting in Australian Children's Novels*. Alderman examines setting and landscape through the theoretical lens of Regionalism.³ Her exploration of landscape is a rich resource for my

³ This is a geographic approach focusing on parts of the earth's surface, looking for differences and similarities to other parts (Castree, Kitchin & Rogers 418).

thesis; however, my thesis focuses particularly on perception of the landscape, the depiction of gardens, trees, and weeds.

There have been three recent studies of depictions of land and landscape in twentieth and twenty-first century Australian Young Adult fiction with an environmental perspective (van Essen 1992; Massey 2009; Curry 2011). However, it is significant that there have been no studies identified by this current literature review that have examined the environment from the perspective of settler colonialism, or the human impact on the land and landscape in a historical collection of Australian Children's and Young Adult literature.

I have not encountered any previous studies of the depiction of the pastoral industry in Australian Young Adult Literature, although the setting is so prevalent. Neither have I identified any studies of this theme in Australian literature. Deb Verhoeven in 2006, published *Sheep and the Australian Cinema*, which I draw upon in Chapter Two. The other paraliterature that I refer to in Chapter Two includes Australian films, scientific texts and extracts from the journals of an explorer. There are no studies, identified by this researcher, which examine connections between the pastoral industry, violence and the literary construction of the Australian home.

There has been some scholarly critical attention to the theme of the Chinese in Australia, which I build upon and respond to in Chapter Three. Stella Lees attends to the depiction of Chinese and other Asian characters in children's fiction by Australian authors in her 1997 article "God's One Country: The Depiction of Asians by Australian Children's Authors". Although Stella Lees and Pam Macintyre observe, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Children's Literature*, that Young Adult novels presented a more tolerant depiction of Chinese characters in the twentieth century compared to the previous century (94), the novels that I examine depict stereotypes and phrases that were in use since at least

the late nineteenth century. Robin Gerster also explores Chinese characters in Australian Literature in his 2009 essay “Representations of Asia”. However, Ouyang Yu has produced the most comprehensive commentaries on the depiction of Chinese characters in Australian literature in his books *Chinese in Australian Fiction, 1888 – 1988* (2008) and *Beyond the Yellow Pale Essays and Criticism* (2010) among other works. I develop his work in Chapter Three of this thesis, by identifying, within twentieth-century Australian Young Adult novels, many of the tropes that Yu discusses. I have not identified any critical literature concerned with the depiction of Japanese characters in historical Australian Young Adult literature.

Megumi Kato examined the representations of Japan and the Japanese people in Australian literature in her 2008 book *Narrating the Other Australian Literary Perceptions of Japan*. Chapter Four furthers the questions Kato addresses in her work by examining these themes in twentieth-century Young Adult novels. Meaghan Morris and Catriona Ross (and many others) have analysed themes of ‘Asian invasion’ and I discuss the presence of this theme in Australian Young Adult novels and engage with their theorisations of this theme. I also examine the presence of the signifier of ‘yellow skin’ within the novels, and analyse the depiction of Japanese men as sexually predatory towards Australian girls.

The depiction of the enemy bears upon the question of who is a part of the home or Nation and who is not. Margot Hillel has examined the stereotypes applied to depictions of German characters in Australian Children’s literature in her 1997 essay “‘A German plainly was a German and must be treated as a German’: Representations of Germans in Australian Children’s Literature” and I draw upon and develop her research, utilising the notion of othering and drawing connections between her work and that of Lorenzo Veracini on the structure of settler societies. Krista Cowman, in her 2007 article “‘There are kind Germans as well as brutal ones’: The Foreigner in Children’s Literature of the First World War”, found that German characters began to be demonised in British Young Adult literature over a

relatively short time-frame (105-106). I build on this finding in Chapter Five, by analysing depictions of the Australian social perceptions of the enemy at the start of World War One.

There is significant research on the depiction of Aboriginal people in Australian Young Adult literature. Margaret Bromley, in her unpublished 2012 thesis *Lost and Invisible* found that authors often failed to depict Aboriginal characters. Clare Bradford, in her 2001 book *Reading Race: Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature* argued that these absences were part of a strategic colonial discourse that sought to conceal Aboriginal Australia and Aborigines from European-Australian children (21). Sheila Collingwood-Whittick, in her 2007 book *The Pain of Unbelonging: Alienation and Identity in Australasian Literature*, also argues that this symbolic erasure was a textual component of the European-Australian conviction, backed by Australian government policy from the end of the nineteenth century, that so-called “full-blood Aborigines” were soon to be eradicated (xxi). I have examined this previous body of work to identify gaps in the research. Accordingly, I explore tropes that have had less extensive scholarly attention in the field of Young Adult Literature, including violence surrounding the depiction of Aboriginal trackers and the Native police, the construction of the binary ‘station blacks’ and ‘wild blacks’, violence in the depiction of Aboriginal languages and the representation of Aboriginal women.

Brooke Collins-Gearing, in her 2006 article “Re-Reading Representations of Indigeneity [sic] in Australian Children's Literature: A History”, argues that although it is sometimes distressing, it is nevertheless vital to examine the violent racist depictions of Aboriginal figures in Australian literature, as these representations are an essential part of Australian memory and history, particularly regarding how white authors constructed nationalist myths on Aboriginal lands (61), and to examine how depictions of Aboriginal characters were utilised to justify invasion and colonisation (61). Rachael Weaver, in her 2009 article “Colonial Violence and Forgotten Fiction” observes that official reports often

silenced or minimised violence towards Aboriginal peoples, while late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century popular fiction often demonstrated a fascination with the explicit, sensational and emotional elements involved in violent scenes. The publication and re-examination of these stories had the effect of bringing these memories into the open where they could be examined and discussed (35-51).

In this thesis, I am concerned with each of the differing scales and registers in which the selected novels speak about home, including representations of values, language, house, camp, garden, neighbourhood, town, region, station, place, land and nation. Each of these themes and depictions of place can be considered home, because a character can feel a sense of attachment to the values, language or place. I begin my inquiry with Morris's description of home as a place that does not pre-exist but is actively assembled, using mixed components in her 2006 book *Identity Anecdotes: Translation and Media Culture* (190). For Morris, who draws upon Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari for this definition, home is a space within which people act and from which people venture out (190). With this definition in mind, I ask how the authors of the selected novels order the space of the Australian home and homeland, how they act within it and what occurs when they go outside – I also ask what is outside the literary home. I use the term 'literary home' to refer to the home as it is written across the entire collection of novels under review in this thesis.

I am concerned with the expression of violence in the context of each of the representations of home, rather than with the relative incidence of violence over time. I am asking whether the study of Young Adult Literature provides insights into the nature of violence as it relates to literary discourses of the Australian home and homeland. This is a qualitative investigation which is not concerned with measurement.

When I began reading the Young Adult novels that would become the basis of this research project I was surprised by the regular presence of violent scenes and language.

Humans require ways to express powerful experiences such as violence, for example in books, films, religious texts, myths and fairy tales. However, the violence that I noticed in these novels was not of an existential nature for the protagonists of these novels – it was not something that they experienced in the sense that they were the victims of violence which they confronted as an obstacle to their life progression. The characters were not redeemed by violence, nor did the experience of violence result in the development of insight. This was a different kind of violence – it was concerned with the enforcement of social laws. It was not an experience that might occur to any character. It was not egalitarian. The violence appearing in many of the novels was directed towards particular types of characters – this was almost always violence against the other.

I use the term ‘other’ in the lowercase, though I retain the uppercase use when citing theorists who use this form. I use the term othering to refer to representational strategies of power and hierarchy in which what is ‘regular,’ ‘normal’ or unquestioned in the narrative is produced in the text in contrast to that which is not considered regular. Therefore, I draw on the work of Edward Said, Michel Foucault, Claude Levi-Strauss and Stuart Hall in my use of this term.

I begin my examination of Australian Young Adult novels just prior to 1900 and the time of Federation, when the six Australian colonies became part of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia with a written constitution and the British Sovereign as the head of state while retaining their rights to self-govern. This was a time when ideas of national cultural projects emerged alongside the legislative formation of a Commonwealth. For Graeme Turner, in his 1986 book *National Fictions*, these cultural projects concerned the production and consumption of “national fictions” (xiii) – in the context of this thesis – fictions concerning the home. These fictions were written in a variety of forms but fundamentally they were written in English by white Australians and they reflect and

promote Western systems of knowledge and power. These systems elided other narratives, such as the ambivalent legality or illegality within which early white Australia sometimes operated, the contributions made by many cultures to Australia, the environmental impact of settler colonialism, and the land rights, massacres and dispossession of Aboriginal peoples. Given that I was encountering violence in *Australian* Young Adult novels, I had to consider whether this violence was part of white nation-building.

As Ingrid Johnston writes, in her 1996 unpublished thesis *Re-mapping Literary Worlds: Postcolonial Pedagogy in Practice* all societies use language and narrative as processes by which groups and individuals make sense of their experiences (3). In this thesis the focus is on what is expressed by adult authors. I am not concerned about whether young readers consumed and believed the narratives and ideas contained within the novels – that is the concern of the field of study known as Reader Reception Theory. The imagined readers are part of the national fiction constructed throughout the novels. There are several theories that position the intended reader of Young Adult literature as an adult projection, fantasy or as a social construct. According to Jack Zipes the young reader is a social construct, and therefore a cultural category contingent upon the fields of politics and economics. For Jacqueline Rose, as Mike Cadden observes in his 2010 book *Telling Children's Stories*, the young reader is a fantasy created by adult parents, publishers and writers (xix). The fictional young readers of the novels I discuss here are constructed as white, they are reassured that they belong in Australia by repeated stories of characters arriving in Australia from Britain, they are instructed on the proper ways of altering the Australian land and on the superiority of British plants, cattle, sheep and horses compared to landscape features, plants and animals that are endemic to the Aboriginal Countries they belong to. These imagined readers are shown how non-British migrants are unlike British settlers, matter less, and might be threatening to British settlers.

I selected Young Adult novels as a focus because they are generally longer and more complex than literature for younger readers and therefore allow a deeper analysis of the themes. I describe the novels as ‘Young Adult’ to differentiate them from literature for children, although this term did not exist until the mid-twentieth century and the Young Adult category in the Children’s Book Council of Australia was not established until 1987 (Lees & Macintyre 480). Although perceptions of children’s reading capability have changed over time, Carpenter and Pritchard recognise this reading category using a different term when they describe Louise Mack’s 1897 novel *Teens* as an early Australian “example of the ‘teenage novel’” in *The Oxford Companion to Children’s Literature* (518-9). The distinctiveness of the fourteen-to-twenty-one-year-old reading audience was also recognised in the eighteenth century by the editor of the first British journal to review children’s literature, Sarah Trimmer, who used the term “books for ... young persons” as the title of one of her early essays, as Matthew Grenby records in the introduction to the 2002 *The Guardian of Education* (np). The use of the related term ‘Young Adult’ is justified in the context of this research as it is an accessible contemporary term with a substantive history. In the body of the thesis I refer to the Young Adult novels simply as novels, for the sake of expediency. If the novel is a children’s or adult novel, I describe it as such.

Scholarly attention to the cultural significance of special collections of children’s literature is an emerging area, informed by theorisations on the significance of the archive by Walter Benjamin (“Unpacking My Library: a talk about collecting”), Michel Foucault (*The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language*) and Jacques Derrida (*Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression*). Anne Lundin argues that special collections of children’s literature are built and researched in a collaborative framework. Lundin in an article on the de Grummond Collection of Children’s Literature at the University of Southern Mississippi argues that collections of Children’s and Young Adult Literature are distinguished from other

literary forms by this diversity of “text and context” (307). She highlights that collections of Children’s and Young Adult Literature “are poised to respond to...a developing interest in the social history of how culture is produced...” (309). The question of how culture is produced speaks directly to my research question. Lundin’s theorisation of the collaborative framework also speaks to my methodology. My research is based on the Nolan Historical Children’s Literature Research Collection (The Nolan Collection)⁴ which is located in the Raheen Library of the St Patrick’s campus of the Australian Catholic University in Melbourne, although I also draw on novels from other collections, including the Culican and State Library of Victoria collections.

The Nolan Collection currently contains more than five thousand books and continues to grow. The Australian Catholic University welcomed the Nolan Collection as it complemented their significant pre-existing collection of children’s books, the Culican Collection. John and Grace Nolan, former students of the Australian Catholic University, began to collect the children’s and Young Adult novels and other texts in 1980 following their marriage. They focused on books that interested them and that they believed would have been read by ordinary people, rather than concentrating on a particular genre or era. The books were collected in Australia and are therefore representative of books read by Australians. The Nolan collection is a diverse collection which can be considered the legacy of a special kind of literary love affair.

I read widely from the Australian novels in the Nolan collection as demonstrated in my bibliography. While I found elements of violence in many of the novels I selected those novels which demonstrated these tropes most strongly and I chose novels from different decades to demonstrate the persistence of these tropes across time. In finalising my selection of novels to be discussed I tried to strike a balance between including a representative

⁴ Further details about the Nolan Collection can be found on the Australian Catholic University website at <https://library.acu.edu.au/find/special-collections/nolan>

number of novels and allowing space for in-depth analysis of some of the novels. I was guided in my selection of novels to discuss at greater length by considering those in which the tropes were stronger, richer or more nuanced or those which demonstrated diverse elements of violence. I focus exclusively on the novels written in Australia published from approximately 1900, just prior to Federation, to 1968, which aligns with the date to which the Nolan Collection extends and when a new stage of Children's and Young Adult literature had begun in Australia according to Maurice Saxby ("Researching" 82).

As Jonathan Highfield describes, in his 2006 article "Suckling from the Crocodile's Tit: Wildlife and Nation Formation in Australian Narratives", the turn of the century was a period of social change, with changes in the literary depiction of Australia in popular fiction, and in the arts generally (129). This was reflected in Young Adult fiction, with a new focus on stories of family life and an emerging sense of regard for the defined Australian country, according to Maurice Saxby (1941-1970 27-29), who marks the birth of the contemporary Australian children's novel as 1957 in his 2004 article "Researching Australian Children's Literature" (82).

My methodology is common to the study of literature: it involves the close reading of the novels and the identification and analysis of themes and tropes. As I identify the different types of compositional-stylistic unities within which violence appears in these novels I draw upon the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, from his book *The Dialogic Imagination* and find that violence is introduced in the form of direct authorial narration, in the individualised speech of characters and in various forms of "literary but extra-artistic authorial speech," (262) such as moral or scientific statements, oratory, and geographic or scientific descriptions. My methodology has also been collaborative, as Lundin theorises work with special collections tends to be. My work includes contributions from John and Grace Nolan, who collected the books in the eponymously named collection, librarians at the Australian Catholic University

in Melbourne and Ballarat, librarians at the State Library of Victoria, my supervisors and other academic staff at ACU. At the level of text and context, my research has led me to collaborations with other collections such as The Culican Collection, also located at the St Patrick's campus library, and the State Library collection of children's literature. As part of my exploration of violence, I contextualise several tropes appearing in the novels alongside other contemporaneous material and within various social discourses such as records from State and Federal Parliament, social histories, scientific and environmental texts, maps and journals, asking how these other texts might have participated in similar discourses to those of the novels under review. Thus, over the course of my research I have made connections between the Nolan Special Collection and other collections and bodies of work.

Some of these other writings are similarly overtly violent, or carry a violent undertone. The argument that I have found most often expressed while I have been writing this thesis is that the authors of these novels were only expressing the popular thoughts and frameworks of their historical time. This argument implies that these authors were unable to critically evaluate the messages that they conveyed as they were unaware of them and that this lack of awareness or intent on the part of the authors makes the violent content insignificant.

Philip Pullman refers to this argument in his 2017 collection of essays, *Daemon Voices: Essays on Storytelling*. He posits that although children's stories entertain, they also teach and persuade (323-4). Writing about the world systems of writers, Pullman discusses how a writer might not be conscious of the fact that she or he holds such belief systems. They might only become evident "a generation or two after the work was first published" (391). He draws on the example of anti-Semitism, and how some writers from the first half of the twentieth century highlighted their belief that Jews were different from, and inferior to non-Jews, by regularly highlighting a character's Jewishness (391). Pullman describes this as a

“dark shadow” falling across the text (391). Over time, some “equally unfortunate attitudes, some ugly shadows,” will be revealed in contemporary writing, he argues, reflecting current preconceptions and “hidden ideologies” that some writers hold (392).

I argue that, whether or not an author was conscious of their beliefs and alert to their violent language, it is important to document and critique this content. These viewpoints remain a significant part of Australian social history, regardless of the authors’ intents. If Pullman is correct, and current prejudices become evident in the future, such critique can potentially increase awareness of what settlement and the notion of Australia as a homeland entail. In this thesis I am concerned with the writing of violence by the adult authors in this context.

By concentrating on violence, I am not denying the other themes and complexities that exist in these novels. Although the identification of the presence of violent language and themes can be seen as simplifying the reading of a text, it can also make it more complex. For example, Pullman provides the example of Jane Austen’s novel *Mansfield Park*, and demonstrates how political it is, when the reader asks where the wealth that “underpins the leisured way of life” of these “high minded” characters comes from (415). The money comes from slavery, a fact that remains unquestioned and unexamined in the novel and which, Pullman writes “throws a different sort of light on the ... moral refinement of the protagonists” (415).

I draw on several pivotal studies of violence in order to better understand its presence in the novels under review and to develop a theoretical understanding of the relationships between violence and the Australian home. I draw on the theories of violence developed by Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, Rob Nixon, and Judith Butler, following Louis Althusser. I also refer to theories of settler colonialism in the writings of Lorenzo Veracini and a brief extract from James Boyce’s 2011 book *1835 The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of*

Australia.

I define violence as an act in which tools are used to apply power or force in order to harm, or threaten harm, to self or others, including non-human animals or eco-systems. The harm might or might not be intentional. The resulting damage might be immediately evident, or slowly become apparent. Human violence is also connected with the concepts and practices of law and justice.

All of the major theories that I have studied agree that violence is the application of force. Hannah Arendt, in her 1969 *On Violence*, introduces the idea that violence is differentiated from power and force by its reliance on tools (4). Arendt draws on Friedrich Engel's 1878 work *Anti-Dühring* which devotes three chapters to developing a theory of force, specifically that force by which political structures are enforced and maintained. Arguing against Eugen Dühring, he writes that economic structures are not always secondary to political ones. He uses the metaphor of a sword as a weapon or tool of force; however, it is clear that he is arguing that an economic system can itself be such a tool. Arendt develops this idea to argue that violence, as a form of binding relationship between two parties, always requires the use of tools or implements to express or manifest its nature and message. I argue, following Engels and Arendt's elaboration of his theory, that it is useful to consider the novels that contain violence as the tools of that violence, as they are the medium of expression which attempts to forge the relations of violence. By 'relations of violence', I refer to the relationship between the party that enacts the violence and the party that is the described recipient of that violence. In the context of this thesis, these parties are, on one side, those who take up the discursive position of Britain, white settlers, and white Australia, and on the other, the land, landscape and animals of Australia, the Chinese people, the Japanese people, the German and Italian people and Aboriginal peoples and their culture. Arendt articulates the inter-relatedness of power, force and violence when she observes that

“the essence of power is the effectiveness of command” (*Violence* 37). When a powerful figure exercises violence, she writes, less force is required to enact that violence, as the effectiveness of his command contributes to the efficacy of the violence. This is important to recall in discussions regarding the power of a narrator and protagonist when analysing violent discourses carried by novels. A narrator and protagonist hold powerful positions in a text, therefore, following Arendt, these ‘characters’ need not apply much force in order to enact violence within the tool of the novel. A claim or trope that might appear to be relatively subtle when taken out of context might carry considerably more weight when it comes from the mouth of these narrative figures.

Judith Butler, developing the work of Louis Althusser in her 1997 book *Excitable Speech, a Politics of the Performative*, theorises that expressions of “hate-speech” are illocutionary, that is, they produce the subject of violence in the act of directing violence towards them, through subordination (26-27), a common thread in the novels under discussion, while many of the novels analysed in this thesis also contain instances of stereotyping, typecasting and abjection. As Hillel demonstrates in her 2004 essay “Race and Redemption: Images of Empire in Children’s Literature” the political messages of many Australian Young Adult novels are implicitly, but strongly, carried by the linguistic and narrative constructions of, for example, Aboriginal figures, as uncivilised, inferior, inadequate and as “needing to be saved” (580-81). Such linguistic acts combine to demonstrate how these novels function to implement violence, as Arendt theorises.

Arendt is mainly concerned with the violence of war, and with violence between humans. However, there is little theorising in the literature toward a definition of violence that harms, or threatens to harm self or others including non-human animals or eco-systems. I contend that animals and eco-systems can be seen as subjects in their own right, who can suffer the consequences of violence directed towards them. Many Indigenous communities

recognise that environmental degradation is violent. For example, in 2014, Andrew Sniderman, in his 2014 article “Aboriginal Peoples and Legal Challenges to Canadian Climate Change Policy” documented a series of Canadian court cases in which Indigenous people claimed that environmental degradation has damaged their cultural resources. Further, the environmental damage had resulted in accidents, injuries, death, psychosocial stress, suicide, and the decimation of wildlife that communities depend upon and that it threatened “the security of the person” (4-8). Canada’s Indigenous Climate Action network provides a prominent place on its website for the publication of the statement by Violet Poitras, elder of the Paul First Nation, which states “We all need to come together and try to find a way to stop this killing of mother earth” (np).

The environment is one iteration of the notion of home and so violence towards it, is also in one sense, violence towards the home – that is, towards part of the human habitat and human identity and place. There are at least three arguments for considering the environment a subject in this context. First, as Jane Carroll writes in her 2011 book *Landscape in Children’s Literature*, landscape features accrue symbolic significance and value over time through repetition (3). Second, in a literary sense, the environment often functions as a metaphor for human emotion. Third, the literary setting and animals each take the place of a character and therefore, violence towards these characters can be recognised as violence towards a subject – a subject that has an intrinsic value. These three points together constitute a strong argument for considering the literary depiction of land and landscape as a legitimate subject of violence.

However, even if the reader does not accept this proposition, violence to animals and eco-systems is inevitably part of a chain which results in violence to certain human population groups, who live among, or are dependent upon those eco-systems. Rob Nixon, in his 2011 book *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, argues that the poor are

often those who most suffer the effects of environmental degradation. In the context of the novels considered in this thesis, Aboriginal characters are the ones who suffer the effects of environmental degradation the most, but the next generations of Australians, who are the imagined readers, also suffer as they are the ones who will be obliged to find solutions to the environmental destruction described and justified in some of the selected novels. I am writing of both actual and symbolic violence when I write about violence to the environment. This is because the violence that I am concerned with is written, but it can influence the environmental consciousness of its readers. A recent ARC funded Discovery Project, *Eco-Colonial Australian Literature: Environment, Species, Climate* (2017-2020), led by Ken Gelder at the University of Melbourne, considers how colonial Australian literary writing influenced the environmental consciousness of Australians. The project seeks to “reveal our literary past and add historical depth to current environmental concerns in Australia” (The University of Melbourne” np). My thesis has a related aim, as I examine the environmental violence that is depicted or is implicit in the depictions of home and homeland in the selected novels. The authors I am examining might have already been influenced by the writers whom Gelder and colleagues are studying, as they are writing at a later date (from 1900 to the mid-twentieth century), and it is likely that the authors whose novels I review also contributed to the ongoing environmental consciousness of Australians.

The next part of my definition of violence states that the harm might or might not be intentional. Joanna Bourke, in her 2007 lecture, “The Nature of Violence” disputes the definition of violence operationalised in the World Health Organisation’s World report on violence and health, which describes violence as the intentional use of physical force or power to harm or threaten self or others (WHO np). Bourke highlights the notion of intent in this definition, arguing that others can suffer the effects of violence without the perpetrators intending a specific outcome. She provides the example of an army, who unintentionally

destroys a food or water supply, which results in a community suffering famine or death (0.24-1.24).

The consideration of the resulting harm as immediately evident or only slowly becoming apparent is vital in considering environmental violence and it is also useful in understanding how violence against certain populations can become more harmful as it becomes chronic. Nixon's work supports this part of my definition as his theory of slow violence challenges the popular notion of violence as something that strikes suddenly and has an immediate outcome. He introduces the idea that violence can be attritional, developing slowly over time. Nixon argues that his concept of slow violence accounts for situations involving delayed destruction, which might also be invisible. He draws on Edward Said's idea of the "quiet of unseen power" (cited in Nixon 20) to argue that species loss, environmental degradation and destruction are "cataclysmic" events "in which causalities are postponed, often for generations" (20).

Finally, my definition includes the statement that violence is connected with the structure and practice of law and justice. This connection has been most notably drawn by Walter Benjamin in his relatively short, complex and much-debated 1921 essay "Critique of Violence" and by Giorgio Agamben in his responses to Benjamin's work, in his essay "On the Limits of Violence (1970)".

Unlike Arendt, Benjamin is not concerned with the means of violence, but with types of violence, and their relationships to law. Benjamin distinguishes between several forms of violence including legal violence (293), mythical violence (294) and divine violence (297). He also discusses revolutionary violence and immediate violence (300). For Benjamin, divine violence and revolutionary violence dismantle or destroy law. I am not concerned with these types of violence in this research. Rather, I draw on Benjamin's notion of the irreducible link between violence and law specifically in relation to mythical violence and to Agamben's

development of this theory. A brief summary of Benjamin's concepts is necessary to provide context and to lay the groundwork for later discussions of settler colonialism.

Making law, for Benjamin, involves the assumption of power because the law involves judgement. The spheres of law and justice and law-making itself, intrinsically involve making judgements which mark the boundaries between what is wrong – that is, between guilt – and what is right – that is, innocence, in the legal sense (278). As Antonia Birnbaum articulates in her 2017 essay on Benjamin “Variations of Fate”, the force and power of law is that it defines what constitutes guilt, and this articulation of guilt precedes any criminal or illegal act (94). An individual act is recognised as illegal precisely because the law has already nominated it to be so. The power involved in law-making is violent because it threatens violence to the guilty in an overarching abstract sense, not simply in an individual, case-by-case sense. The assumption of power in law-making is a further articulation of violence, to the extent that violence and potential violence inheres within the law-making act. That is, the aim and intention of making law is to maintain the structural boundaries between guilt and innocence by promising violence towards the guilty in the abstract. This is how law is intimately linked with sanctioned, legitimate violence and is the background to Benjamin's claim that violence establishes, maintains and destroys law.

I am especially concerned with Benjamin's theorisation of mythic violence. Benjamin discusses the story of Niobe, who was punished for her hubris when Apollo and Artemis killed her children. Benjamin utilises the myth to examine how violence establishes law outside of both juridical structures and ordinary temporality – that is, outside of the legal system and outside of history. Law, in this sense, is inscribed by narrative, myth or story, rather than by a parliament or judicial committee. For Benjamin, laws that are written in this way are very powerful. This is because the myths that arise in particular societies also reflect and govern the ways of being and believing in those societies. Therefore, the laws that are

articulated in these myths are considered by that society to be foundational, undeniable or even “natural”.

Does Niobe break a natural law or a social norm about how women should act in the presence of the gods when she bragged of having fourteen children, compared to Leto’s two (Apollo and Artemis)? As Birnbaum points out, in Benjamin’s theory there is only a difference of degree between laws and social norms, because of the way that law is conceptualised as producing guilt (95). Birnbaum’s analysis of Benjamin’s theory of violence and law, demonstrates how law works in contemporary capitalist societies, for example, by transforming a person who already suffers from their poverty into someone who is guilty of poverty (97). For Benjamin, written law, such as civil, mythical, and religious law, is maintained by directing violence implicitly or directly at those who are identified as guilty, thereby constructing them as guilty; however, violence is also directed towards those who are guilty of laws that are unwritten (“Critique” 296) or as yet unwritten. This important thinking is directly relevant to my thesis, because it suggests that an analysis of depictions of violence can allow an exploration of the written and unwritten laws of a particular society. This summary introduces the specific limited parts of Benjamin’s theory of violence and law that I draw upon as the basis of this research.

As I will discuss shortly, laws and social norms in the context of the settler colony of early Australia were in flux, and acts of violence directed at those who were considered guilty functioned to formulate and articulate laws and norms. These acts of violence, law-making and lawlessness appear in some of the twentieth-century Young Adult novels analysed in this thesis. Like myths, the accounts in the novels that I studied sometime take on a sense of a-temporality, often appearing a century later, as if they were still current. These novels serve to document and transmit laws regarding the white Australian homeland.

The violence of law works precisely to avoid anomie, or the breakdown of social

norms and values, which might unsettle a community. Colin McQuillan, in his 2017 essay “Agamben’s Critique of Sacrificial Violence”, discusses how Agamben shows how mythic violence is linked to sacrifice and operates outside the law, leading to the making of informal or unwritten distinctions between what is valued and what is valueless. These informal distinctions are the basis of what become systematic articulations of law (128). The violence by which certain acts and states of being (such as poverty, in the previous example) become excluded from what is valued is foundational to law and politics for Agamben and this rests upon his concept of sacrifice.

For Agamben, those marked as *homo sacer* (bare life) are excluded from political society and are exposed to lawless violence and sacrifice. They are set aside from the law and can be killed, violated or hurt without punishment, because they are not protected by law. They mark the boundary which is established to distinguish between guilt and innocence and this is decided by the sovereign. For McQuillan, this is how Benjamin’s mythical violence and Agamben’s concept of sacrifice combine to found politics and law – they mark the distinction which directs when the law does and does not apply (128). I will return to Benjamin and Agamben’s conceptualisation of violence and law and its relevance to my thesis, following an important digression into the legality of some aspects of white settlement of Australia and the theory of settler colonialism. Of course, from an Aboriginal perspective, this was an invasion. Here I am limiting my comments to British law – the law by which white settlers were governed. Aboriginal people had their own Law, a very different understanding from that under discussion here and were also governed by British law, as British subjects, from the time of invasion onwards.

James Boyce, in his 2011 book, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne and the Conquest of Australia*, discusses legal acts of settler occupation, that is, according to British law, and also those occasions when land was occupied illegally. Boyce describes how the settlement

of Port Philip (Melbourne) in 1835 by John Batman and the Port Phillip Association – an “informal alliance of property speculators” – was illegal in terms of British law as it was an act of trespass on crown land (47-52). Just prior to what Boyce describes as the “squatter invasion of Port Phillip,” a dispatch from Lord Aberdeen in London addressed to Governor Bourke in New South Wales ordered Bourke not to allow settlers to purchase land beyond the limits of the colony authorised in previous policy, which extended one hundred and twenty miles out from Sydney (27-32). There was widespread dissatisfaction with the restrictions placed on settlement by the British government (26), but no one had yet been “bold or reckless enough” to challenge this law and occupy Port Phillip’s “highly coveted grasslands” (47). As Boyce argues, these grasslands were:

... a largely lawless frontier ... bushmen and stockmen ... exercised a greater degree of day-to-day control than the government ... stock-owners who could negotiate frontier power relations ... enjoyed a competitive advantage over their more conventional and respectable competitors. (48)

This digression into nineteenth-century Australian history is important, as it provides an historical context of the relationship between violence, law and the Australian home. This passage provides an example of how the settler colonist sometimes resented Britain, leading to a self-regulating ideology, or assumption of settler sovereignty in the Australian context. It demonstrates how questions of law and violence have a unique history and particular relationship in the settler colonial context generally and specifically in Australian society. Lorenzo Veracini, in his 2010 book *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* provides examples of how Afrikaner, Palestinian, and American settler colonialist communities expressed their right to self-govern and what he describes as a common expression of resentment at what they considered the interference of “distant sovereigns” (62). Veracini observes that, “... as well as emanating from a *particular location* and a *specific lifestyle*, a

settler sovereign capacity is therefore also seen as deriving from an appropriate *dimension* of the body politic” (sic) (62). As this quote suggests, only some settlers break and attempt to shape laws and institutions into existence by their assumption of sovereignty. Boyce provides examples of this ideology of lawless self-government among some parts of the Australian settler society (51).

This characteristic of colonial settler societies provides a further reason why I decided to read the selected novels beside a reading of Benjamin on violence, rather than Foucault, who wrote generally about violence, but in relation to history, surveillance of the other, liberty, madness, law enforcement and punishment, and power and sexuality (*Mental Illness* 64-75; *Birth of the Clinic* 131-145; *History of Madness* 512-16; *Mental Illness* 64-66; *Discipline* 73-134; *Power/Knowledge* 184-190 respectively) rather than law, or Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak for example, who also attended to violence and women, the other, and post-colonialism (*In Other Worlds*) but who does not have the focus on law that Benjamin provides. Benjamin’s “Critique of Violence” is mentioned in most significant studies of violence and has received much theoretical consideration, but, unlike Foucault and Spivak, has rarely been operationalised in a study of violence. This is what Arendt refers to as *viva activa*, arguing that ideas live only when they are applied to life (*The Human Condition* 175-80). Therefore, this presents an opportunity to revive Benjamin’s work and introduce it into a new domain for further discussion and work.

Amanda Nettelbeck and Lyndall Ryan write, in their 2018 article “Salutary Lessons: Native Police and the ‘Civilising’ Role of Legalised Violence in Colonial Australia”:

Recent scholarship has considered violence not just in terms of its capacity for destruction but also in terms of its power to build or reinforce civilisations. In the history of British settler colonialism, violence and the formation of the settler state were often closely entwined in that the power of force helped to shape processes of

colonial self-determination and nation-building. (48).

This argument is consistent with Benjamin's theory of how violence produces law. However, the "squatter invasion" of Port Philip occurred in 1835. In this thesis I am concerned with novels published from 1900, sixty-five years later, so how is this history relevant? Veracini cites Engels as articulating one of the distinguishing features of settler colonialism as a mode of colonial action, that is, that those colonialists remain on the land that they have colonised, unlike other forms of colonialism, such as extractive colonialism, where the colonists extract what they want from the land and then return home (1; 97).

It is this phenomenon of remaining, which gives rise to three pertinent and salient features of settler colonialism. Firstly, as Veracini observes, while political theory assumes that all political orders are based on violence which initially establishes the law of that order, settler colonies attempt to depict their societies as ideal and uncorrupted, precisely because they are making a home and for the same reasons, settler societies ardently disavow this foundational violence (77). Thirdly, the temporality of settler colonial societies is not horizontal or progressive, but resembles mythical time, in that the situation of settler colonialism remains fixed in a kind of recurring present-tense. As Patrick Wolfe writes, settler colonialism is "a structure rather than an event" and as such it displays a "continuity through time" (390). Veracini, interpreting Wolfe's extensive work, writes that settler colonialism is not a singular event but is continually produced and reinforced (28-32) like a narrative structure similar to that of the biblical book of Exodus (107) in which a people depart and settle, in contrast to the circular narrative structure of an *Odyssey* (96). This gives rise to a tripartite structure of dynamic inclusion and exclusion, which will be elaborated in Chapters Three to Five of this thesis. The situation of settler colonialism is not bound by the past (6; 19-20) but is in a state of continual present, in which its foundational violence is recursively disavowed, and is also posited to be emerging in an abstract future in which the

slate containing details of its history will be once more wiped clean (23). This recursive structure is what differentiates settler colonialism from post colonialism, in which a radical break is made between the present and the colonial past by acts such as widespread formal acknowledgement of colonial history, as Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun argue (49-51).

Theories of settler colonialism fit very well with Benjamin's theory of mythical violence, as the settler colonial narrative is, in its temporality, also a kind of mythical narrative. The disavowed foundational violence is expressed in places that one would not expect, such as in the novels discussed in this thesis and scenes of violence work to describe the founding of laws of the settler society. Claims are made for settler sovereignty in these narratives which occur half a century and more after settlement of Port Philip; however, this passage of time is irrelevant, because the state of settlement was still ongoing in 1900, as it was in 1960 and as it continues today. Wolfe's theory of settler colonialism as structural makes sense of the presence, in the twentieth-century novels, of repetitive themes of arrival, settlement, occupation, invasion and exclusion of migrants.

Although Veracini states that Settler Colonial Studies has been a distinct area of academic enquiry in Australia since approximately 2007 (9), I have not identified any previous study of violence in Young Adult novels that utilises this theoretical framework. There has been no previous research identified by this researcher which combines Benjamin's theorisation of mythic violence in tandem with a theory of settler colonialism in order to examine violence and the idea of home. One of the primary aims of this thesis is to develop these interpretive frameworks and conceptual languages as a starting point for further research on the themes of home and violence, especially in the area of Young Adult literature.

CHAPTER ONE – Transplanting Britain: Cumulative Violence and the Australian Home

Reading Australian Young Adult novels published from 1900 to the mid-twentieth century, a reader gleans that Australian settlers were exclusively British. As Carpenter, Hillel and van der Walt write, even in the second half of the twentieth century, when immigrants to Australia were not exclusively “Anglo-Celtic”, Young Adult and Children’s fiction was extremely limited in its reflection of Australia as a multi-cultural society (185). In the one short text and twenty-five Young Adult novels under review in this current chapter the Australian home is repeatedly linked with Britain, and relationships of affinity between the Australian homeland and countries and cultures other than Britain are excluded. Non-British migrants are very rarely depicted as settling, while Aboriginal peoples – whose homelands these novels depict – are represented as homeless, living on British owned properties, or in remote regions that are not described. With this chapter I aim to explore the home, homeland and notion of settling as the selected novels define these tropes. I argue that, while individual depictions might involve violence, the more significant violence pertains to the overall definition that is produced by the novels over the first half of the twentieth century: the Australian home and homeland is the property of people from Britain; the act of settling is performed by people from Britain; therefore, settlers are British. This is what these words come to mean, and other conceptualisations become impossible to consider. Combined with the lack of depictions of Aboriginal homes and settlement, and the absence of narratives of arrival of non-British migrants, the predominance of narratives of British arrival, settlement and home-making, as Gelder argues, has legal as well as conceptual ramifications and privileges white Australia (22). This delimited structural trope serves to devalue anything and anyone who exists outside of it. As such, the novels discussed here act as tools of violence in Hannah Arendt’s terms.

With this chapter I aim to introduce the notion of the literary home as it is written across the entire collection of novels under review in this study. This notion of home includes the house or dwelling and its residents, and the garden which surrounds the house. I then extend my definition of home to include the landscape beyond the garden, including an examination of depictions of weeds, trees, other flora, fauna and aquatic environments. I contend that these depictions cumulatively transmit an ideology that promotes slow violence to the environment as integral to the constitution of the Australian literary home and homeland. This chapter aims to establish a clear understanding of the concept of the Australian home and homeland as it appears in the novels that I have studied, upon which I then base my exploration of violence in the remainder of this thesis.

Edward Said, in *Culture and Imperialism*, explores the colonialist threads in Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations* and *David Copperfield* and draws on the work of Paul Carter to show how "English benevolence for Australia" developed through a process of relationships between those claiming the narrative roles of explorers, convicts, ethnographers, soldiers and businessmen, and the emerging symbolic continent of Australia. Once these discourses were received by England, Australian social and other spaces, previously considered strange, were authorised – by England – as home (xvi).

I argue that many of the novels that I examine undertake some of the same work: continuing to knit Britain and Australia together discursively, describing Australian homes as occupied by British people and as surrounded by British gardens, creating a persistent literary and psychic bond between the two countries into the twentieth century. The discourse that transmits this literary bond is intertwined with other discourses that promoted political, legal and economic bonds. There have been previous studies of the depiction of relationships between Britain and Australia in Children's and Young Adult Literature. As discussed at the beginning of this thesis Finlay has examined friendships between English and Australian

children and Saxby, the theme of British child migrants to Australia. My research expands and builds upon theirs by focusing on how twentieth-century cultural discourses of settler colonialism and depictions of violence towards people and place are embedded in these themes.

Although Australia was declared a British Colony in 1788, there was an ongoing necessity to assert ownership of the country, and to deny Aboriginal sovereignty, as settlers came to stay and to “replace Indigenous peoples on their land permanently,” as Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun describe in their article “The Vanishing Endpoint of Settler Colonialism” (41). This is in contrast to alternative forms of colonialism, where colonists arrived and left again. The novels that I study contribute to the assertion of settler ownership of Australia by repeatedly constructing relationships between British and Australian settler characters, by populating the literary landscapes of the novels with characters who arrive from Britain, and by depicting travel and other connections that forge ongoing lines of movement back and forth between Britain and Australia.

The literary depiction of this relationship is ideological. For example, there were numerous Chinese families who travelled between Australia and China, and there were also Japanese people who travelled between Australia and Japan, but these connections do not appear in these novels. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis, Asian characters are rarely depicted as having family relationships, or as having individual relationships with Australians or Australia. Between 1851 and 1861, the majority of immigrants to Australia were from Britain and Ireland; however, almost twenty percent of all immigrants were from Europe, China, the United States, and from New Zealand and the South Pacific (in that order), according to the New South Wales Migration Heritage Centre (np). By the time of the 1961 Australian census, eight percent of the Australian population were of non-British heritage, with the largest groups being Italian, German, Greek and Polish

(np). The majority of immigrants to Australia during the time frame of this thesis was British; however, the history and heritage of other immigrants is also significant. The retelling of the story of the connection between Britain and Australia is emphasised, as it substantiates the notion of a very particular kind of Australian home: one that is authorised by Britain, as Edward Said argues (*Culture* xvi). While many novels contain the theme of close relationships between Britain and Australia, I have limited my discussion to one or two examples from each of the decades between 1900 and 1950.

Jasper Meredith is an Englishman who becomes an explorer after he retires from the British armed forces in Donald Macdonald's 1901 novel, *The Warrigals' Well*. Meredith and his business partner Ogilvie travel to northern Australia, seeking investment opportunities, specifically remote gold mines and "conquests of capital", rather than "arms" (11-12). Meredith's director in London is seeking investment opportunities in the form of pre-existing businesses as well as primary industries, yet to be developed – he does not distinguish between them. Edward Said writes that, at the turn of the century, the London Institute of Bankers hosted a series of lectures on imperialism, given by an explorer and geographer (*Culture* 26). Said draws on Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to demonstrate how, while colonialism was initially mythologised as an individualistic adventure, by the late nineteenth century it had become a business proposition. *The Warrigals' Well* depicts the economic imperative which acted to restate the connection between Britain and Australia, suggesting the notion of cousins in capital. This novel also draws together the literary, geographic and economic discourses which served to establish and maintain settler colonialism in different but related ways.

In Alexander Macdonald's 1907 novel, *The Lost Explorers*, young characters Robert Wentworth and Jack Armstrong leave their jobs in an English engineering company and head to Australia. They want to leave England which seems to them to be "too crowded for us and

too old ... nothing but grime and smoke and rain and fogs” (12). Wentworth’s uncle “went out to Australia about ten years ago” (12), so there is a pre-existing family relationship. While the individual pursuit of business and adventure is important to these young men, Wentworth explains that his family relationship provides him with “an interest in the country” (13). The historical line of movement cited by Wentworth strengthens his and Armstrong’s connection, and authorises their travel plans, as if Australia has always been a place for British people.

Jack, in Charles Barrett’s 1915 novel *The Isle of Palms* is an orphan from England. Although he has no familial ties, he makes fraternal connections at school with Frank, from Gippsland in Victoria, and Arthur, from the Riverina in New South Wales. Jack encourages them to form an expedition party to search for treasure on a Queensland island, referencing the theme of the British explorer. The expedition has twin aims: discovering the treasure, and searching for birds, plant specimens and wildlife, in the style of a colonial botanical expedition. Later in the novel, when the boys find a shark-filled lagoon, they raise both the British and Australian flags (134). This action provides a visual image of the closeness of Britain and Australia, and also makes a symbolic claim to joint ownership. When they empty the lagoon, they recognise this work as colonial by likening it to the construction of the Panama Canal, and again they raise the two flags (212-13). All three boys fly, and identify with, both flags, suggesting that there is little to differentiate them from each other, nor to distinguish the Australian land from Britain.

Near the end of the novel the reader discovers that although the narrator, Frank, is Australian-born, he is writing this account at Oxford University where he is completing his degree. This provides another connection between Australia and England, as the narrator travels back and forth between the two countries. By emphasising these lines of movement and marks of commonality between the British and the Australian characters, and between

the Australian character and Britain, Australians with other relationships are almost entirely disregarded.⁵

Joseph Bowes promotes migration to Australia by dedicating his 1925 novel *The Young Settler, the Story of a New Chum in Queensland*, “To all English, Irish and Scotch lads who are looking towards Australia” (np). He explains that Australia wants young men “in the thousands” who are hard-working and sensible and who play that quintessentially English game, cricket (15). These characteristics are the ones shared by British and Australian men, according to Bowes; they are therefore those characteristics which define the mutuality of relationship between the two countries. The word “chum” is one that is often used in novels around this time, and evokes the ideal of intimate friendship between boys who are depicted in this liminal space between Britain and Australia, both in terms of character and in the image of them on-board a ship, endlessly ploughing the oceans between the two countries.

Seventeen-year-old Jim Westcott, the protagonist in William Hatfield’s 1938 novel *Buffalo Jim*, has had a good education, thanks to the sacrifices made by his father. However, in England in 1931, the Depression means that Jim cannot find work and is considering signing on for the dole. Rather than do that, he boards a ship for Australia, where he plans to become a self-made man. The opportunities available in Australia – exploration and exploitation, as Saxby puts it in the first volume of his history of Australian children’s literature (*1841-1941* 191), were often depicted as opportunities for those in transition between being British and becoming Australian. As Jim reflects, he was “simply a Britisher at large in a British possession, fending for himself and his comrades as best he could – and thoroughly enjoying himself” (121). Here, Australia is simply referred to as a possession of Britain. Near the end of the novel, when he is considering establishing his own property, Jim

⁵ See Chapters Three (the Coys), Four (Old Sakai) and Five (Gertrud) for the very limited examples of individualised Australian characters who are depicted as having historical or familial relationships with places other than Britain.

speaks more from the position of a settler, excited by the innovations in new technology and new ways of thinking. He is willing to take a chance on those innovations by establishing a commercial rice farm, something he has no experience of, and something that he believes has never been done previously in Australia. These plans contribute to the construction of settler Australia as a place of the future, without a history of its own.

James M. Downie's 1940 novel, *The Yellow Raiders*, also concerns a young man travelling from England to work in an Australian setting. Seventeen-year-old protagonist Ken Webster travels to Australia to lay claim to his uncle's pearling operation, which he has inherited. Although the business is financially risky, he decides to take a chance with it, because he believes his chances are better than those that he faces in England. His father had died two years previously, after his own business had failed. In response to his father's death, Ken left school and went to work to support his younger siblings. Ken's mother is worried that he will be unable to pay off his uncle's debts, but eventually gives him her savings so he can travel to Australia (33). This scenario positions Australia as a place where a British person, particularly a young one travelling to a country also depicted as 'young', might gain a second chance to make a living or seek his fortune. It demonstrates one way in which British citizens follow other family members from Britain to Australia, in this case through the lines of inheritance law, which also emphasises legal and familial connections between the two countries.

Poppy Treloar is sixteen when she is interviewed for a private Sydney art school in Pixie O'Harris's 1947 novel, *Poppy Faces the World*. She plans to spend the following day at home, lying "about in the sun," dusting the sitting-room, putting "some fresh flowers about," and waiting for the piano tuner (13-14). This is a similar life to one that could be lived by middle-class young women in England. Poppy wishes she could visit the neighbours, Pearl and Opal Jasper, whom she has known since childhood. But the Jasper family are away for

three months helping their English relatives settle and establish themselves on the poultry farm they have purchased in the Blue Mountains. The family connections between Australian and England are depicted as part of everyday life in this novel, which shows that this depiction of movement between Australiana and England continues even after the devastation of World War Two.

Dora Joan Potter, in her 1949 novel *Winterton Holiday Cruise* also depicts the movement between Australia and England as commonplace, emphasising the close relationship between the two countries. The Winterton School Headmistress organises a cruise on the ship *Pandora* as an end-of-year school excursion. Most of the students join the excursion, travelling by sea to Western Australia, apart from Althea, “the English girl”, who had fun travelling to Australia, but who is returning to England at the end of term (9). This suggests that she never really becomes one of the Australian schoolgirls. However, near the end of the trip, as they approach the harbour, the Winterton girls all “flock to the Port side as the ship sail[s] into familiar waters” and see “one of the English boats” (120). Jean is impatient to board a ship to England immediately. Earlier in the novel it was only the English girl, Althea, who was to be travelling from Australia back home to England, but “now!” (121) the author suggests that any of the girls might be sailing between England and Australia, either imaginatively or in reality.

The connection between Australia and England is depicted as redemptive and necessary for personal healing in Nan Chauncy’s second young adult novel, *World’s End Was Home*, published in 1952. Dallie Eventyde is an orphan who is initially in the care of her maternal family but later moves to Tasmania with her paternal grandmother and the family of a boy named Cobby whom ‘Gran’ cares for. This family is building a house in ‘World’s End’, a place that is not even “quite a place” as Cobby puts it, being further south than all of the places named on the map of the south of Tasmania (38). There is no road in,

and only one man lives there – Dan, who has abandoned civilisation and has offered them the land. Dan is hiding “as far from people as I [can] get, deep in the untouched bush”, because, Dan explains, he “dreaded people most of all” (191). This is due to the war trauma he suffered during his military service with the British Army. He “was picked up in 1917 in an unrecognisable state and for a long time the shock took away the memory of everything – even his name” (190). Dan suffers from a stammer and believes that he needs to make connections with the natural world and to occupy himself with meaningful work. However, he has offered the land to Cobby’s family because he knows of their connection with Dallie, who is actually his niece (192).

Reconnection with his niece allows Dan to remember and speak about his history, and it also opens possibilities for Dallie. Dan decides to return “to England to establish ... [his] claim” to family property and title (199). He invites Dallie to accompany him and suggests she can have “a year’s schooling there” (199). Dallie has thus discovered a member of her family whom she did not know existed, and he reminds her of her father – he has “Daddy’s eyes” (202). It is on the trip to England that Dallie, for the first time in her life, has the thought: “I belong!” (202). This suggests that Dallie belongs to England, rather than to Australia, and that her sense of loss bore partially upon the fact that she was unaware of her familial connection with England.

This narrative emphasises how important the connection between England and Australia is for settler colonials. Veracini describes this connection as both “indigenous *and* exogenous at the same time.” The settler colonial, according to Veracini, has an ambiguous relationship to origin and identity and an illogical sense of location as the settler must replace indigenous others to become simultaneously both “permanently situated” and originate from elsewhere. This results in what he describes as ambivalent emotions (9; 20). Dallie expresses these emotions and her experience of ambiguity in relation to her heritage, but Chauncy

resolves these complexities by clarifying Dallie's primary connection to England by the end of the novel.

The theme of returning to England from Australia is not uncommon. Peggy, in Ethel Talbot's 1925 novel, *That Wild Australian School-Girl*, also makes this trip, discovering what makes her distinct from the English school girls. In Gladys Lister's 1953 novel, *A Star for Starlight*, sixteen-year-old Pamela Summers also travels by ship from Australia to England, to take up a music scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music (56). When she arrives in London she goes to watch the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace and experiences an emotional reaction: "Her heart filled with pride, so glad was she to be British" (153). Although a distinctive Australian nationality was introduced in early 1949, four years prior to the publication of this novel for those such as Pamela who were born in Australia with the introduction of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* (Commonwealth of Australia, np), Pamela still considers herself to be a British citizen, and this might have been common at that time. British citizenship is considered to be preferable to Australian in this and other novels that I read for this research. This is emphasised when Pam's boyfriend, Dan, asks her if London feels familiar to her, like "an old friend". Pam replies:

"Yes, I always longed to see London and never thought I would feel the way I do. It's like looking forward to meeting some grand and very important person and then finding him to be an old acquaintance – someone you have known all your life."
(153)

Dan suggests that part of this sense of intimacy might be because "there are so many familiar names" (153). This suggests a kind of familial relationship between Australians and the country of England at the level of the name, beyond relationships with actual family members. This theme also promotes the idea that Australia is made up of British people, and that it is the Britishness of these Australians that makes them worthwhile Australians.

Phyllis Power's novel *Under Australian Skies*, published in 1955, emphasises Britain's close relationship with even the remote reaches of Australia. The Clarke family are excited to host Sir Charles Gatley on the remote Central Australian cattle station that they manage for an English company (14). Sir Charles is a director of the company who is visiting from England to inspect the property and to identify somewhere for his eighteen-year-old son, Ivor, to "gain experience" and improve his health (69-70). Sir Charles finds it challenging to travel from the improvised airstrip to the station by horseback, rather than by car, but his son Ivor connects with the Clarke daughters over their mutual admiration for horses and horse-riding. Ivor has ridden since he was four years old and has hunted competitively (89-91). The shared values of horsemanship act as signifiers that show how quickly and easily young Britons and Australians are able to bond.

Colonial settler societies, according to Veracini, categorise their population into three broad fields. This structure arises due to the ambiguous state of being that the settler experiences, as mentioned previously in relation to the character Dallie. Settlers claim to belong in the new place and own the land, making a home in the country they have settled, but simultaneously claiming a connection of origin with the place of colonial power. In terms of identity, settlers define themselves in contrast to those whom Veracini terms "Exogenous Others" – who come from outside, that is, migrants who arrive later; and settlers also define themselves in opposition to those whom Veracini terms "Indigenous Others", who come from inside, and whom the settlers displace. Settlers claim to be both less exogenous than the Exogenous Others, and more indigenous than the Indigenous Others (16-31). This summary is necessary to interpret Ivor's position in the novel *Under Australian Skies*, and for later discussions.

Ivor is embarrassed by the fact that the girls swim alongside Aboriginal children, who do not "bother about bathing togs of any kind" (93). He takes his lead from the girls who do

not “take any notice” of the lack of clothing and soon “just gave himself up to enjoying the romping, ducking and diving in the clear bottle-green water” (93). The narrative shifts in this novel, in that Australia is depicted as having something unique to offer the young Briton, in terms of the health of a sense of ease with his body, which might develop as he becomes more “indigenous” and slightly less “exogenous” in Veracini’s terms. In this novel, the economic relationship between England and Australia is represented by the relationship between Gatley and Clark: the land on which the Clark farm is located and on which the children swim is owned by the British company that employs Gatley. The Australian land is depicted as being economically structured by Britain and simultaneously depicted as a young country, full of health-filled future potential. The young Briton, Ivor, is shown as becoming a settler – one who is characterised as both exogenous and indigenous – by swimming with the settler children and alongside the Aboriginal children.

The novels discussed here work cumulatively to establish a literary Australian home as one that is populated with settlers and their British friends and relatives, in the present, past and future worlds of these novels. Lines of movement between the two countries depicted in the form of ocean travel evoke the image of lines on a map that are repeatedly drawn until the relationship becomes unquestionably true. By depicting this relationship as primary, other possible relationships between settlers and Aboriginal peoples, or Australians, Britons and other twentieth-century immigrants to Australia are annulled or deposed. This constitution of the literary Australian home as inhabited almost exclusively by Britons is a premise for what I refer to in this thesis as settler law: a social norm promoted by settler Australians and defended by violence when necessary.

In the next section of this chapter I consider depictions of the garden and immediate landscape surrounding settler homes. For Kylie Mirmohamadi in her 2004 essay “‘There will be the Garden, of course’: English Gardens, British Migrants, and Australia”, gardens are

about working towards belonging to a land, but due to the settler-colonial structure of Australia, feelings of belonging, alienation and the disavowed history of stolen land can all converge in a garden (209). Settlers might make gardens based on memories of gardens left behind, but such elegiac or melancholic gestures and tropes of ‘lost gardens’ were not confined to Australia. Gardeners in Australia might have expressed these feelings in the early to mid-twentieth century; however, by the mid-twentieth century, English gardeners were also expressing nostalgia for traditional gardens, which they believed were under threat from technology or modernity itself (216).

The English protagonist “Ju” Grey (151) in Joseph Bowes’ novel *The Young Settler* (1925) experiences some initial difficulty in seeing the Australian landscape clearly. The landscape “loses its sharpness of outline and high colouring”, due to Ju’s “mental outlook” which was “a backward one. The old home, with all its endearing associations, made claims upon his thoughts and feelings” (49), resulting in a sense of alienation from the botanical environment, which, as Mirmohamadi discusses, is common in a settler colony (209-13).

In R.M. Fergus’s 1928 novel, *Little Australian Pioneers*, the adult, Uncle Jasper, shares his vision of an altered Australian landscape with his child-workers, but they are then required to “change it from a wild wilderness into a garden of fruitfulness and beauty” (25). Uncle Jasper is “ashamed” of his island in its natural state: entirely unimproved. The young workers clear the land, plant crops, vegetables and fruit, and introduce fowls, pigs and cows (25). Their plantings are typical of a colonial garden and include strawberries, currants, oranges and lemons, as well as flower gardens (137), passionfruit, and grapes (140). This story is clearly a metaphor for the occupation and settling of Australia, with the children acting as, and idealising, “pioneers”, or settlers who engage in the act of settling through the practice of gardening. The acts of alteration of the landscape that are involved in settling are also idealised, while the history of Aboriginal land use is erased by the notion that prior to

settlement, the land was “unimproved”, in Fergus’s words.

A visual mistaking of landscape occurs in Patricia Wrightson’s 1955 novel, *The Crooked Snake*. In this novel, Mr. Taylor, a teacher, reads aloud to the class from *The Wind in the Willows*, while the students look out of the classroom windows at the “brown playground” superimposed on the “inner eye” with “snow covered lands of England” (3). In this example, the projection of the British landscape onto the Australian one is intensified by the fact that the students (and readers) hear a description of the English landscape while they gaze at the Australian land. *The Wind in the Willows* is itself a novel which idealises a lost landscape, and this scene epitomises the shared experience of settler Australians and Britons, which Mirmohamadi observes: that of longing for an ideal botanical landscape which has almost vanished due to the passing of time and the passage of distance (216). I argue that this transposition of the British landscape onto the Australian land is part of the construction of home and the notion of settling, which is depicted in the selected novels as an exclusively European activity, and ignores other forms of homes and settlement that were also occurring during the twentieth century. I present these constructions in order to have a clear idea of the notions of home and homeland that are discussed in future chapters.

Brenda Niall examines the 1830 novel *Alfred Dudley*, by Sarah Porter, which was set (but not published) in Australia and observes that the Dudley family, in the process of settling in Australia, build a home and garden that are as similar as possible to an English one (9-10). I develop this work by considering the persistence of this trope in the twentieth century. For example, Pixie O’Harris depicts a typical Australian domestic garden in her 1947 novel, *Poppy Faces the World*. Predictably, this is an English garden that is valorised by the author and built upon cleared Aboriginal Country. Mrs. Treloar grows “scented ... English flowers ... because they brought back to her the fragrant memories of her happy childhood in England” (68-9). The fragrance of “the blossom of the orchard behind the house” (77) is also

part of the sensual description which encourages the reader enjoy the idea of this type of garden. The mid-twentieth century persistence of this trope of the Australian garden as English demonstrates the ongoing nature of the settler colonial occupation, which is continually restated across a variety of fields and mediums.

At the turn of the century, Donald Macdonald, in his 1901 novel, *The Warrigals' Well*, describes a garden which, like the one described by O'Harris in 1947, is beautiful – “dreamy, cool, sequestered” (281) – due to the presence of a typically English “high garden wall, crimson passion-flower, pomegranates ... gold roses”, with flowerbeds containing wallflowers, rosemary, stocks and damask roses (280-81). This garden convinces the protagonist, Meredith, to settle down and make a home after his adventures in outback Australia. He describes the importance, for him, of “a tasteful blending of the old world and the new” (280-81), which is a continuation of the theme of the literary construction of the Australian home being authorised by English discourses, in this instance, by descriptions of garden design and plantings.

The type of English garden described here is predicated on land clearance and is built on the violent dispossession of Aboriginal people and forceful alteration of Aboriginal Country. As Michael Farrell describes it, in *Writing Australian Unsettlement*, white Australians became nomadic as they moved across the country trying to find somewhere to settle; at the same time, each act of settlement was an act of eviction of Aboriginal people (176-7). Garden-making is an emblematic act of home-making and unsettlement which continues in space across time.

In *The Cub* (1915), Ethel Turner depicts an early Australian garden with a greater diversity of plants than appear in the novels by O'Harris or Donald Macdonald. These include native, South American and South-East Asian plants. Mirmohamadi remarks how Australian gardens that include native plants carry a complexity of meanings. The absence of

native plants in a garden might refer to the conflation of indigenous flora with Aboriginal peoples, and the conjoined notion that both were “doomed” to become extinct (220).

However, the presence of native plants in a garden, as in the one established by the Calthop family, might articulate the idea of the appropriation of “a state of nativity by settlers” (220), in a similar way to what Veracini terms the “striving for indigenisation and national autonomy”, which conflicts with the aim to replicate a “neo-European ... civilised pattern of life” (21).

The Calthop family home is in Wahgunyah, on the north shore of Sydney, in Ethel Turner’s novel *The Cub*. It is described as a “great place with a great garden ... falling in terraces down to the waters of the harbour” (127). Plants in this garden include Moreton Bay figs, bamboo, jacaranda trees, and coral-trees (127). Of course, although this garden is not predominantly an English flower garden, these plants were introduced by the English, as part of the Colonial botanical trade with the goal of making a global botanic culture, as Londa Schiebinger explores in her 2004 book *Plants and Empire, Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. The distribution of plants from different colonial locations is commented upon in the 1957 novel *Cows Can’t Eat Cedar* by Diana Mercer. Susan Thomas, a young character in Mercer’s novel, discusses the botanist Michael Guilfoyle (father of William) and his collection of plants from all over the world. Guilfoyle, according to Sue, tried the plants out in his garden in New South Wales, and if they grew successfully, “he advised the farmers and gave them seeds or cuttings to try out in larger plots” (95). Such horticultural experiments are small acts of settler colonialism, as the introduced plants slowly, or in some cases more rapidly, come to occupy the land upon which Aboriginal peoples previously lived and undertook their own land management and other practices.

Later in the *Cub*, Mrs. Lindsay and Brigid find a cottage in Sydney with “wide verandas and a big garden running over with roses” (196). Robyn Morrow, in her 2003 thesis

'It was Good to be Home': Nostalgia in Australian Picture Books 1970- 1997 observes that the image of a cottage with a veranda often represented nostalgia in picture books from the 1970s to the 1990s. This image was connected with notions of belonging and security and became a well-known and popular signifier of the Australian home by the late twentieth century (247-8). The appearance of this type of home near the beginning of the twentieth century demonstrates the continuity of this image. The content of the gardens surrounding these houses suggest that the nostalgia, sense of belonging and security that Morrow posits is connected with an idealised relationship between England and Australia, which is not only evoked by these novels and the children's picture books examined by Morrow, but is also actively promoted by them.

The year after Ethel Turner published *The Cub*, she describes, in her novel *John of Daunt*, a Sydney garden of the sort "one sees in watercolours and in books" with "clipped grass ... tall white lilies, lavender ... larkspur and delphiniums ... pansies and daisies and primulas and nemophila" (193-194). This description also contributes to the materiality of a type of ideal settler garden. It also speaks of forms of land use that draw English gardening history into the fabrication of the Australian home, via the literary depictions of these garden environments. Turner demonstrates the complexity of gardens and associated meanings carried by settler gardens in the two novels discussed here, and articulates how the contrary relational experiences, described by Veracini and Mirmohamadi, of belonging and alienation, indigenisation and Europeanisation, can consolidate in the literary making of a garden in Australian Young Adult novels.

Turner also comments upon the notion of an ideal home in her 1924 novel, *Nicola Silver*. Nicola's father is violent, and the family home is dilapidated and unhomey: a two-storey house built entirely of stone, positioned on the edge of an isolated hill (10). The windows are "barred with iron as if they had been the windows of an actual prison" (8), and

Nicola herself lives in a section of the house called the “eyrie”, with unforgiving wooden floors and cold stone walls (8). The narrator observes that it is sometimes “as well only to look at one’s home sideways, or from a distance, or through rose-coloured spectacles” (7), suggesting that the idealisation of reality might make an unbearable life tenable. Turner is known for her social realism; however, in this novel she does not deny her readers a happy ending – of sorts. The sharp incline upon which Nicola’s home is built slowly begins to give way; the house shifts, inch by inch until it finally topples down the hill during a landslide. Mr. and Mrs. Silver are killed and Nicola is set free (251-54). Her partner, Conan, tells her that he intends to marry her and that they are to live in his “four-roomed cottage till ... [he] can afford to build ... [her] a five or six-roomed one.” (251). The idealised small Australian cottage is reinstated, demonstrating what a well-established trope it is.

In Leslie Lee’s 1928 novel, *The Road to Widgewong*, two young boys escape family violence and head north. They are on the look-out for food when they arrive at a house: “It was a new place, just like a selection” (a block of land that has been cleared) (82). Prior to arriving, the boys have only seen bush and trees, so the fruit and flowers are a significant change for them, but the description of this house as a “selection” indicates a geographic area that is on the frontier of settlement. For the young characters who have been travelling in “unsettled” country, this temporal frontier moment represents domesticity and food – the elements of a home that they desire. Their attention is drawn by “a few young fruit trees and a beautiful flower garden, also vegetables and some fowls” (82). Their sense of relief encourages the boys to knock at the door and ask for food and odd jobs. The British style of gardening evokes a sense of belonging and the possibility of survival for these young alienated characters, again emphasising that the important notion of home and settlement is British.

There are some occasions in the novels under review where individual trees are

valued as highly as the English garden. Smiley, in Moore Raymond's 1959 novel *Smiley Roams the Road*, is in the company of a group of "sunbrowned, barefooted boys", who are "comparing their scars" and lounging "in the shade of the giant Kurrajong tree beside the Murrumbilla State School" when the novel begins (7). This single tree is depicted as a valued landmark, appreciated by local students and other town residents and considered a hallmark of the town. Helen Armstrong, in her 2009 review of "Reading the Garden" writes that the Kurrajong tree can survive in extremely difficult terrain and during drought due to its extended trunk, which can store water. She notes that it became the emblem for Australian soldiers during the First World War, and has replaced the previously common Lombardy Poplar tree in war-memorial plantings, for example in Gundagai, New South Wales, where twenty-four pairs of these trees are planted in the shape of a cross (3). It is possible that this memorial function of the Kurrajong tree is the one evoked as valuable by Moore Raymond, rather than simple admiration for a native Australian tree. This is an interesting transition, as the emotion previously associated with memory of England is transferred to the memory of Australian soldiers, and then transferred onto the image of an indigenous Australian tree. From Veracini's perspective, this is an act of transfer by assimilation (39) of a native plant, rather than of an Aboriginal person, in the process of "indigenisation" undertaken by settler colonials (21).

Patricia Wrightson's 1955 novel *The Crooked Snake* is rich with flora and fauna. The young characters notice trees such as silky oak (11), wattle (23), wild apple trees (39), cedar (68), fig (68), Bangalow palms (69), grey gum (70), blue fig (70), bloodwood and its blossom (114), stringybark (114), and sally wattle (114) and tree orchids (115). The characters observe that the nature reserve is a special place: "This is a good place," says Spike (68); "it's a super place," says Squeak (69). They notice that the country is different to that with which they are familiar: it is more vibrant, vital and alive. This recognition is part of the lead-up to

their articulation of a commitment to protecting the place. These depictions of the value of Australian trees and wilderness are exceptions that demonstrate that alternative discourses did exist, and therefore that critique of the dominant discourses about home, garden and landscape was possible.

Peter Singer develops Albert Schweitzer's argument in his 2000 essay "Environmental Values" by arguing that there is an inherent good in that which is living, whether or not a human comprehends the value of that life. For Singer, ethics – at its most fundamental level – consists of protecting, maintaining and cherishing life (99). Following Singer, the characters in *The Crooked Snake* are engaged in an ethical journey. Although their experience is focused on a bell-bird, the characters are aware of the interconnectedness of life within the sanctuary. They notice that the logging, although not recent, has had an overall effect on the environment and habitat. They "see how it's torn down the creepers and broken the bushes" (71). Their willingness to interact at this level with the bell-bird and the broader eco-system allows them actively to forge a relationship with the place, rather than simply claim belonging to it. By making these active connections the characters claim the sanctuary as their territory or home and announce that they will protect it from potential violence – from logging and hunting:

Back on the track, the Crooked Snakers hurried on, pausing only once to annex the sanctuary as Crooked Snake territory. "We claim this ground for the Society of the Crooked Snake," they chanted. "We shall protect it with our lives; or may we be punished by nettles." (70)

However, valuing trees and the forest environment is not common in the novels that I have examined. Trees are more often depicted as problematic, and the overall attitude toward the environment that is communicated by these novels is that cleared land is preferable to treed land. In retrospect, given the extent and the effects of deforestation on the world's

environment, the perspective that cleared land is more valuable can be considered one of violence towards the environment, as well as towards Aboriginal Country. It is important to consider one of the arguments that underpin the discipline of Environmental History in order to contextualise the use of the term violence in relation to land and landscape. In the following chapters, I introduce Nixon's theory of Slow Violence, which arises from a similar theoretical lens. The following summary is important for this chapter and also for the following one as it contextualises the concept of violence in relation to land and landscape.

For Tom Griffiths, in his 2013 essay "Seeing the Forest and the Trees", it is necessary to look at, and to look beyond, the impact that human beings have had on forests by considering the forest ecology and the "biographies of the trees" (254). This research direction requires what was, in the late twentieth century, a new kind of history, that is, a cross-disciplinary history of the *longue durée* – the very-long time frame. Griffiths proposed a history that recognises that history is not simply a nationalistic endeavour, nor even an attribute exclusive to human beings. Rather, this approach requires the recognition that life on earth has its own history. The premise that Griffiths bases his argument upon – that life on earth has a history – scaffolds my argument that the literary depiction of living things that are other than human can rightfully be considered subjects – and subjects of violence.

Environmental problems are often identified by a scientific symptom such as species extinction or forest loss; however, as Griffiths notes, each problem for the environment has human behaviour at its root, and is therefore a human problem (266). In this chapter and the following, I contend that the human behaviour that is at the root of many environmental problems is best understood as violence, and that many of the attitudes, ideologies, and ethics that underlie and constitute this violence are depicted in the novels that I have reviewed.

R. M. Fergus, in his 1928 novel *Little Australian Pioneers*, holds an almost completely opposite view to that held by Griffiths: he believes that humans created

everything valuable and significant in the environment. Fergus depicts land clearing as a heroic and admirable part of a process of settlement that includes house-building and making gardens. The “old pioneers” transformed Australia:

They cleared it; they sowed grasses; they ploughed it and raised crops; they built their houses, they made their gardens; they searched far and near and found gold, and coal, and minerals ... everything that man can need ... the old pioneers made ...

[Australia] the wealthy, beautiful land it is today. (25)

Fergus combines the practices of extractive colonialism – with his focus on minerals and mining – with settler colonialism and its ideas of houses and settlement.

As I have recently mentioned, tree clearing is very common in the Australian novels that I read during the process of this research. Phyllis Power, in her circa 1968 historical novel *From the Fig Tree*, describes how, in mid-nineteenth-century Australia there “was a great deal of hard work to be done, as thick scrub covered a large part of the country, and this had to be hand-cleared, as there were no bulldozers” (np). Here, the process of clearing is at issue, whereas the reason for clearing the land is not commented upon. As mentioned in the following chapter, the Colony of Victoria *Land Act 1869 Regulation* required settlers to improve land by destroying vermin, enclosing the land and cultivating it, by the end of their third year of occupation in order to apply for a lease (4-5), and the Victorian *Land Act 1928* still included ‘clearing’ as a category of improvement (467). The depiction of timber clearing in these twentieth-century novels supports these Acts of Parliament by presenting tree clearing as a virtue – or even as an admirable personal achievement. In Bowes’ 1925 novel *The Young Settler* it is depicted as a heroic powerful act. The protagonist, Julian, clears the sub-tropical land, by ring-barking trees (15), while his predecessor describes “a strong desire ... to “subdue the land” (86), a phrase which strongly suggests an attitude of domination and control.

In Leslie Lee's 1928 novel *The Road to Widgewong* the two boys notice signs of tree clearing; they observe "many stumps and heads of trees with the trunks missing, for those had been cut into posts and rails for fences, or into sleepers for the railways" (65). They also see signs of logging: "chips and slivers and log-ends and half-dead branches and all the rest of it, which showed that timber-getters had been there not long ago" (72). These observations serve to support these practices by normalising them.

In Ion Idriess's 1948 novel *The Opium Smugglers* the characters cross paths with a "Sandalwood team" lumbering into town, the "pack-horses heavy-laden with the rich yellow wood from the wild west coast away up the Peninsula" (2). This brief encounter gives an indication of the attitude that this author held towards logging: the timber is described as plentiful, rich, exotic and almost sensuous. In Diana Mercer's 1957 novel *Cows Can't Eat Cedar* the Thomas family heads north from Sydney because Mr. Thomas wants to "make his fortune cedar-cutting", as his predecessors had done. His father tells him that there is no longer any "money in timber" (4). As all of the cedar is cut, various crops are planted, including coffee, sugar-cane, bananas, pineapples, flax, jute, ginger and sweet potato (95). The news that the cedar is no longer plentiful is not depicted as bad news in terms of the environment but only from an economic perspective. Some of the introduced species that are presented as alternative options had destructive effects on the land, as will be discussed in the following pages.

Tree cutting is mostly depicted as a necessity and as a normal part of everyday life in the six novels discussed, in a way that it would not be presented today. These depictions lend weight to the 1869 *Land Act*. This Act required that settlers must destroy vermin, clear, enclose and cultivate the land that they had selected in order to apply for a lease (4-5). Despite the fact that the novels under review are published between thirty and one hundred years after this Act was legislated and are intended for younger readers, the authors

considered the depiction of tree cutting to be important elements of the national narrative. The violence done to the land by logging is rarely commented upon in these novels: the elision of this violence functions to support the requirements of the *Land Act*, consistent with the way that Benjamin proposes that mythical violence functions to support law.

Francis Ratcliffe, a biologist, arrived in Australia as a researcher for the Australian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. An extract from his 1938 book, written as a result of that research, was included in the anthology for young readers, *An Australian Muster* (1946). Ratcliffe was investigating soil erosion and presents a critical view of logging. He describes the “horrible desolation” of an area that had recently been logged:

Nothing was left but naked soil and charred stumps. Here and there a tall scrub box had survived complete destruction, but its once delicately pink trunk was black and cracked and its beautiful foliage now a shiny brown. (57)

The naked soil is susceptible to invasive species, as Ratcliffe also observes; the trail that he follows is described as “weed-choked” (57). This is an extremely rare depiction of the deleterious effects of logging – a depiction that I have not identified elsewhere within the novels under review.

Don Watson, in his 2004 book *The Bush* elaborates on the meaning of the word ‘clearing’. Coming from the Latin *clarus* meaning brightness or light, he argues that selectors believed that they were “letting in the light” and showing the way forward, and this was considered a virtue (207). However, as he notes, clearings already existed in the area of New South Wales, for example, known in the late nineteenth century by white Australians as “The Big Scrub” (207). These clearings had arguably been hunting grounds, areas where frost settled and ceremonial places for Aboriginal peoples. The settlers who arrived to harvest cedar also introduced names to these cleared areas, calling them “grasses” (“Chilcott’s grass, Dan’s grass”), in view of their function as places for their teams of bullocks to feed (207).

As Ratcliffe did in 1938, Watson also comments on how devastating an effect the widespread clearing had on the land, as the cedar cutters introduced weeds such as lantana, cat's claw creeper, kudzu, morning glory, madeira vine, privet, camphor laurels, asparagus fern, crofton weed, fireweed, blackberry, mysore thorn, koster's curse, fireweed and groundsel. These plants altered the environment forever, for the cleared areas were "soon uncleared by these weeds, some in the first generation, some in the second, some, as with camphor laurel, most destructively just forty years ago, when the dairying and banana farms wound up" (207).

Some novels describe the Australian land itself as violent, or as evoking violence. In Donald Barr's 1946 *Warrigal Joe*, central Australia is described as being full of deadly plants: vines that can choke a person, giant stinging nettles with hairs that "produce intense pain that lasts for hours" and "Finger cherry" with fruit that deceives by looking good, but causes blindness if eaten (18-19). This description is reminiscent of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notion that Australia was a place full of strange and unusual plants, so much so, as Armstrong reports, that the period from 1770 to 1820 was known among British naturalists as "the Era of Australian Plants" (1). Such descriptions evoke Agamben's theory of sacrifice, insofar as a land which is violent and inhospitable is cast as being a place of 'bare life' – without value and able to be sacrificed – and therefore not entitled to legal protection from violence, as McQuillan describes (128).

Donald Macdonald describes a different sense of violence in the Australian landscape – one that is clearly connected to the violence between settlers and Aboriginal peoples. In his 1901 novel, *The Warrigals' Well*, he describes how:

[the] whole country was alive with Sturt's beautiful desert pea, and it had a rather weird effect, for the rich black and red blossoms opening with the daylight looked like a vast blood-red carpet slowly spreading itself over the downs. (63)

This vision occurs just ten pages before the characters take some spears from some “aboriginal Australians” (sic) as “trophies” (73), so this violent image is a presentiment of what, in the novel, is potentially to come – and of what, in Australia, has already occurred – the dispossession and murder of Aboriginal peoples.

The violence depicted in May Gibbs’s 1918 novel *The Complete Adventures of Snugglepot and Cuddlepie* includes both of the relational strands of violence described in Barr’s and Donald Macdonald’s novels. By this I mean that the violence in Gibbs’s writing is connected to the early British ideas that Australian flora is fantastic, and it also conjures images of weird, dangerous men who occupy the world and the Australian landscape, variously suggestive of the violence of world war, and of the violence between settlers and Aboriginal peoples.

Snugglepot is an infant gum-nut who is anthropomorphised, as are all the other characters in the novel. Following an under-water sojourn, he is summoned by his brother Cuddlepie to return “up to the land” (137). This transition from one world to another can be read as a metaphor for migration, and also as suggestive of a transition from the world of fantasy to the world of reality. As Snugglepot emerges from the water he is blinded by daylight and imagines that it is Cuddlepie who catches hold of him, but it is “the Captain — the bad Banksia” (140). Snugglepot shivers and calls for help, but the “bad Banksia” merely laughs and carries him to the top of a cliff where he holds Snugglepot in one hand by the ankle, dangling him over a “deep, deep hole” (141). In his other hand, the bad Banksia man holds a “great stone” (141). All the other Banksia men sit watching from their boats “laughing and clapping their hands” (141).

They Saw a Terrible Thing



"Here he goes. This is the end of him!"

"Now," he shouted to the other Banksia men, "here he goes. This is the end of him." Then he held Snugglepot over the hole,

Illustration 1. *They Saw a Terrible Thing*. May Gibbs.

Snugglepot's ordeal has become entertainment. The Banksia Captain addresses the other Banksia men, rather than Snugglepot himself: "here he goes. This is the end of him," he shouts (142). The title of this illustration "They Saw a Terrible Thing" is frightening, as the "terrible thing" is not described. Is it the dangling of Snugglepot, or something else? What can Snugglepot himself see down in the "deep hole" (141)? The illustration of the Banksia man is frightening – he has monstrous animal-like feet, and his legs and arms are hirsute, also suggestive of a monster, while he is also clearly plant-based, being the seed pod of a banksia plant. This inter-species notion underlies many monster narratives, for example the monstrous hybrids that Edward Prendick discovers in the South Pacific in H.G. Wells's 1896 novel *The Island of Doctor Moreau*.

As well as inter-species hybridity, the Banksia man has what appears to be a type of mouth in the area of his stomach. While Banksia seed pods are characterised by these crevices, the Banksia man has only two of these orifices, one in the place of his mouth and the other in his stomach area. This is confusing and disturbing. The idea of being able to eat directly through one's stomach is frightening as it complicates everything that readers know about processes of imbibing and expelling things from the body. The strange mouth-like feature is also close-enough to the place where a human being's genitals would be to be further disturbing. The Banksia man is said to be male, whereas the mouth-like feature more closely resembles a rotated vulva than a penis or testicles. Annette Hamilton argues, in her 2003 article "Snugglepot and Cuddlepie Revisited: A Response to Chris Eipper", that this illustrated novel is concerned with questions of "mateship, sex and reproduction" (357), while Chris Eipper, in the 2003 article "Snuggles, Cuddles and Sexuality: An (other) Anthropological Interpretation of May Gibbs's *Snugglepot and Cuddlepie*", writes of the many "phallic, vaginal and uterine imagery" and the "stress placed on eating (sexual intercourse), and the dangers associated with being eaten" in the novel (340). Both of these

writers see the themes of the novel as being predominantly about sexual and family relationships, while Gibbs emphasises an environmental theme when she opens the book with an illustration containing a plea to humans to “be kind to all Bush Creatures” (np).

Hamilton’s and Eipper’s critiques coincide with my reading of what makes the Banksia man frightening. The confusion of sex and bodily organs contributes to the sensation of fright. Settler publications often depicted Aboriginal peoples as naked, or semi-naked. Alongside the overall derogatory representations, Aboriginal peoples came to be associated with nudity and suggested primitivism and radical difference. Gibbs’s novel is complex and multi-layered: it might concern themes of sex and family, while also presenting a strong conservation message and celebration of the bush. However, her novel also raises some of the ideas that have been explored earlier: that the Australian landscape, even specific flora, has an element of violence about it, and that the violence between settlers and Aboriginal people remains tangible in the landscape.

As well as land-clearing in some of the novels in the Collection, the violent exploitation of the sea is also depicted. Here, there is a connection between ‘collecting specimens’ and the early British idea that Australia is home to wondrous and unique plants and animals. In Charles Barrett’s 1921 *Ralph in the Bush*, the illustration on the Frontispiece is titled “Spoil from the Coral Reef”: a black-and-white photograph shows brain coral, sponge, and sea-stars. At this time, taking souvenirs from a coral reef was not illegal; however, in retrospect it is understood that this practice can be extremely destructive for a coral reef, many of which are today confronting extinction. In an earlier novel by Charles Barrett, the 1915, *The Isle of Palms*, the young protagonists catch and collect bêche-de-mer, clams, “sea-hare” crabs and “Nigger-heads” – big lumps of coral like giant skulls (176-77). As well as using this derogatory name, the boys are imitating the stance of the colonial explorer, who believes he has a right to seize and remove things from the ocean or the land

and ignores the fact that there are other people who have sovereignty before him. These are the actions of what Veracini describes as extractive, rather than settler, colonialism, but these two stances are not mutually exclusive. The characters have collected nests, palms (217), butterflies, other insects (203), and pigeons (215). They describe these as their “collections” and arrange for them to be shipped to Melbourne (219), in the manner of a colonial explorer, extracting scientific knowledge from the colonies.

Similar to the way in which, when trees are cleared, invasive plant species occupy the emptied space, these characters are depicted as removing plants, animals, and other living things, and also introducing the notion of settler knowledge to the literary landscape. Exploiting natural resources and introducing a particular form of knowledge to the land and the sea – in the form of taxonomies – is a form of violence. It assumes the superiority of this type of knowledge over any pre-existing forms of knowledge – a common practice in colonial writing.

The attitude of having a right to what is on the land or in the ocean is further articulated when the boys in *The Isle of Palms* decide to ride a turtle. The turtle is described as “unwilling” and gives one of them “a blow on the leg from one of his flippers that raised a bruise the size of a crown piece” (144). They each have a try and decide to “capture” the turtle to test its strength, but the turtle escapes (145). Later, the boys decide to hunt the turtle as they are running short of canned food, and seek revenge for the turtle’s resistance. One of the protagonists finds the kill unpleasant and so the violence that this act entails is acknowledged: “it was not a nice job, and I never want to be in at the death of another turtle” (148). This depiction of cruelty to an animal is a continuation of the characters’ violent interactions with the underwater and terrestrial gardens depicted by Charles Barrett in these two novels.

In this chapter I have explored several aspects of the Australian home and homeland

as it is depicted in one short text and twenty-five Australian Young Adult novels. I have argued that, in these early to mid-twentieth century novels, the Australian home is shown to be inhabited almost exclusively by British people or those with a British heritage, and that these depictions are part of an ongoing discourse which recursively embeds the British as settler colonials in the Aboriginal lands of Australia. The exclusion of other peoples and other landscapes that are absented from these depictions is violent, as the perspective is exclusively a settler one. Next, I explored the perception of the Australian land by Britons, and the illusory supplementation of English landscapes upon the visual field of the Australian landscape, and the associated representation of the actual introduction of British and colonial plants and gardens onto the Australian land. These acts were shown to be associated with a sense of lament for traditional English gardens; however, I argued that this sense was not exclusive to migration but also appeared in Britain. What the settlers in Australia were expressing in their gardens was therefore not necessarily particular to the state of migration or settlement in Australia, and cannot be claimed to be the cause of subsequent acts of settler colonialism. I briefly explored idealised images of the Australian home, which were generally connected with a garden.

The novels that I have discussed show cottages and English-style gardens as beautiful, and as belonging to the altered Australian homeland. I suggest that their depictions are part of the ongoing normalisation of settlement, and the simultaneous unsettling of Aboriginal land, as Michael Farrell terms it in his book *Writing*. Next, I looked beyond the domestic garden at trees and the place they are given in the literary representation of the Australian home. I found few depictions of trees being valued, or of mindful conservation, but more generally I came across descriptions of tree clearing and the associated introduction of invasive weeds. Trees were often typified as obstacles to settlement. I presented some descriptions of the Australian landscape that depicted the land as hostile or violent. These

portrayals act as an argument or justification for the alterations introduced by settlers; that is, if the land is full of hostile obstacles, these require clearing in order to build civilised homes and lives and simultaneously, they do not require protection. I argued that landscape sometimes acts as a metaphor for Aboriginal peoples, and that violent intentions towards landscape are also sometimes directed at Aboriginal peoples. Finally, I briefly explored the underwater landscapes and the settler attitude towards this form of life, as the novels depict it, and found that the settler colonial sought to impose the ideal of scientific knowledge onto all areas of the settler home and homeland, including aquatic environments, in practices which sought to claim and name these places as their own, and that these literary acts disregarded the previous occupants of Australia and their relationships with these environments.

With this chapter I have shown that the novels discussed act as tools of settler violence, in Arendt's sense, as they describe the process by which people arrive in a land already occupied by others and, with no invitation, take over that land as their own. In the following chapters I will demonstrate other ways in which the discourses of settler colonialism carried by twentieth-century Australian Young Adult novels enact violence. In Chapter Two I will explore violence done to the land by introduced animals.

CHAPTER TWO: Turning Murnong Into Yam: A Home for Sheep and Cattle

This chapter expands on the previous by closely examining the depictions of sheep and cattle and descriptions of the pastoral industry in twentieth-century Young Adult novels. The pastoral industry is a very common theme and setting in these novels, but I have not identified any previous scholarly studies that have attended to this. The cattle or sheep station is often presented, in the novels under review, as the location of an idealised Australian home. Deb Verhoeven has examined sheep in Australian film in her 2006 book, *Sheep and the Australian Cinema*, and I draw upon and expand her work by discussing this setting in Young Adult novels. She finds that the sheep station is a complex site of interaction between Aboriginal and white settler characters, a theme I examine in Chapter Six of this thesis. In his 2016 article, “The Sheep’s Face: Figuration, Empathy, Ethics”, Michael Farrell considers the history of sheep farming in Australian and examines how human relationships with these animals involve metaphor and desire. My focus varies from Farrell’s as I am concerned with the presence of cattle and sheep on the Australian literary landscape, and the inherent violence that is normalised in these depictions. However, Farrell’s work is important to note as this theme is an emerging one in Australian literary studies.

In this chapter I explore the establishment of the pastoral industry and pay particular attention to the phrase “opening up the country” – a euphemism for various violent practices. Next, I examine representations of fencing and paddocks. The super-imposition of an administrative order onto the Australian landscape at both the symbolic and actual level can be considered as a kind of violence towards the land and toward Aboriginal social-spatial systems in the process of home-making and nation formation. Belle Alderman observes that, from the late-eighteenth century a certain type of colonial settler introduced an ideology of regularity and homogeneity to the Australian landscape (12). This regularity is related to both the Colony of Victoria *Land Act 1869 Regulation* and the Victorian *Fences Act 1928*. As

Alderman notes, pre-existing landscape features were ignored and land was divided into regular-shaped and sized blocks (12). I develop Alderman's work by identifying, in the novels under review, scenes of fencing and paddock-making and their effects on the landscape.

Following this, I explore depictions of cattle and sheep and their impact upon the land, soil, dust, air, water and vegetation. I also attend to depictions of environmental alterations and damage that were known to have been caused by sheep or cattle, at the time the novel was published or at a later date, where the author does not draw a causal connection between the presence of these animals and the environmental damage. These elements – soil, dust, air, water and vegetation – in the novels might be considered inconsequential to the readers of the day. However, they are both abstract and material parts of the homeland as it is depicted in the novels under review –abstract, because they sometimes contribute to the atmosphere of the scene in which they appear; material, as they are essential, fundamental elements of land and Country, inclusive of the earth, sky and the ocean, rivers and lakes.

I draw upon the work of Griffiths, introduced in the previous chapter, to argue that all of these elements are significant living subjects, and that the literary depiction of these aspects of the environment reveals something of settler attitudes towards the homeland, and settler ideas about who or what belongs in that homeland. I also draw upon Nixon's theory of Slow Violence, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, and which allows me to extend my exploration of violence.

The phrase 'opening up' is an imprecise one. As Griffiths writes, settlers were legislatively required to 'improve' land that they wished to eventually lease (263). This 'improvement' involved clearing, building, ploughing, cultivating, and enclosing the land, as I described in the previous chapter (*Land Act 1869* 4). The introduction of stock was a way of improving the land by making it as productive as possible in settler terms. The notion of

‘improvement’ is closely connected to that of ‘opening up,’ as it involves the occupation and alteration of the land and the establishment of industry, which, if successful, will require employees. However, the phrase also has other connotations, which I will explore in the following pages.

Joseph Bowes describes the pioneer settler in his 1925 novel *The Young Settler*, as a man who goes into “unoccupied country” in order to “open it up, make tracks and roads” (23). In an earlier novel, *The Jackaroos: Life on a Cattle Run* (1923), his characters Jim and Campbell ride to the outer limits of the cattle station as they search, during a drought, for water and food for the cattle. “It’s unoccupied country”, the station owner tells them (111). From the perspective of the author and settler, the word ‘unoccupied,’ emphasises that the land is available. It also evokes the myth of *terra nullius*. Bowes uses the word to indicate that the settlers can increase the size of their property and their potential capital. In these examples, the state of being ‘unoccupied’ means not being ‘occupied’ by another white person.

Beinart and Hughes in their 2007 book *Environment and Empire* cite Alan Bernard who writes that it was the wool market in Australia that operationalised the “successful spread of colonial settlement” (5). Thus, ‘opening up’ the land by travelling inland and establishing cattle and sheep stations also referred to taking possession of the land from Aboriginal people. The term ‘opening up’ can therefore be seen as one of the many euphemisms that colonial explorers and overlanders (drovers)⁶ adopted in their journals to disguise patterns of structural and explicit violence between their parties and Aboriginal people. Heather Burke and colleagues, in their 2016 article “The Space of Conflict” discuss these euphemisms and their relation to patterns of violence (145). The interesting question in

⁶ ‘Overlander’ is the Australian name for a drover who moves cattle and sheep very long distances on foot because of drought or in order to open up new country.

relation to the novels that I have examined is whether the re-telling of this ‘history’ in the early- to mid-twentieth century, symbolically repeats this euphemistic ‘opening up’ of the land for the generations of white Australians who were born following Federation.

Bowes writes that “Men...were pushing back westwards and forging northwards, and squatting on large areas of pasturage with their flocks and herds” (18)⁷. The actions of the men in the quotation from Bowes are described using forceful verbs in the past continuous form: “pushing”, “forging”, “squatting.” They are words that carry the sense of active masculinity which is a necessary constituent of the violent myth of the pioneer in *terra nullius*. The message – that the introduction of sheep and cattle is a necessary good and an essential part of settling the land – is communicated alongside this arousing affect. That the past continuous form describes unfinished actions of the past is interesting in terms of the notion of home and the message being transmitted to young twentieth-century readers. This form presents the work of these men as ongoing and implicates the reader and invites him or her to be part of the violence of ‘opening up’ and ‘settling.’ The temporal peculiarity of this grammatical form is consistent with Veracini’s model of settler colonialism as a structure, not as an event. As discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, settler temporality can resemble mythical time, with themes and event recurring over time, rather than being fixed (28-32). That is, the processes of settling in a settler colonial society are continuous and ongoing, as the imagined aim, that of being settled, can never be achieved.

The word that Bowes uses to describe the land is ‘pasturage.’ This suggests that the land is a commodity primarily intended for stock. Thus, the stock become central to the narrative of the land and any previous land use or features are ignored. This word normalises the process of turning land into pasture, and presents it as an accomplished fact. I discuss the violence associated with this process in detail in the section on fencing and paddocks later in

⁷ Squatters occupied Crown land without legal rights to do so, in order to graze stock.

this chapter. The word ‘pasturage’ and the use of the past continuous form contribute to the construction of a literary landscape in which Aboriginal people, as subjects who are related to Country, do not exist. Bowes’s language instead consolidates the image of an Australian homeland in which presence of sheep, cattle and the men who work with them dominate.

Henry George Lamond, an author who also worked on cattle and sheep stations (Lees & Macintyre 253), writes, in his 1955 novel *Towser The Sheep Dog*, that in the early twentieth century the managers of sheep stations were considered by regional settlers to be “local kings” (9). Geoffrey Blainey, in his 1982 book *The Tyranny of Distance* writes that significant initial capital was required to establish a sheep station (127). When authors depicted these characters, they possibly considered them to have this kind of reputation and wealth. When these characters describe the land as unoccupied, they speak with the authority that comes from holding positions of power and are therefore intended to be reliable, high-status narrators. When Arendt, in *On Violence*, distinguishes between power and violence she observes that “the essence of power is the effectiveness of command” (37). When a powerful figure exercises violence, less force is required to enact violence, as the effectiveness of his command contributes to that violence.

Henry Lamond’s description of the sheep station managers as “local kings” situates the sheep station and its manager on the land and claims an established status, rather than that of a newcomer or a share-holder. James Boyce, in his book *1835*, writes that for many centuries the right to use land in Britain was clearly distinct from ownership of that land. The definition of the law of “common right” is disputed among historians, but those same historians agree that it is a fact that in Britain, it was traditional for sheep to roam in common pastures. As Boyce describes it, when Governor Gipps informed Glenelg in 1839 that a pastoral licence in Victoria “gives only a general right to de-pasture cattle or sheep on the Crown lands, in the same way as a right of Common is enjoyed in England” the licence-

holders understood their entitlements in the modern sense of exclusive possession, rather than the traditional sense of use of common land and the government did nothing to challenge this (141-42). These ambiguous legal origins of the pastoral industry in Australia provide a possible explanation for the way in which the industry is represented in such a forceful, optimistic and idealised fashion.

The locution “local kings”, written in the mid-twentieth century, creates an emplaced history – it describes the sheep station managers as settled on the land and also as having been settled on the land. The term simultaneously connotes the clearing of any alternative history. The word ‘king’ denotes possession and sovereignty and erases the possible presence of any previous or current Aboriginal leaders or ‘king-like’ figures. The word ‘king’ also introduces the notion of the British monarchy, successfully completing the task, referred to by Barnard, of combining the spread of colonial settlement and the establishment of the wool industry (cited in Beinart & Hughes 5). In this case, colonial settlement is symbolically spread – to young, twentieth-century Australians, who might take it as confirmation that the land they will inherit belongs to them. I contend that this novel does symbolically repeat the colonisation of the Australian homeland for post-Federation readers, and that the violence of this novel is contained in this repetition.

The narrator of *Towser The Sheep Dog* contemplates his relationship with the land as he gazes across it, from an elevated position. He is impressed with what he sees and whispers, “‘God’ ...almost a prayer ... : ‘what must the man have thought who saw this country first!’” (82). He continues, “I wish I’d been the first man to see it. I’d feel I’d done something in life then” (83). This scene is similar to the extract from explorer Thomas Mitchell’s 1836 journal, reproduced in the 1928 Victorian School Reader Eighth Book (1928). Mitchell surveys the Victorian country from Pyramid Hill, describing himself as “the only Adam” beholding “a sort of paradise”: a “land so inviting and still without inhabitants

... as yet untouched by flocks or herds ... this highly interesting region lay before me with all its features new and untouched as they fell from the hands of the Creator” (4). *Towser’s* narrator and Mitchell both perform an act of ‘opening up’ the land as they survey it. This action declares it unoccupied.

These examples of the assumed power and force of an idealised settler gaze reinforces the violent myth of *terra nullius* and the connection between white settlers and the land. It also connects the notions of seeing, knowing and possessing the land by placing the settler/explorer in an intimate possessive relationship with the land and defining that land with reference only to himself. The power of the gaze suggests Foucault’s theorisation of Bentham’s Panopticon, as it makes specific connections between surveillance, an all-seeing ‘God,’ a central, fixed place of the observer, and the claim to power involved in making something visible (*Discipline and Punish* 195-202). There is an affect of excitement in the intensity of the stylised individual speech of both these surveyors, which enhances the apparent rightness of the connection they report feeling with the land and simultaneously denies the intensity of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and their lands. Each of these linguistic strategies acts as the symbolic equivalent of colonisation and of settlement and serve to maintain settler law which claims, as Mitchell does, that settlers “discovered a country for the immediate reception of civilized man” and for the “animals for which the land seemed to have been prepared” (4).

As well as knowing and seeing the land, the novels I analyse for this study depict the necessity of using force in ‘opening up’ the land. As discussed above, Bowes describes men as ‘pushing’ and ‘shooting.’ Stanley Brogden, in his 1948 novel *The Cattle Duffers*, describes how the overlanders had to “beat floods, droughts, hostile Blacks, disease, fever, bad seasons and everything in the book” (22). These obstacles are portrayed as being an essential part of forging the Australian homeland and the force required by these men is depicted as a

necessary and also exciting part of this narrative. As the protagonist Alec Sharp says, Australia is “no place for softies” (23).

Lamond presents a portrait of a station manager named Brabazon in his 1959 novel, *Sheep Station*. Brabazon, in contrast to the stereotype of the figure of the powerful station manager, admits that he is fallible and lacking in knowledge. While discussing the 1898-1902 drought he acknowledges that it is impossible for him to gauge whether the drought is extreme or not. He declares that European Australians know very little about the Australian land: “We’ve known this country only a scant hundred years ... Geologists, and those who should know, tell us it’s millions of years old. Surely ... it’s out of all reason to think we should have seen an extreme either way in that short period of our history!” (14).

Significantly, the history presented by Brabazon is exclusively concerned with the substance of the land – the geology – and the climate, which is presented as something objective, that is, disconnected from humans, whereas connections between human activity and climate had been confirmed more than fifty years prior to when Lamond wrote, for example by Peter Kropotkin in 1876, as Graham Purchase notes in his 2010 article “Green Flame: Kropotkin & the Birth of Ecology” and Arrhenius in 1896 (Weart np). No other specialists are referred to. Aboriginal peoples are conspicuous in their absence. Lamond’s previous experience of working on sheep stations provides his observations and opinions with a greater sense of veracity and authority, as the reader can hear the narrator’s voice as the author’s own. Despite the fact that European ignorance is acknowledged, the author presumes settler possession as he describes Australian history as “our history”.

While this is a slightly different perspective to the stereotyped station manager as ‘king’, the stance taken within the language is violent as it reproduces a disavowal of Aboriginal knowledge and sovereignty, and forcibly keeps Aboriginal people out of the discussion. This is an example of Benjamin’s theory that mythical violence always has a

relationship with a type of law. In this case, Brabazon's argument maintains the settler law of settler possession of the Australian land. Lamond enacts this law by constructing, in this scene, a home base from which Aboriginal people are entirely excluded.

These narrated prototypes of relations between characters and land have consequences for current and future relations between humans and land, as well as relations between language, literature and land. As Bonyhady and Griffiths observe, in the introduction to their 2002 edited volume, *Words for Country: Landscape and Language in Australia*, "stories grow out of or take root in particular places and may in turn transform them" (1). Stories about land and descriptions of land relay the dominant and sometimes exceptional forms of social contract between humans and land. The Australian home is shown to be absolutely reliant on the discovery and 'opening up' of land by white Australians, on the introduction of sheep, cattle and stations, and on the rights of the settler to improve his land by increasing his capital, stock and property and to take what he wants. Paddy and Johnny teach the young drovers in *The Jackaroos* how to fish for cod, golden perch and catfish (30-31), they shoot wood ducks (34-36) and they eat lamb and emu eggs (38). They claim sovereignty of the land by demonstrating their skills and knowledge, and eating the lamb with the native ingredients demonstrates their authority to take from the larders of both lands — the 'settled' Australian homeland, and the 'unoccupied' Aboriginal Country. The description of this meal provides an apt metaphor for Veracini's theory of the tripartite structure of the settler colonial society (settlers, exogenous others and indigenous others), as the settlers (the drovers) eat food that is exogenous (lamb), as well as food that is indigenous (emu eggs).

As overlanders 'open up' the country, the cattle and sheep trample and eat their way to wherever they are being taken. Once they arrive, the animals require paddocks and fences to keep them from escaping. Charles Barrett, in his 1913 *The Bush Ramblers: A Story for Australian Children* introduces Jean and Robbie Douglas who are travelling by train from

Melbourne to country Victoria. The appearance of green paddocks, sheep and cattle mark the edges of the suburbs and the beginning of the country (6). Fences and paddocks are signifiers of white Australia, because of their connection with sheep and cattle. Jean and Robbie therefore do not travel very far in an ideological sense, as they remain in the familiar imaginary landscape of the settler Australian homeland.

In Richard H. Graves' novel, *Spear and Stockwhip*, (1950), lead drover Chikker Jackson describes an imminent stage of his journey to the protagonist, Stones: "When we leave Cloncurry we get into really open country – no stock routes, few fences, some blacks, few reliable waterholes ..." (54). The lack of fencing and stock routes defines "open country" for Chikker: a type of country which has not yet been improved or claimed by whites. When the young characters Jean and Robbie in *The Bush Ramblers* note the presence of paddocks, they recognise that they are in a very particular type of country: settler country. Dividing land up into geometric shapes with fences radically alters the landscape in the interests of "the flocks of sheep, the herds of cattle and the men and women whose economy depended upon them" as Geoffrey Bolton writes, in his 1992 book *Spoils and Spoilers: A History of Australians Shaping Their Environment* (81) and adheres to the Victoria 1869 *Land Act* and the Victorian *Fences Act 1928*.

The outback homeland, as it is depicted in many of the novels discussed in this thesis, often includes a region that the protagonists are familiar with and a further area that is wild and unknown. This is demonstrated in Stanley Brogden's 1948 novel *The Cattle Duffers*. Cattleman Alec and newcomer John discuss the problem that fencing poses in northern Australia, where paddocks are sometimes "five hundred square miles" in size (70). The prohibitive cost of building and maintaining these fences is described as a particular problem on their cattle station as the integrity of a fence is undermined where it crosses a creek. Cattle have been possibly escaping at this weak point in the fence, or thieves have taken cattle

through there. The boundary between these two regions, one ‘improved’ and civilised, the other wild and dangerous, is depicted as leaky, a place where the frontier opens up into the unknown. The other boundary problem noted in this novel is that the boundaries of cattle stations do not always butt up against one another. In some cases, there can be twenty miles or more of “open country” between them (70-71). In one scene, Alec cannot believe that one of his bullocks could have crossed the intermediary space into the next station by itself, as if only land possessed and administered by settlers is traversable. There is also anxiety about the actual boundaries of the station: in an earlier interaction Alec and John are unable to identify the edges of their property. Instead they calculate that a certain area is “just about” the edge (62). Without fencing, the land is depicted as risky and as not providing the security of a home base. Although this can also be read as exciting, potential violence is depicted as coming from the outside country, which is yet to be occupied and controlled.

This theme of a third, liminal space, or ternary structure which challenges the binary one is a theme which has been explored in many disciplines. The binary system is a very old classificatory system. As I show in this study it is a classificatory system that is commonly used in these novels. It is also a system that is used in propaganda. This is because one of its main purposes is to divide one group into two, enabling a clear picture of who or what lies on one side or the other of the dividing line. However, anthropologists, linguists and psychoanalysts have all argued for the theoretical necessity of a ternary field. Gerd Baumann discusses the history of this idea of the binary in his book *Grammars of Identity/Alterity, A Structural Approach* and develops a structural theory of alterity or othering, and bases this theory on the argument that all binary systems have ternary implications (35-7). The classification of the imaginary Australian landscape in *The Cattle Duffers* articulates this ternary space, located in between known, settled land and unknown unsettled land. The stated mission of occupying, fencing and settling the land is interrupted by these regions which,

although recorded, have some confusion about them. They function as a kind of literary geographic ellipsis, suggesting that something is missing. This is discussed further in Chapter Six, in relation to Aboriginal characters who move back and forth between the station and “outside country”. In Brogden’s novel the depiction of these regions is one of the reasons provided to argue for more fencing. Thus, the potentially equivocal ternary category of “in-between country” is subsumed back into the binary system of land that is fenced/possessed, and land that is not yet fenced/possessed.

Borders remain important in the novels that I have studied, even where fencing is not possible. A boundary rider herds cattle so that they remain inside the boundaries: in Bowes’ *The Jackaroos* the boundary rider sometimes rides “the boundary without intermission” (101-102). This job might also be done by the “roustabout” who also mends fences (103). These workers keep the cattle inside the agreed borders and they also symbolically guard and mark the station, which is depicted as land transformed into a commodity through a range of everyday actions such as these. Cattle runs also serve the purpose of providing boundaries when fencing is non-existent or incomplete. Natural landmarks might indicate location; however, man-made structures relating to cattle also serve a double purpose by acting as markers of possession.

In one scene in *The Jackaroos* the men “camped at a water-hole within a few hundred yards of the boundary, intending to cross into the outside country the next day” (117). The boundary is well known and the characters do not need a fence to understand where the frontier to “outside country” lies. The natural landmark of a waterhole is appropriated for this purpose. With the introduction of this notion of ‘outside country’, the act of ‘opening up country’ develops a new meaning: ‘opening up country’ refers to the transformation of ‘outside country’ into ‘inside country.’ In each of these examples, fences and boundaries are depicted as a type of map of white possession of land, and a means of securing the settler

homeland. Depictions of the binary introduced by fencing, such as the ones in Brogden's and Bowes' novels, are violent symbolic superimpositions onto these literary maps of the Australian homeland, still being imposed more than two centuries after the British first laid claim to Australia. This is a symbolic form of violence which is slow-acting and cumulative as it connects with many previous forms of map-making which marked possession, and also references previous discourses about land ownership, land use and the divisions between settler and Aboriginal territory. This way of thinking values one side of the dichotomy more than the other and promotes to twentieth-century readers the notion that land needs to be improved to be valuable, long after the legislative requirement to improve land had become redundant.

Frank Dalby Davison's 1931 novel *Man-Shy* tells the story of a renegade group of cattle which resist the cattlemen's treatment of their bodies: the branding, whips and the pain inflicted by the rails and posts of the stockyard enclosures (1-6). They avoid being mustered by the stockmen by escaping into the mountains. Davison calls them "the scrubbers" or the "wild mob" (5). He writes that they had been roaming free for more than sixty years. During this time, they had become the "foster children" of the mountains "companions of the creatures of the wilderness – the emu, the dingo, and the kangaroo" (6). The outback is divided by fence-lines into the areas inside the fence, where domestic cattle live, and the area outside, where the feral cattle run free. Interestingly, Davison describes the fences themselves as implements of violence for the cattle. For Davison, the value given to each side of the fence is the reverse of that which Bowes and Brogden allocate, although the dichotomy is maintained. The area outside the fenced-in, domestic sphere is clearly 'home' for Davison, while inside is a place where a creature confronts the cruelty of man. Davison depicts a different type of violence in this novel – the violence of man towards animals. In the context of the capitalist commodification of land, it is difficult to place a value on land that Davison

refers to as “wilderness” although he attempts to communicate this value. All of the novels discussed in this chapter have consequences for conservation. If a society does not value wilderness, clay-pans, healthy soil or Aboriginal heritage, it is less likely to protect it. Novels such as *Man Shy* present a different perspective on violence and the value of the other side of the fence where those “creatures of the wilderness – the emu, the dingo, and the kangaroo” run free (6). However, there is another type of violence that Davison does not acknowledge – that which feral cattle can inflict on the land.

Mary Grant Bruce writes about clearing land for paddocks in her 1911 novel, *Mates at Billabong*. Set in Victoria, Bruce describes burning the stumps of dead trees. Pre-colonial Australia, as Beinart and Hughes describe, was a complex eco-system and Aboriginal technologies such as fire were used regularly and dramatically altered parts of the land (104). These interventions could be considered violent, but they are not the focus of my argument here, as they were not associated with the pastoral industry.

Some of the tree-stumps in *Mates at Billabong* are “squat and solid, others rising thirty or forty feet into the air” (20). The protagonist, Norah Linton enjoys this work, which occurs at night-time, with groups of workers keeping the fires alight over several nights. She enjoys the “triumph of conquering tons of inanimate matter by efforts so small” (21). Norah describes this feeling of power as pleasurable and she relates it to the mass of the stump that she is removing from the land. According to Beinart and Hughes settlers used burning to promote grass growth and to remove ring-barked trees (104). Although Bruce does not say so, these might be trees that the Lintons have previously killed by ring-barking; as Bolton, cited by Beinart and Hughes observes, sheep farmers were the “enemies of Australia’s trees” (104). Norah describes the trees as “living monsters” with a strength “infinitely beyond” that of human strength (21). There is an element of awe in this description; however, given her previous claim, this sentiment does not translate to recognition of the environmental value of

tree stumps.

Trees have multiple benefits: they are part of a region's history; they have an aesthetic value; they protect the earth and humans from solar radiation, dust and other pollutants; they cool the air and slow global warming; absorb carbon dioxide; reduce wind; prevent soil erosion and flood and they promote wildlife. Destroying trees to make paddocks is an act of both immediate and long-term violence. Depending upon the context, the depiction of destroying trees can promote environmental violence, or it can encourage critical thought. Although Norah's trees are already dead, they are part of the environment which would serve as habitat for animals and reptiles as well as other plant life, so much more than mere dead trees are being cleared to make paddocks for livestock. Bruce's use of the phrase "inanimate matter" is therefore misleading, and suggests that prioritising land use for stock is normative, easy and simply requires the removal of individual lifeless objects, which play no part in the overall eco-system. The depiction of the tree stumps as inanimate objects effectively denies the existence of an eco-system.

This scene is characterised by the excitement evoked by Norah's descriptions, for example, of the iron bar with which she kills snakes; her experience of the fire: "the light of a blaze so fierce that to face it is scarcely possible;" or this: "a dull crack gives warning of the fall of a long-dead giant," which "comes down with a crash," with "showers of sparks fall[ing] like streams of gold" (21). It is interesting to consider Morris's description of the Australian land as "nothing" (86-9), alongside Bruce's description of the difficulty Norah and her family face in removing these 'somethings' from the land. The fire burns so hot it is almost impossible to face it; giants and "living monsters" – not inanimate, dead ones – crash to the ground. Such struggles evoke a nightmarish sense, perhaps reminiscent of other scenes of removal, such as the violent removal of Aboriginal people from their lands. These descriptions provide a multi-sensory depiction of the fiery paddock and burning trees. As

Agamben writes, intense emotion, such as that evoked by the descriptions of intense heat, the dramatic sounds, the danger, the colours and other visual effects, such as showers of sparks, engage the body as well as the mind of the reader. The ideological content of the passage is implicit. The reader is persuaded, in the sense of Agamben's description of linguistic violence, that it is exciting and necessary to clear these trees and any further discussion is foreclosed.

Agamben develops his critique in his essay "On the Limits of Violence (1970)", which addresses Benjamin's "Critique of Violence". While Benjamin develops his theory of violence in relation to law, Agamben makes reference to politics, which is not unrelated to law. The early Greek philosophers believed that language, in the form of argument or persuasion, was antithetical to violence, that is, human beings either disagreed in words or they fought with their bodies. Agamben argues that, at the end of the eighteenth century, with the emergence of written pornography, humans recognised that language is capable of arousing the body, and a point of correspondence was recognised between this connection between language and physical arousal and the way in which violence can arouse the body. Where language was previously considered to be a site of non-violence, pornography introduced violence into language and the modern age. Prior to the early nineteenth century, Agamben argues, language was a free exchange between human beings, but force and violence entered the field of persuasion (231-233). Agamben goes on to write that this "is the essence of the only widespread form of violence that our society can claim to have invented, at least in its modern form: propaganda" (233). For Agamben, thinkers must therefore address the expression of violence within language, as this is what differentiates the pre-modern from the modern understandings of both language and violence. Propaganda is usually considered the persuasive use of communication to influence a group of people's attitudes or beliefs about another group of people, or a matter of politics. The depiction of

land clearing in a novel would not usually be considered propaganda. However, it is worth re-thinking this, especially as environmental issues are now widely considered political issues.

The discourses surrounding the depiction of fencing and paddocks involve several dimensions of violence. The description of visible and invisible boundaries suggests the notion of enemy lines, and they mark land as a commodity, which fixes its meaning and alters its status and its future use. Such ways of thinking about land have consequences for the actual environment, as humans act according to our knowledge and understanding. As Roslyn Haynes, in her 1998 book *Seeking the Centre the Australian Desert in Literature, Art and Film*, suggests in relation to desertification of land, human beliefs about land inform perspectives, decisions and actions in relation to that land, which manifest in actual outcomes for the land (260). Davison provides another commentary on violence, writing about the value of conservation and the notion that man's violence against animals and wilderness is unethical and unacceptable, but his is one voice among many others. Land is more often presented as a commodity and depicted as worthwhile if fenced, which is consistent with the *Land Act* and also with the Victorian *Fences Act 1928*. This way of thinking about land as a commodity privileges landownership, cleared land, sheep, cattle and prosperity over Aboriginal Country, public land, native animals, wilderness and trees. Lastly, there is an acceptance and normalisation of violence done to the land. When trees and the complex web of environmental systems that surround trees are destroyed to clear land for paddocks, other plants are also killed, which is the subject of a later section of this chapter. This section reveals a notion of the settler Australian home and homeland as one that values one side of this constructed fence over the other, and which normalises violence to the environment to construct and maintain this homeland. In the next part of this chapter I will examine the theme of dust.

Hoofed animals had not existed in Australia prior to the arrival of white settlers who

brought two Afrikaner bulls and five cows from Cape Town to Port Jackson, New South Wales in 1788 (Velten 153; Bolton 81). The brumbies (wild horses) in Elyne Mitchell's 1958 novel, *The Silver Brumby*, hear only the sounds of "soft-footed animals" when the red and white cattle are not in the vicinity of their homeland in the Upper Murray region near the border of Victoria and New South Wales (33). Mitchell does not acknowledge that the brumbies are themselves feral, hoofed animals, which also damage the land. However, her introduction of this notion of "soft-footed animals" brings alive the possibility of imagining the Australian land prior to the arrival of hoofed animals.

Margaret Kiddle readily associates dust with sheep and bullocks in her 1949 novel *West of Sunset*. When the two protagonists, Jane and Harriet, travel by bullock cart to a sheep station in outback New South Wales, they meet "a flock of sheep travelling in a cloud of dust" (32). Later, they keep watch for a stockman who was meant to be following them. The absence of a cloud of dust on the horizon indicates to the girls that he is not arriving any time soon (37). They watch the bullocks pulling the cart: "little puffs of dust rising around each hoof as it was planted squarely on the ground" (36). The dust and dryness of the land is regularly attributed to drought, while the possibility that livestock might contribute to this phenomenon is not considered.

Dust is a sign that the condition of the soil is being degraded. The way in which cattle and sheep select certain plants rather than others to eat and their manner of eating affects future grass and plant growth. Trampling, fouling and pugging (pugs are the indentations of hoofs in the soil) also affect plant growth and alters the physical condition, weed-spreading, water-holding capacity and moisture levels of all soil types ("Forage Information" np.). Loss of physical soil structure including soil biodiversity, moisture loss and reduction of ground cover and windbreaks are the leading causes of wind erosion. Wind causes dust storms and the movement of soil particles from one location to another when the soil is exposed, rather

than held in place by moisture and by plants and their root systems. Land clearing and overgrazing by livestock are the leading causes of this condition (FIS np). The effects of the introduction of cattle and sheep on the soil are an example of Nixon's theory of slow-violence as the effects on the soil might not be fully apparent for many years. The authors discussed here observe dust, but they rarely consider its cause.

Nixon argues that the concept of slow violence can account for delayed destruction, which may occur gradually or might be unseen by settlers or merely go unnoticed. He draws on Edward Said's idea of the "quiet of unseen power" (cited in Nixon 20) to argue that species loss and environmental degradation and destruction are "cataclysmic, but they are scientifically convoluted cataclysms in which causalities are postponed, often for generations" (20). Despite such temporal delay, the outcomes are undeniably linked to the actions that provoked them and those that prolonged or perpetuated them over time.

According to Robert Kenny, in his 2007 book *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming*, some older Aboriginal people were aware of the destruction wrought by white settlers and their stock. He quotes one Aboriginal elder as saying that the "European had turned the land dry" (179). The drying out of land can cause cracking, which is observed in *The Jackaroos*. A team of overlanders is travelling through an unmapped area of Queensland. The soil in this area is black, which, the narrator comments, "under the pressure of the dry season, had become hard. The surface had cracked and fissures ran in all directions" (49). It is likely that the previous use of this route by innumerable cattle and sheep had already degraded the top soil and caused the cracks and fissures that the narrator observes. When soil is compressed by cattle and sheep it loses its capacity to absorb water; instead, water runs off the surface, turning waterholes into streams and draining and further drying the land.

This is also observed in Lydia S. Elliott's 1956 novel *Australian Adventure*. The rain comes to the sheep station following a drought. However, the heavy rain runs off "the hard

ground.” Jenny and her mother watch as “countless streams of water rush ... and gush ... away across the paddock into the river. The paddocks were so hard and dry that the poor dying grass was getting no moisture”. Jenny laments, “Oh! Dear, the river doesn’t need water. We do here, and the grass and the animals” (68-69). Elliott and Bowes both describe the effects of cattle and sheep on the land and the compaction and drying out of that land, as does the Aboriginal elder who spoke with Kenny. However, Elliott attributes the degradation to climate, which she considers something unrelated to human influence and as something which is happening to Jenny’s family, who “need water”, rather than something which they are responsible for. Bowes, meanwhile, attributes it to “the dry season”, which he similarly considers to be a separate, unrelated matter.

These scenes are significant, as they represent how the settlers did not learn from Aboriginal people nor question their own impact on the land. These are fictional scenes of environmental damage. However, these fictional perspectives are also part of social history and have actual consequences for the Australian environment. Beliefs about land have been shown to have real outcomes for that land, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Haynes argues that white Australians believed that the outback landscape was unchanging and consequently ignored the environmental effects of practices such as grazing livestock. When nearby land was affected by desertification at increased rates, the myth that the desert was timeless contributed to an attitude of “fatalistic acceptance” (260). This might have been a more attractive perspective than considering the possibility that livestock were damaging the land. Attitudes such as those promoted in the novels by Kiddle, Bowes and Elliott are presented as facts rather than particular perspectives and can translate into actual consequences for the environment.

Lamond recognises a direct connection between degraded land, dust and damage by sheep in his 1955 novel *Towser The Sheep Dog*:

That set of yards had been built on what was once a hard clay-pan. Then it was clean, glazed, glistening. Over the years the working of hundreds of thousands of sheep had churned the surface to a dust finer than flour, four inches deep... It was khaki coloured, opaque, stung the nostrils with the acrid smack of stale droppings of countless sheep; it was gritty, dry, harsh to breath and feel. (13)

Here, Lamond's description demonstrates some understanding of the impact that sheep have on the land. However, although he clearly states that the sheep have caused this, there is also a fatalistic resignation of this sense of hardship, as described by Haynes above, as if it were unavoidable. Lamond, along with other authors discussed in this chapter, does not question whether sheep belong in this landscape, because for him, sheep are more value than anything that surrounds them.

An enormous variety of flora and fauna live in, and utilise, a clay-pan. While this is a fictional clay-pan, Lamond, as mentioned previously, wrote many of his novels based on his experience of working on sheep stations. His accounts quite possibly contain an element of environmental history. But whether or not this is the case, the portrait of the degraded clay-pan is a testament to the violence done to the Australian land and landscape by the introduction of sheep, which in the case of clay-pan, is far-reaching. Although Lamond describes a central Queensland setting, the 2012 West Australian report that I draw upon in the following discussion gives an indication of the diversity of life in a healthy clay-pan system.

Lamond describes the clay-pan as previously "glistening," which suggests that it was part of a seasonal wetland environment system, with wet and dormant periods as defined by the Threatened Species Scientific Committee, 2012 (3). Up to thirty vegetation types have been identified as growing in and around clay-pans, including many perennial plants with underground storage systems, such as tubers, rhizomes or bulbs, which are seasonally

dormant, and shrubs, herbs and sedges (3-4). There is a diverse range of fauna that utilise clay-pans for habitat, food, surface water and as a breeding place, including many species of native bees, tortoises, several types of black cockatoos, bandicoots, numbats, migrating birds, insect larvae, tadpoles, frogs, small crustaceans, snakes, skinks and others (5; 12-13). These systems are noted as being degraded by weeds spread by livestock and by clearing and grazing (7).

In Lamond's scene, the yards are built directly on top of the clay-pan, so all of the flora and fauna have already been killed or are unable to access the area. This emphasises the scale of Australian farming and that the introduction of "hundreds of thousands of sheep" has irreparably altered this area. The attitude promoted by this passage is that it was necessary to destroy a "glistening" but insignificant clay-pan in the process of farming sheep, because that is what sheep do – produce dust – and more fundamentally sheep, not clay-pans, are valued in the Australian homeland. Species loss continues to the present time and Nixon's argument that this type of violence is one that can be better viewed over the long-term is particularly relevant in this instance.

Previously in this chapter I have proposed that there were several important values in Australian settler society, which are revealed in these novels and which can be considered common customs or settler law. These include the belief that settlers have rights to the land and that stock, capital and the commodification of the environment are more important than land and landscape. I argued that the use of violence to uphold settler laws can be theorised in terms of Benjamin's argument that mythic violence is enacted in order to maintain law. Nixon's theory of slow violence, when applied to Lamond's degraded clay-pan, demonstrates how settler Australians valued immediate benefit over longer term sustainability. Violence to the long-term sustainability of the homeland is depicted as unfortunate, at least in Lamond's novel, but necessary and acceptable. There are alternatives to this perspective, significantly

that of Aboriginal people, but they are not apparent in the novels I have reviewed. This emphasis on short-term ‘benefit’ adds another temporal dimension to the settler law that values the commodification of land.

The novels demonstrate that some settler Australians were aware of the changes that were occurring to the land and that they sometimes connected these changes to livestock; more often, however, they attributed the changes to climate or ‘nature.’ Notwithstanding, in each of these novels, authors attributed the cause of the violence that was being wrought on the soil and land as unconnected to them and something that they took no responsibility for. Sheep and cattle were an assumed necessity, because the industry had significant short-term benefits. The impact that sheep and cattle had on the land was unavoidable; climate was an act of God, something on which humans had no effect. These underlying beliefs about the environment are revealed by these novels. It is useful to consider these values and customary ways of thinking, as they are some of the intangibles that characterise the Australian home and homeland. In the next part of this chapter I will examine the impact that sheep and cattle have on plants as it is depicted in the novels under review.

In Mary Grant Bruce’s 1913 novel, *Norah of Billabong*, the Linton family travel on an unmade road into the nearby mountain range after their home is burnt down. They collect rations in the town of Atholton and, following a small track, head into the mountains on horseback. Once they pass the last of the farm houses they observe that the:

wheel track, rough as it was, ended abruptly and there was only a rough Bush path [sic]. Sheep had made it originally, and it had been widened by drovers bringing down stock; but at best it was narrow and uneven, and often the scrub grew so closely on either side, that it was only possible for two to ride abreast. 206

This suggests that no paths existed in the foot of the Ben Athol mountain ranges before

settlers introduced sheep. Whether Bruce knew that overlanders appropriated older Aboriginal footpaths or not, this piece of writing about an actual geographic place erases possible Aboriginal history from the region and positions the sheep as the original path makers. Bruce describes the country impinging upon the track along which the Lintons ride; undergrowth, bushes and small trees collectively designated as “scrub” grows “so closely” to the side of the path that it limits their progress. The word “scrub” suggests that this foliage is something with no value and the complaint highlights the settler priority to improve land by clearing. Everything about the history and current nature of the path, including the plants and other living things which border it, is ignored or derided. Given that this track may have once been part of an Aboriginal footpath which was taken over by drovers and stock, is now being used by the Lintons and is described in the negative (not wide, not cleared, not even, not smooth, not easy to access), the depiction of this small tract of land involves several dimensions of violence. It is described as inferior land that is difficult to access; it is possibly misapprehended and misnamed as a path made by sheep; it is connected with discourses of colonial occupation, by being depicted as requiring improvement, as well as having an uncertain history, or a history which is denied. As I have previously discussed, vegetation is sometimes used as a symbol of the notion of unimproved country and the violence therefore is directed at the land itself and at Aboriginal Country.

Cattle and sheep cause multiple complex alterations to land and landscape. According to Andy Whitmore, in the 2001 article “Impact of Livestock on Soil” (np) many of these effects are attritional and inter-related and include the physical impact of the animals on the soil, the chemical and biological impact of the animals’ waste products on soil, the destruction of vegetation and soil structure, the pollution of ground water, the toxicity of cattle urine to plant roots, the loss of minerals in soil, and the dispersal of weeds, plant diseases and other bacteria through cattle faeces. Further, according to Wahren and

colleagues in a 1994 article, “Long-Term Vegetation Change in Relation to Cattle Grazing” (628-32) there is a reduction of biodiversity and, in some environments, lasting impacts on the structure and composition of vegetation.

In the next section I will concentrate on two plants in particular that are depicted in the novels that I have examined. These are “myalls,” and murnong. The “myall” trees are described as an inferior vegetation and emergency food for livestock. The murnong plant appears regularly in the novels from the year 1923 until 1965, and due to this regularity, readers may feel that they get to know this plant, although it retains a mysterious quality. The violence associated with this plant is negative: the novels do not explain that, in reality, sheep decimated this plant.

In Bowes’ novel *The Jackaroos* the cattle regularly eat “myalls,” or “gidya” (201; 212). According to Bowes, these are small trees that belong to “the acacia family” (212). Gidya is the name of the Wiradjuri nation of Central New South Wales for Hickory Wattle, which is used by the Wiradjuri for its seed (ground into flour) and bark (medicine and string), among other uses, as Alice Williams and colleagues describe in a 2008 article “Wiradjuri Plant Use in the Murrumbidgee Catchment” (14; 20). The name gidya is also used by the Wiradjuri nation to refer to the Yarran Wattle, which provides a habitat for a caterpillar that is a good food source, and also produces a resin, which is used to make a sweet drink (Williams 14, 20). ‘Myall’ can also refer to the Myall Creek Wattle, which is an endangered shrub in New South Wales, according to the Office of Environment and Heritage (np), as well as to the Acacia Pendula, which is no longer widespread in New South Wales and again according to Williams, was used for its seeds, from which flour was ground (9). Each of these plants is a valued and valuable part of the local Aboriginal economy and diet, and also serve as habitat and food for native animals.

Bowes describes how the cattle eat the myalls: “the stock had no difficulty in reaching

the leaves. Many of the trees looked like mammoth umbrellas, for they were eaten evenly all round, leaving only dome-shaped top branches” (201). He notes that it was fortunate for the cattle that the trees branches were low to the ground. After the cattlemen cut large patches of myalls, the “marsupials...migrated” (114). Bowes fails to draw a connection between the cattle eating the myalls and the marsupials that were not able to reach the branches after the cattle had finished with them. He does, however, note that the marsupials competed with the cattle for the food and that the cattlemen shot the marsupials for this reason. The native animals are constructed as lower on the hierarchy than cattle. Violence done to them is justified by the needs of the cattle as cattle remain central to the settler Australian home.

When Bowes depicts the myalls as fodder for stock, all trace of any other value is removed. The imaginary place of the Australian homeland presented by Bowes is one in which cattle dominate and the hardships that the cattlemen face as a result of drought are presented as the important narrative associated with this land. The settler homeland is assertively depicted; the resilience and innovation of the settlers is emphasised. Alongside this depiction of the Australian home runs the ‘un-writing’ of all the other stories about these trees and Aboriginal Country.

As the drought progresses, the station manager, Huntley, the Chinese cook and various “nomads” continue to cut the trees: “From earliest dawn to dark did the owner slave with an axe in cutting down the myalls that the young bulls might feed upon the tops” (210). They also cut the gidya: “The nomads were set to work on a patch of gidya...a good standby for starving stock” (212). There was no longer any grass in the large paddock containing “some hundreds of weaners,” a fact that Huntley attributes to it having been “eaten off or blown away with the hot westerlies” (212-13). This is a description of land that has been degraded by cattle, and is being cleared for the sake of cattle, but, within the narration, it also perpetrates violence at another level, within the narration.

Although much is made of the use of “myall” and “gidya” as emergency life-saving food for the cattle, their status as a foodstuff is regularly devalued. The trees are described as an inferior and inadequate substitute for ‘grass,’ which reinforces the idea that what the Australian landscape can provide, or what existed in pre-Colonial Australia prior to the ‘improvements’ made by men like Huntley, is inferior: a back-up – the best they can get (201) – or it serves to “eke out the grass” (114). This food is wild, compared to the grass, which although also native, is what Bowes and his characters are used to from England. The word myall as used in a derogatory way for Aborigines, is explored in Chapter Six.

The violence relating to native vegetation, in particular grasses, the Hickory and Yarran Wattle trees, the endangered Myall Creek Wattle tree and the Acacia Pendula tree, is actual and symbolic and these levels of violence are woven together in this novel. Firstly, the violence is actual, as these plants have all been eaten, historically, by cattle and sheep and the ground in which they grow has been degraded by those animals. Some of these plants are now endangered and others are rare. Aspects of this history are depicted in this novel, but they are not shown to be significant. In itself this minimisation is violent and the misnaming of these plants is also violent. It is part of the strategy of appropriating land from Aboriginal people and carrying this invasion forward, by marking these plants as the possession of – able to be named by – settlers in the twentieth century. When one names (or misnames) a plant, as if it previously had no name, this act evokes the violent myth of *terra nullius*. The misnaming also serves to disguise these plants and withhold information about them from twentieth-century Australians. This decreases the likelihood that land and Country becomes known and valued, which has actual consequences in terms of conservation and land regeneration. In this novel, these plants are symbolically separated from their eco-systems, with consequences for ways of thinking about the environment and for all of the other systems which relate to these plants.

In *The Jackaroos*, Bowes also documents changes in the vegetation after years of cattle grazing. When the protagonist Jim first arrives in Queensland he notices the “waving green grass breast high” and creeks and water-holes full of “sweet water” (114). What Bowes names ‘grass’ may just as likely have been “a field of vegetables, fruits, and grain, as well as home to smaller game,” as Kenny describes it, the result of local Aboriginal farming, which explorers and settlers documented but did not pursue or discuss (179). Several years later Jim observes “big patches of bare ground where the wind had carried off the withered, brittle, sapless grass-stalks. Where it still grew the grass was scanty and straw-like” (114). As Kenny notes, this area of land could well have provided a significant source of food for Aboriginal people, in which case the destruction of this area might have been associated with long-term effects such as malnutrition. Michael Gracey describes how Aboriginal people were forced to become dependent on food supplied to them by white Australians in mission, reserve and station settings, to their significant detriment in his 2007 article “Nutrition-Related Disorders in Indigenous Australians” (15-16).

The destruction of this patch of grass-land, as Jim describes it, is a depiction of an immediate violence to Aboriginal people – the destruction of multiple sources of nutrition-rich food – and is emblematic of a very wide-ranging, slow-acting violence, that is part of the structural changes to the diets of Aboriginal people, which have impacts on morbidity and mortality rates today. Food is not only a source of physical health but is also integral to culture, so this depiction of destruction of vegetation by cattle and sheep may also be associated with violence that operates at the practical and metaphysical level of destruction of technology and culture.

Whether or not this ‘grass-land’ is a cultivated food system, or simply a grass-land, like the clay-pan environment described previously, it is a complex and diverse eco-system, part of a wider system and containing smaller systems within it. The degradation and

destruction of these systems, which support non-commodified living beings and multiple sources of life, are acts of violence. Jim blames the wind for having “carried off” the grass, and does not make a connection between cattle, soil compaction and wind erosion, nor does he ask whether human intervention contributed to this situation. He depicts the grass that has been “carried off” as inferior and without value; it is “sapless” and “withered” while the grass that remains is “straw-like” (114). The grass only has value as it relates to cattle; this is another reminder that the cattle are the central subjects in this narrative frame, inseparable from the men who manage and profit from them. But it is also a depiction of the slow degradation of a landscape, one which is slowly dying and for which there is no expression of sadness or grief.

The murnong plant (*Microseris* Asteraceae Cichorioideae), known as “yam daisy” by settlers and others, and as Neville Walsh writes in a 2016 article “A Name for Murnong” is also known as ‘Myrnong,’ ‘Garngeg,’ or ‘Nyamin’ in New South Wales (63), was one of the most important foods for Aboriginal people in south-eastern Australia. Bruce Pascoe, in his 2014 book *Dark Emu: Black Seeds agriculture or accident?* cites colonist Isaac Batey, who wrote that the yam daisy, which had been plentiful when he arrived in Australia, was, by the mid-nineteenth century extremely rare. He heard that livestock had eaten it out and that the tramping of sheep, cattle and horse hooves had hardened the ground and destroyed this plant (24-25). Another settler cited by Pascoe, G.T. Lloyd from western Victoria, wrote that “with the onslaught of the sharp little hooves and teeth of herbivore sheep, goats, pigs and cattle driven in by the settlers, the ground covers were destroyed and the dews ceased” (26). Walsh also reports that early documentation shows that the plant was rare in the plains west of Melbourne “following extensive grazing” (65). These records demonstrate that, prior to the twentieth century, Australian settlers were aware that livestock were destroying the murnong plants. In Ray Harris’s 1954 *Turkey and Partners*, the narrator comments on how the five

thousand “Comeback wethers” in a neighbour’s paddock “have an incurable habit of chewing up and swallowing down shirts, hats, tins of fish hooks or pieces of harness that seem to them to be just going to waste” (27). This description of the cross Merino and British longwool castrated ram is intended to be humorous, but it indicates that the author knew that these sheep would also eat any vegetation that was in front of them, including, presumably, the murnong plant.

Twentieth-century Young Adult authors are clearly aware of the yam daisy and its tuber as it is regularly mentioned. In Bowes’ 1923, *The Jackaroos* Huntley claims that the Aboriginal people do not work – they “have never practised the most elementary art of agriculture” (71). Visiting sheep-station owner, Vicars, suggests that they dig yams, but Huntley denies this: “Nothing in it. They didn’t sow the yams; besides they don’t dig ’em. ...” (71). Here the signifier of the yam is used to carry the argument that Aboriginal people did not practise agriculture, an ideological position, the expression of which reflects and reinforces political discourses which denied land rights to Aboriginal people and sought to justify their displacement. The explorer George Grey, in “Chapter 8” of his 1841 *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, also referred to the idea that yams were not cultivated, but in a different sense. He describes them as “acid roots and scanty bulbs,” which grew in the soil prior to the arrival of livestock as a result of the “neglect and indifference” of the “naked savage” (np), suggesting that their cultivation required no work.

The choice of the yam to mount the argument that Aboriginal people were not farmers is significant as it was arguably one of the most important cultivated foods. This plant is mentioned in the scene in *The Jackaroos* and so its importance is marked, particularly in the context of this debate. This mention is clearly intended to influence readers into believing that murnong is a wild plant, *not* cultivated by Aboriginal people, and to justify dispossession

and colonisation of the land by settlers and their stock. This contributes to the contrasting image of the settler home as productive and cultivated, but demonstrates a willingness to practice racist violence in degrading Aboriginal people and their cultural practices. It is also an example of epistemic violence as the presence of the argument in the novel produces knowledge which refutes Aboriginal, anthropologic and environmental history.

In W.M. Fleming's 1937 novel *The Hunted Piccaninnies*, two lost white children and three banished Aboriginal children attempt to survive together in the bush and eat "roasted kangaroo-rat and yams" for breakfast (155). They call it a good breakfast, but the use of the word "rat" suggests otherwise. The white children believe that they can "make up for the want of bread" by eating yams (106), which suggests that they recognise its value as a complex carbohydrate. The children eat the "roasted yam" while they are all far from home. The suggestion that "yam" shares something in common with bread – a food that is extremely familiar to the white children – brings together the sense of strangeness of being lost in the bush, with the feeling of familiarity of home. This evokes Freud's notion of the uncanny, which involves two sets of ideas that while "very different" from one another, "are not mutually contradictory" (*The Uncanny* 132). The "yam" is recognised as a native food, and by its inclusion in the novel, is noted as having importance. Yam is eaten and enjoyed by both groups of children and so, in this novel it is positioned between Aboriginal Country and white Australian settled land.

Yams are also mentioned in Dorothy Wall's 1933 illustrated novel *Blinky Bill*, with the effect of signifying the absence of Aboriginal people in the region. Mr. Wombat tells Blinky how "blackfellows" used to hunt wombats "with yam sticks" in north Western Australia ("Complete" 129). This is mentioned in the context of Mr. Wombat's family history. In this extract, it is the tool of the yam stick that is mentioned rather than the plant. By acknowledging that Aboriginal people possessed a tool for digging yams the novel

expresses the importance of this plant and the importance of its cultivation for Aboriginal people. However, the tool is not described and so functions as *exotica*, used to place Aboriginal people in the past, as historical rather than contemporary people, and as people who were cruel to animals.

In C.K. Thompson's 1946 novel, *Monarch of the Western Skies*, the narrator describes the land beneath the protagonist-eagle's flight path as unfrequented, except for "a few wandering blackfellows on a walkabout to favourite yam patches or secret desert waterholes" (3). Here, the yam is acknowledged as a favourite food of Aboriginal people and one that grows in isolated or "secret" places and significantly, in "patches" which might suggest cultivation. However, depicting the yam in this isolated place might also suggest that it is so endangered that it only continues to grow in very remote locations – in 'outside' country, away from improvements and cattle and sheep.

Yams continue to appear in the 1960's, in, for example, Mary Durack's 1965 novel *To Ride a Fine Horse*, where two Aboriginal boys assist some drovers to find "natural food" including "wild honey, yams and lily roots" and "pigweed" to supplement their diets when they display symptoms of malnutrition (105). It is described as a nutritious food, able to address the drovers' symptoms. It is also depicted as a plant that is well-known to young Aboriginal people and as still present in Australia, rather than one that had been, in reality, largely destroyed by livestock. This deliberate ignoring of a historical truth is a form of violence in itself as Highfield describes.

In settler colonial societies literature reflects and participates in the processes of nation formation. As Highfield theorises, the process of nation formation in settler societies involves the displacement of historical narratives and their replacement by alternative ones, which insert the figure of the settler into the position of original inhabitant (127-29). This is consistent with Veracini's model, which describes the process of settler "indigenisation" (23).

It is not only the figure of the settler who is placed in the position of subject in these narratives. As this chapter has demonstrated, cattle and sheep are described as central to the landscape. Deb Verhoeven observes a similar transferral of history into national myth when she comments on a popular Australian series of postal stamps distributed from 1937-38, which depicted Australian native animals: the kangaroo, kookaburra, koala, platypus, lyrebird and – merino sheep, as if, Verhoeven writes, the merino had been “right from the beginning, bound up with the land and the nation” (10). She demonstrates how, for settler Australia, it had been. Verhoeven quotes journalist Egon Kisch who visited Australia as a delegate to an anti-fascist conference in 1934 and who commented on the stamps: that it was the white Australians’ love of sheep that led them to destroy forests, and to believe that the Aborigines “should be exterminated” (11).

An introduced animal is constructed as a ‘native’ animal – in the case of the merino sheep on the postal stamps – by representing it within a series of depictions of native animals. The reverse process occurs with Dorothy Wall’s depiction of the koala, Blinky Bill. Blinky is shown wearing British-style clothing, behaving as a stereotypical settler Australian larrikin-like figure. Wall’s clothed koalas clearly belong to the settler, whereas Aboriginal peoples were often depicted as unclothed. The work of defining a nation involves defining who is included and who is excluded from the nation. The koala is a wild animal that is endemic to the Aboriginal Countries they belong to. However, here it is reconfigured, resulting in a migration of the concepts of nativity and belonging, from Aboriginal Country and the koala, towards the settler and the Australian nation. This is described by Veracini as a process of transfer by assimilation of a native signifier to the space of the settler, functioning to “indigenise” the settler (21).

The yam plant is subject to a related process. In 1927, it appears in the uncanny transitional space, between the Aboriginal and white children in Fleming’s *The Hunted*

Piccaninnies. It is unclear to whom it belongs, but the lost settler children develop a relationship with it, by eating and enjoying it. As Highfield writes, following federation, white Australians needed to “declare some sort of deep-seated” connection with the land, as part of the process of nation formation, to articulate their independence from Britain and to deny the violence of colonisation (129). The presence of the murnong plant in these twentieth-century novels encourages a relationship between settlers and the Australian land. It does this by reconfiguring “murnong” as “yam” – a settler symbol, slightly different to the actual plant. While murnong almost became extinct due to the impact of livestock, the “yam” is depicted as having been saved from extinction by its continued appearance in these novels and in the minds of new generations of settler Australians. None of these excerpts associate the murnong plant with sheep or livestock, but only with food, Aboriginal people, with digging, a remote landscape, and with nutrition. The reconfigured yam in the literary landscape of these novels, redeems the sheep. Sheep cannot be accused of decimating the yam, as it continues to exist.

Additionally, the idea that the Aboriginal people dug the yam with sticks in remote parts of Australia becomes an appealing myth from ancient times, rather than part of recent history and current cultural practices. The presence of this plant in these novels can also be considered a screen, obscuring the violence done to the land, soil structure, biodiversity and to Aboriginal Country: violence which removed a major food source of local people and also removed evidence of Aboriginal people’s cultivation practices, contributing to discourses which denied land rights to Aboriginal peoples.

This chapter expands on the previous one by closely examining the depictions of sheep and cattle and descriptions of the pastoral industry in twentieth-century Young Adult novels. These novels depict land and populate it in ways which transmit particular messages and values about that land to the next generation of white Australians. The cattle or sheep

station is shown to be a ubiquitous trope in Young Adult novels and an idealised image of the Australian home. By analysing the phrase “opening up the country,” I demonstrated that this phrase is a euphemism for various practices, which, I argue, can best be described as violent. I have presented many examples of violence to the land which resulted in soil erosion, damage to plants, the impact of fencing and paddocks most of which are depicted with no acknowledgment that the introduction of hooved animals caused this degradation and no commentary that these descriptions of environmental have problematic consequences.

Nixon’s concept of slow violence allowed me to trace the development of a particular ideology through these novels by considering forms of violence where outcomes are not immediately obvious but might rather be delayed or invisible. The ideology presented in many of the novels discussed in this chapter is one that accepts the practices associated with the pastoral industry as normal and non-harmful and presents an idealised picture of sheep, cattle and station life as quintessentially Australian. However, as I have shown, even when the harmful outcomes are observed, they are not connected with the presence of sheep or cattle, or are attributed to nature, rather than to settlers.

Aboriginal Country was most often the recipient of the violence associated with the depictions of the introduction of cattle and sheep; however, they were the least likely to be represented in this context. I showed that authors participated in the destruction of the Aboriginal food, murnong, by referring to it in many novels as if it had not been decimated by the introduction of sheep. I argue that this is an act of epistemic violence as it draws on supposed knowledge within the novels to negate Aboriginal knowledge and to deny violence done to Aboriginal people and Country.

The novels discussed in this chapter construct a literary homeland in which sheep and cattle are central to the narrative and to the idea of home and are more highly valued than Aboriginal people, any other landscape features, animals or plants. I describe this complex of

beliefs as a settler law. I argued that the novels reviewed in this chapter enact, at a symbolic level, the same violence that the overlanders and pastoral industry are depicted as doing to the land and Country, that is, they displace any alternative narratives, and references to any other animals, plants, inhabitants, economies and practices. While some of the novels acknowledge that Aboriginal peoples exist alongside the sheep and cattle, the authors force them to the periphery or compare them to wild, worthless plants, such as “myalls.” I develop this discussion further in Chapter Six.

This chapter explored violence to place; however, as my discussion has shown, it also involved violence to Australia’s First Peoples, a theme which will also be discussed further in Chapter Six. The next chapter explores the theme of violence towards Chinese people, who, having arrived as early as 1750, are believed to be amongst Australia’s first immigrants (Kalantzis & Cope 34).

CHAPTER THREE – “To Stone A Helpless Chinaman”: Australia for the Chinese

With this chapter I move from an examination of violence towards place to an analysis of violence towards people. Chinese imperial commissioners visited Australia in the late nineteenth century as part of an international mission to investigate discrimination against Chinese subjects and to demand redress. China had already established consulates in New York, Havana, Yokohama, San Francisco and Singapore, as Marilyn Lake writes in her 2013 article “Histories Across Borders”; Australia was just one of many locations where the Chinese commissioners made this claim for the rights of Chinese subjects under international law (279). In 1886, prominent members of the Chinese community in Melbourne reported on “the discrimination and humiliation” suffered by their fellow countrymen in what they referred to as “these dependencies of the British crown” (280-281). They “invoked universal authorities – the teachings of Confucius and Christianity, Thomas Jefferson and the Swiss philosopher Emerich de Vattel” (sic) in making a claim for their human rights (282). This demonstrates that the Chinese community in Melbourne was clearly looking at its own local populace while also thinking beyond the confines of Australia. These were not people who were simply suffering from discrimination or exclusion, but people with a much broader cosmopolitan consciousness. It is inaccurate to depict Chinese peoples in early twentieth-century Australia exclusively as victims of violence and discrimination. The novels that I have studied during the course of this research provide pertinent twentieth-century examples of what the Australian Chinese community was already highlighting as problematic in the late nineteenth century.

I do not intend to represent Chinese people as victims; rather, I aim to develop an understanding of how white Australians depicted Chinese people in seventeen

Young Adult novels published between 1901 and 1954⁸. Hillel, in her 2010 essay “Welcoming Strangers: The Politics of ‘Othering’ in Three Australian Picture Books”, discusses the Australian cultural value of offering strangers a “fair go” (91). This attitude is very rarely depicted in the novels in my study. Rather, the Chinese characters are stereotyped with reference to personal and cultural characteristics, and job-roles. I find examples of racist violence in the language used about the Chinese, accompanied by scenes in which Chinese characters are taunted or abused in ways that are documented in the historical record, as well as appearing in these seventeen novels. As Achille Mbembe argues in his 2016 article “The Society of Enmity”, many small acts of depicting a foreigner as an enemy, or in a degrading manner, can combine to form a cumulative effect, whether or not such expressions have a factual basis (27). This cumulative effect is apparent, as violent racist language persists in these novels for young adults, published from the early to the middle of the twentieth century.

This chapter introduces the argument that the novels analysed in my study act as tools of violence in the discourse of the historical period in which they are published. This theorisation follows the work of Arendt, whose work on this topic was discussed in the Introduction of this thesis. I build on, and respond to, some previous scholarly critical attention to the theme of the Chinese in Australia: for instance, Lees and Macintyre’s observation that twentieth-century Children’s and Young Adult fiction presents a more tolerant depiction of Chinese characters than late nineteenth-century fiction (94). The novels that I examine perpetuate the racist assumptions and stereotypes that were active in Australia since at least the late nineteenth century. Ouyang Yu has produced comprehensive commentaries on the depiction of Chinese characters in Australian literature, and I draw extensively on his work in this chapter and develop it, by identifying, within the novels reviewed, most of the tropes he discusses. I theorise

⁸ I include a mention of one novel published in 1869 due to its relevance to this theme.

these depictions as incidents of linguistic racist violence, which participate in the discourse of the Immigration Restriction Act. This Australian Act of Parliament, known colloquially as the White Australia Policy, was introduced in 1901 and limited immigration for non-Europeans. It was not repealed until 1959.

One of the earliest twentieth-century occurrences of Chinese characters in the novels that I have read as part of this research appears in *Fortunatus, a Romance*, written by J. H. White and published in 1903. The character Sailor Bill accompanies the protagonist to the Australian goldfields, which Bill has previously visited. The characters stand on a hill, looking over a flat area of land and sense that the place feels “creepy”, “weird”, or “haunted” (62). Bill tells Fortune that is because the place they are standing is “a graveyard” (62). He explains that when he was there previously, a group of “Chinese ... tried to shove into the field”, which resulted in a short-lived but very “bloody fight” (62). Bill mentions that the “Diggers” were armed with “Colt revolvers”, and that afterwards, “half a dozen Chinkies lay dead on the ground” (62). Fortune reassures Bill and tells him not to worry about the “creepy” feeling that he is experiencing: “there’s no chance of seeing a yellow ghost. They must be white; that’s the orthodox colour ... for a ghost, so cheer up mate, lead on an’ away.” This relieves Bill’s mind, and he responds: “We shan’t see a white one, there was none killed in the fight” (63). Lees observes that the Chinese miners are described as provoking their own deaths (by ‘shoving’ onto the goldfield), rather than the killers being described as culpable (65).

This is a complex scene because the characters acknowledge that a disturbing atmosphere remains in the place where a mass killing of Chinese people took place. Initially, Bill’s and Fortune’s recognition appears to be one of respect for the dead. However, Bill notes that he had foreknowledge that the Australian soldiers (“Diggers”) were armed. This means that he could have anticipated that there might be violence. Bill

does not make his opinion known regarding the actions of the Chinese who tried to “shove into the field.” Was this an aggressive or incorrect thing to do, or was it an everyday event, and one that people of other cultural backgrounds might also do? This is important in order to ascertain the degree of force originating from each side of the battle. Bill’s use of the word “Chinkies” is certainly disrespectful, as I discuss below. However, his sense of dis-ease also suggests that he experienced some trauma or guilt in relation to seeing the murdered people – or about something else. Fortune’s reassurance at the end of the passage, that ghosts are white, provides an overall sense that Bill is worried about potential Chinese retribution. This suggests that he feels that he was part of what occurred, that the Chinese “ghosts” know that, and that he also knows that what happened was wrong. The fact that he happily concludes that no white men were killed indicates that the “bloody fight” was unequal, and that the Chinese had little chance of surviving against the armed soldiers.

Alan Mayne argues, in his 2004 article “‘What You Want John’?: Chinese-European Interactions on the Lower Turon Goldfields” that, while there were incidents of mob violence against Chinese people and evidence of physical and verbal assaults against Chinese miners, these occurred in the context of similar acts towards many different cultural groups. He shows how the Chinese goldminers were subject to racial violence but were also ingenious and adaptable contributors to goldfield communities. White’s novel does not demonstrate the ingenious, adaptable aspects of Chinese-Australian life on the goldfields discussed by Mayne, but does display linguistic and racial violence, which occurs, in Bakhtin’s terms, in the form of Sailor Bill’s direct speech (262), including the word he uses to describe the murdered men – “Chinkies.”

The *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* describes the word “Chink” as being of American origin from 1901, meaning “A Chinaman” (326). John Ayto also dates the term from 1901 in the 2008 *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang* but describes it as a

“derogatory and offensive term for a Chinese person” (np). The use of the word in its diminutive form – ‘Chinkie’ – in the novel *Fortunatus* is therefore an early example of the publication of this word, published in 1903. The word is surely used in the offensive sense, as Sailor Bill demonstrates a significant lack of respect for the characters. The brevity of his observation – “half a dozen Chinkies lay dead on the ground” – dehumanises the characters, by depicting them not as men who were once members of a family or community but merely as corpses. It locates the deceased characters as ‘other’ to both the narrator and to the Australian homeland.

In this chapter I introduce the concept of ‘the other’ and ‘othering’ as representational acts. I use the term in lower case to indicate that I am referring to an imaginary register, that is, to the written – and occasionally visual – representations of the other’s appearance in the psychic life of the author, which he or she then produces in his or her writing. When one party defines the other, the relationship might involve an element of domination, which – depending upon the circumstances – can be violent. If the speaker removes that person or character’s choice to define their own subjectivity, then the act might involve discursive violence. As Edward Said writes in relation to the nations that were previously ruled by European powers: “everyone knows that ‘they’ means coloreds [sic], wogs, niggers” (*Culture* 19). I use the term ‘other’ in the sense that Said uses the term ‘they’ in this extract. I also include animals and landscape features that are differentiated from those that are constructed as regular or normal features. In this sense, the ‘other’ is used to refer to what is not homely (*unheimlich*, uncanny), or is deemed not to belong in an Australian home, home-town, homeland or nation. Said also draws on Foucault’s theory of discourse, which concerns the ways that knowledge is constituted, drawing upon social practices, forms of subjectivity, and the power relations that inform and inhabit these relations. The person that writes the definition, constructs the other according to his or her own thoughts, beliefs and wishes,

and simultaneously constructs an identity for himself or herself, as s/he makes the claim that knowledge resides with him/her. This sense of making – or authoring – an epistemological home for oneself is also implied in this, and subsequent, chapters. As I discuss in Chapter Six in relation to the actor who portrays the character Jedda in the 1955 Australian film of the same name, settler Australian productions about the other, by authors, filmmakers and in this case, literary critics, are illocutionary. That is, they do not simply say something; they also do something: they produce the other.

Two years after the publication of *Fortunatus*, Ethel Turner published her novel, *A White Roof Tree* (1905), in which the Dane children are sent to live with a cruel aunt following the deaths of their parents. Dr. Whalley, their father's former colleague, takes over the medical practice, and also lives in the family home with a young Chinese man, "Yung Ling." Yung Ling might be an invented or incorrectly appropriated name, or it might be correct. Chinese naming practices are complex.⁹ In settler naming practices a person's first name is an intimate and significant element of their identity as a subject and as a social being. It is fundamentally a nonsense word in that it (usually) has no meaning apart from signifying that subject. A family name carries information about a person's history and their place of origin. This is reason enough to demonstrate respect for the naming practices of other cultures. Whether Turner provides her character with a correct or incorrect name, it is worth noting, as Yu does, that there is a long-standing practice in Australian literature of Chinese characters being given improper names ("Beyond" 65). Alison Broinowski in her 1996 book *The Yellow Lady: Australian Impressions of Asia* argues that European Australians were "conditioned" to perceive Asian people as inferior to themselves, without regard for their particular cultural backgrounds or cultural achievements (39). Simply to make up a name without

⁹ As slam poet Rachel Rostad acknowledged when she publicly apologised for claiming that J.K. Rowling had given two Korean last names to her Chinese character Cho Chang, when they are, in fact, also Chinese names ("F Word" np).

accurately referencing the linguistic conventions of that character's culture disregards the particular subject's history, and demeans an entire group of people. It is an act of epistemic violence against cultural identity. Chinese people are discursively dehumanised by the erasure and devaluing of Chinese cultural elements. Yung Ling is a peripheral character in the novel *White Roof Tree*; his position in the household is described as cook, housemaid, gardener and groom (29), and he is rarely mentioned.

One evening, the Dane children return to the house to collect some belongings. Ling has prepared a meal and set the table for Dr. Whalley. He is surprised when he sees the five children and the narrator describes him as staring at them with "beady eyes" (33). His gaze disconcerts them. Brenda, the elder sister, reciprocates Ling's looking. Although the two characters watch each other, there is no suggestion of a connection between them. Rather, the looking suggests mistrust of the other. Although they both watch, only Brenda is provided space in the text to comment on what she observes. Ling's thoughts remain unwritten. The looking is therefore asymmetrical and functions to other Ling.

Brenda watches Ling cooking and decides that the eggs are "fried in the ordinary way ... not crisp and brown ... the butter did not look very fresh, and the bread was certainly stale" (33). Brenda's judgment of Ling's cooking can be explained by her comparison of his cooking with her mother's, as this is the first time she has been in the family home since her parents died; such an unfavourable comparison might be explained by grief. However, Ling is a Chinese cook, and as Yu argues, Australian anti-Chinese racism in the early twentieth century promoted many stereotypes of the Chinese, including that as cooks, they were dirty and sometimes took revenge on European-Australians by "putting dirty things in one's food" ("Australian" 75-6). The idea of revenge is reciprocal – it suggests that the Chinese experienced poor treatment to which they were responding, but no mistreatment of Ling is described in this part of

the novel. Brenda's observation of Ling implies that he does not belong in her mother's kitchen because he is dirty. Brenda expresses her sense that Ling is intruding by being in what she still considers to be her mother's kitchen. The kitchen is depicted as a female settler space, and one in which Ling is unwelcome. She explicitly calls Ling slovenly, saying that he has not paid attention to the ingredients and has failed to keep the butter cool and the bread fresh. This slur is normalised by the text: this tells us that among the readers, a set presumed to consist of white Australians, everyone eats fresh bread and cooled butter, and has a right to insult a person who does otherwise. Brenda's observation invites readers, who are sympathetic to her because she is a protagonist and an orphan, and who recognise her powerful status as the oldest sister, to include themselves in this bounded logical set. This set is a kind of culinary home, which excludes Chinese characters such as Ling.

The narrators in Laura Bogue Luffmann's 1909 novel *Will Aylmer: A Tale of the Australian Bush*, hold a sympathetic attitude towards the Chinese character, Ah Ling, who saves the children's lives during a bushfire, and is portrayed as a loyal, courageous hero. This scene is critiqued by Lees, who comments that, although Ling is depicted with some dignity and humanity, he is also marked as not-quite-equal through his child-like characteristics and speech (65). One of the family later defends Ah Ling against community racism. This racism is described when the family is planning a celebratory dinner, and someone comments that many of the town's people "won't like to sit down with a Chinaman" (236). Eating together is an intimate act, and, similarly to Brenda's rejection of Yung Ling from the kitchen setting in *A White Roof Tree*, the family in *Will Aylmer* presumes that the scene of communal eating will be the one in which community racism will arise. Although Ah Ling is accepted by the family, they believe that he will not be accepted enough in the context of a gathering involving shared food and eating. This implies that the intimacy of sharing a meal is a homely act, and that

there is a boundary here that defines the Australian home and pertains to exclusion. Yung Ling and Ah Ling are depicted as not belonging in the spaces of eating, either by the protagonists of the novels, or by their wider community. These spaces are established as a central, protected space in the Australian home: the heart of the home. This notion also emerges in Chapter Six of this thesis, in relation to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal characters maintaining separate kitchens in the form of camp-fires.

The Chinese characters in Henry Handel Richardson's *The Getting of Wisdom* (1910) are similarly depicted as peripheral, rather than as belonging to, mainstream Australian society. In this novel, the country town – the home of the protagonist – is a space that is shown to have a white heart. Brenda Niall describes *The Getting of Wisdom* as an adult novel (170), arguing that its irony is beyond the comprehension of young adult readers, although she acknowledges that many would be able to identify with the twelve-year-old character's point-of-view and the boarding school setting (138). Richardson had, no doubt, many young adult readers in the 1910's and in subsequent years – her book having been continuously in print. *The Getting of Wisdom* has often been used as a secondary school text in Australia (nesa.nsw.edu.au np). For these reasons, I consider it appropriate to discuss it here.

Laura, the protagonist and narrator of *The Getting of Wisdom*, travels by bus the first time that she leaves her country town, heading to boarding school. She notices some Chinese characters when the bus reaches the outskirts of town – after “the very last house was left behind” (20). I identify this as an example of how the idea of home and homeland are used as markers in Australian literature explicitly to delineate country that is intended for different groups of people. Such demarcations were, and still are, also found in actual Australian towns, as I discuss in the next chapter in relation to the town of Broome. Lees and Macintyre review Edward Dyson's 1901 *The Gold-Stealers: A Story of Waddy*, in which they observe the small group of Chinese characters “live an

apartheid existence, two miles from the town, making a precarious living by fossicking and growing vegetables” (94). As Lees and Macintyre describe it – using the Afrikaans word, “apartheid” – this is the representation of structural segregation, which reflects and also contributes to social, political and economic discrimination.

Literature sometimes records these social-spatial patterns which speak of the forceful separation of people and the violence of categorising people on the basis of race and culture, rather than on such characteristics as age, occupation or interests. The depiction of geographic segregation related to race is often described in terms that speak of exclusion and othering, rather than of choice. This is especially the case, given that it is the dominant group – white Australian settlers – who author this spatial structure. This is one of the ways in which literary spaces function ideologically, and the cumulative violence inherent in the series of small literary acts of exclusion masses around a space that affirms the Immigration Restriction Act.

As Laura is leaving town she passes “the leprous Chinaman’s hut” (24). Yu discusses the popularly promoted idea, prevalent at the turn of the century and persisting into the twentieth century, that there were particular Chinese vices, one of which was the dissemination of diseases such as small-pox and leprosy (“Bulletin Eyes” 130-137). These literary attributions mark these Chinese characters as separated, geographically, morally and socially from mainstream Australia. They are relegated to a space characterised by dirt and disease on the outside of town are constituted as partial, peripheral members of a society in the manner of *homo sacer*, rather than as “normal subjects” with democratic rights

The final outsider character mentioned on Laura’s journey away from her hometown is Ah Chow, a market gardener. This is possibly a comic or derogatory name, as ‘Chow’ was a term used to signify Chinese people in Australia. For example, the term is used in Alan J. Villiers’ novel, *Whalers of the Midnight Sun*, published in

1934. The young protagonists Ocker, Nobby and ‘the Sonk’ are wagging school, avoiding the truant officer, catching yabbies, raiding an orchard and “the Chow’s vegetable garden” (3). Yu argues that gardening is one of the typical occupations allocated to Chinese characters in Australian literature. This stereotype, Yu argues, presumes that Chinese people are born gardeners, so that they need not even be respected for their skills in this area (“Australian” 104). Of course, this occupation is one that is concerned with dirt, in the form of earth, and so the association of dirtiness with non-whiteness is reinforced.

The overall impression provided by this brief scene set on a bus is that, for the Laura and young white women like her, on their way to beginning their education and their independent lives, Chinese people are the peripheral others: dirty, diseased, uncivilised, providers of vegetables, whom she passes by. The growing of vegetables can also be associated with an “uncivilised” peasant lifestyle, although at this time many Australians would have been growing some of their own vegetables. Late in the twentieth century people of Chinese heritage were the highest qualified group in Australia, according to John and Heather Foster in their 1999 article “Stereotypes of South Asians in Australian Children’s and Adolescent Literature” (31), but early in the century they are depicted as other to the concepts of education and learning.

Three years after the publication of *The Getting of Wisdom*, Charles Barrett, in his book *The Bush Ramblers: A Story for Australian Children* draws attention to the difference between English and Chinese scripts. Barrett observed that the “queer black markings” on the sky-blue eggs of the whipbird resembled “Chinese writing” (19-20). The use of the word “queer” positions the writing as different, unusual and very unlike the writing of the narrator and his imagined readers. The markings are inscrutable, a common attribution made about Chinese and Japanese characters. Barrett’s observation also suggests that Chinese script is unitary, rather than diverse, and that it can be

compared with marks in nature, rather than originating from a highly developed civilization. These two descriptions designate the writing system as outside the norm and as inferior to the writing systems of the narrator and the reader. This implies that settler literacy is superior to Chinese literacy.

Mrs. Aeneas Gunn published *We of the Never-Never* in 1908, five years before *The Bush Ramblers*. Gunn demonstrates respect for Cheon, a man who arrives about halfway through the book to replace the previous cook, Sam. However, Sam is depicted as contrary, to the point of being a troublemaker. She ironically describes him as “obedient to irritation” (45), as his literal interpretation of instructions appears aggressive. For example, when he is told to shoot some birds to provide a supply of feathers to fill pillows, he shoots directly into “a sleeping colony of beloved martins” nearby the homestead, of which, it is well known, the manager of Elsey station was especially fond (45). When the narrator requests that he provide some more variety at breakfast and serve it slightly earlier, he wakes everyone at dawn and serves a pumpkin pie, which includes mince-meat and raisins (46), an apparently unusual combination of ingredients that is not appreciated by the household. The narrator describes the look on Sam’s face at these times as “celestial” (46), suggesting that Sam experiences pleasure from doing exactly what he is told, while simultaneously frustrating the desires of the Maluka and Missus. Overall, therefore, Sam is represented as malicious and passively aggressive in a non-reciprocal fashion, as Gunn does not depict anything hurtful being done to Sam.

By contrast, Gunn describes Cheon as the “ever-mirthful, irrepressible Cheon, who was crudely recorded on the station books as cook and gardener” (ix) – crudely, because he is much more than that. As Gunn writes: “that was the only vacancy he ever filled in the books; but in our life at the homestead he filled almost every vacancy that required filling” (76). While Sam frustrated their desires, Cheon satisfies them. He is a

represented as a wonderfully resourceful character who has high standards and firm ideas. His characteristic saying is that he “savey [sic] all about” a given topic (75) – and he is impressive, seemingly knowing something about almost everything important to survival and the necessities for a good life. At one stage, at Elsey station near the end of the wet season, the stores are so depleted that they have no soap, jam, fruit, or kerosene left, hardly any tea, and only a half-bag each of flour and sugar. However, they do have good quantities of meat (including duck and fish), vegetables and milk, all due to Cheon’s practical intelligence and people skills (79-80). He is portrayed as logical and full of initiative. He re-organises the chickens at Elsey so that they roost in one location, are safe from snake and cat attacks, and all the eggs are collected. It takes some time and many helpers to encourage the chooks to roost in their new home and to head ‘upstairs’ each evening, or as Gunn describes the process, for the fowls “to bend to Cheon’s will” (78). Although it requires effort over a period of time, everyone enjoys the process: “the homestead pealed with shoutings and laughter” (78).

Yu comments on the affection with which Gunn writes about Cheon, and argues that, compared to the extreme prejudice in Australian writing before and after this time, Gunn’s work is relatively unprejudiced. He also observes that Gunn makes an attempt to “de-stereotype Chinese cooks in general” (“Australian” 212). Gunn certainly contradicts several of the stereotypes recorded by Yu. She notes how Cheon is very clean and hygienic (77, 78); how respectful and involved he is (77, 79, 81); what a wonderfully varied cook he is (77), and how organised, reliable and trustworthy (77, 79, 80). Shih-Wen Chen, in her 2013 book *Representations of China in British Children's Fiction, 1851-191*, argues that nineteenth-century British children’s literature disseminated ideas and knowledge about China and relayed a wide range of traits held by Chinese characters, rather than simply replicating dominant racist discourses of the time. For example, Chen shows how some Chinese characters were depicted as brave

and loyal (10-11). Gunn's is the only twentieth-century novel that I have reviewed that could be said to transmit tropes of Chinese loyalty, skill and innovation.

However, Yu also criticises Gunn's depiction of the characters Sam and Cheon, writing that she "unconsciously" stereotypes them ("Australian" 211). Gunn's portrayal of Sam is much less positive than that of Cheon but the difference in their depictions speaks of Gunn's attempt to draw individual characters, rather than generalised others.

Gunn's rendition of Chinese-English might be part of the unconscious stereotyping that Yu observes; for example:

'Bullocky jump four miles' he informed us; from which we inferred that the sound of the bells would travel four miles. Cheon's English generally required paraphrasing. (81)

At one level, the passage above can be read as a record of the process of interpretation that two or more people go through when there is more than one language being spoken.

But the fact is that Cheon is speaking English. To write that his English requires paraphrasing, rather than that he makes himself understood in English, is patronising.

There is also something comic in Gunn's depiction of Cheon's speech. She appears to be attempting to amuse the reader, which is the general tone of the novel and is not particular to Cheon's speech, so it is unclear whether or not this is unconscious stereotyping. Notwithstanding, criticising a person's speech or language strikes at the heart of a person or people's subjectivity and can have the effect of silencing that person.

It is unclear whether Gunn is describing Cheon's speech as comic or as inferior in the passage above; however, she does describe him as a "most loyal old "jossler" (75), a word that denotes foolishness or simple-mindedness, and trivialises Chinese culture and religious practices by its reference to the Joss-House, or place of worship. The word "jossler" reinforces the invitation to laugh. Laughing at someone is a form of othering,

even when it is connected with affection. This suggests that she may be depicting him as an object of amusement for her readers, based on his race and cultural background.

Yu's other criticism of Gunn relates to a theme that, he claims, she carries throughout her work: that is, that white people can learn something specifically from those people who are "usually despised" ("Australian" 211) and that in this group Gunn includes Chinese and Aboriginal peoples. Yu argues that this is a patronising idea. I agree with Yu's critique – to make a point of saying that a certain group of people have something important to teach us, implies that it is surprising that intelligence and skill exist outside the limits of one's own culture or class. However, I think that this theme is also bound up with Gunn's personal character, in that she finds that almost all people that she meets during her time at Elsey have something to teach her, due to her own curiosity and open-mindedness, rather than an overriding sense of cultural superiority.

It is important for this exploration of how violence works in relation to constituting who is excluded from the idea of the Australian home and homeplace to consider degrees of othering. Gunn's affectionate portrayal of Cheon provides an illuminating exception. Cheon is depicted as a likeable, helpful and necessary part of the smooth running of Elsey station – but he is employed as the cook. Although he is valued at an emotional level and acknowledged as making everything work smoothly – as a Station Manager might do – he is not formally valued. That is, he is not paid as a station manager. As Gunn writes, cook, "was the only vacancy he ever filled in the books" (76). Though Gunn's depiction of Cheon is complex, she shows Cheon's labour, skills and goodwill as having been exploited. The otherness of his Chinese race, culture and language is central to this economic exploitation.

Another well-known Chinese character is Lee Wing, the gardener (and sometimes cook) in Mary Grant Bruce's series of Billabong novels. In the 1910 novel, *A Little Bush Maid*, Bruce describes Wing as having a "very fat ... broad, yellow face

generally wearing a cheerful grin” (8). In the following chapter I discuss in detail the signifier “yellow” as it is applied to skin colour. I note here only that the phrase emphasises Wing’s difference from the other characters. It achieves this by describing the very intimate feature of his face as fat, broad and yellow. In some contexts, as I have previously described, the act of describing a person’s body has an illocutionary function, as Judith Butler, following Althusser, argues in her 1997 book *Excitable Speech*. Butler argues that derogatory descriptions of bodies can be a form of hate-speech which serves to construct the mental and social imaginary of the person or group of people who are targeted by that speech. In this extract from *A Little Bush Maid*, Bruce constitutes Lee Wing as a Chinese character who is part of the Billabong home, but only in the sense that he is positioned as the other; his presence is defined by servility, and he is the object of ridicule or humour. Wing exists in the wings of the Billabong home, partitioned off from the main characters by these linguistic acts.

Lees argues that Wing begins as a comic character, with which I agree, although as well as “wearing a grin,” Wing’s speech is also represented as comic, for example:

“[y]ou allee same goo’ boy,” said the pigtailed one, proffering ... [Jim] a succulent raw turnip.

“Me know. You tellee crammee, too. So dly up!” (9)

This admonition occurs after Jim confesses to having cruelly taunted Wing by tying his pigtail to a chair while he was asleep, causing significant “fear and pain” (8-9). As well as depicting him as comic in his demeanour and in his speech, Bruce also shows Wing to be subject to questionable comic pranks, such as this one. As Lees observes, in Bruce’s 1935 novel, *Wings Above Billabong*, after twenty-five years of service to the Linton family, “Lee Wing is still so ignorant that he thinks a kangaroo will eat him” (65). Bruce invites her audience to laugh at Wing for this ignorance, and he retains his position as comic other, outside what is generally well-known by settler Australians. In

this novel, Wing's speech continues to be derided, and he is marked as other: Jim describes his voice as "awful" and calls him a "heathen" (103). Lees argues that Wing is accepted by the time Bruce publishes the novel *Billabong Riders*, in 1942, where Wing is described as "gentle" and "quiet" (99), and the stews that he cooks for the family are appreciated (65). Lees suggests that the Japanese invasion of China had caused Bruce to change her sympathies, and this this was reflected in her depiction of Wing (66). Wing's transition from gardener to cook demonstrates the narrow occupational roles that the Chinese were permitted to occupy in Australian literature of the twentieth century. Although Lees argues that Wing was gradually accepted, he remained subject to these restrictions.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, in relation to the novel *A White Roof Tree*, the use of caricatured and invented names for Chinese characters is related to a broader Australian practice occurring since at least the nineteenth century. The one who defines the other is claiming not only the right to maintain domination, but the epistemological home ground – the place from which names and definitions are declared. When a name is given to a character by an author it is often intended to convey something meaningful about that character — for example, that the character is a comic or villainous one. Broinowski demonstrates how Chinese characters were given ostensibly comic names in Australian theatre and literature, such as "Hang Hi, Hang Lo, Ar So, Ar Filth and Ah Sin." The literary and theatrical construction of Chinese villainous characters involved attributions such as "Cow Far, Sir Wong, Charlie or John Chinaman" (40-1).

The Chinese villain in James M. Downie's 1940 novel, *The Yellow Raiders* is named Ah Kwee, and his off-siders have names such as Singapore Joe and Peg-Leg Loo. These are examples of generic, caricatured names, which are intended to emphasise and make fun of the cultural backgrounds of the characters. *The Yellow Raiders* is an adventure set in the pearling industry in and around Broome in Far North

Western Australia. Broome was a complex multi-cultural town and the site of a profitable pearl shell industry. The sea cucumber *bêche-de-mer* was caught in nearby oceans. *The Yellow Raiders*, and some novels discussed in the following chapter also set in Broome, provide an opportunity for reading the novels from a special collection of children's literature alongside texts from other collections and discourses which also pertain to the town of Broome, in order to examine how culture is produced, as Lundin discusses (303-11).

In the early twentieth century, according to Henry Reynolds in his 2003 book *North of Capricorn, the Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, approximately fifty percent of Broome's Asian workforce was Malaysian, with Japanese and Filipino making up the remaining majority. Chinese people were also working in Broome, as a Federal Senator observed in 1902 (137); however, the Chinese were not in the majority. Downie either made a deliberate choice to depict a character from a minority cultural background when he chose to represent "Ah Kwee," the villainous "Pearl King o' Broome" as Chinese (11), or he mistakenly believed that there were many Chinese working in Broome. Downie also depicts Peg-Leg Loo and Singapore Joe as some of Ah Kwee's "yellow rats" in *The Yellow Raiders* (177), a choice that communicates to his readers a sense of homogeneity of Asian characters, rather than distinctiveness.

The illustration on the cover of the novel ('Illustration 2') shows Peg-Leg Loo in the foreground directing an automatic rifle towards four characters, who are backing away. Two figures in the centre-right are both wearing captains' hats, consolidating their dominant status. The viewer can clearly see the faces of the four figures being held up by the rifle, suggesting that they are open, familiar and knowable. The figure in the red shirt is most likely Captain Jock MacTavish, whose stance suggests that he is protecting young Ken Webster. Jock's hand is closed in a fist, demonstrating his strength, even when threatened with a gun. The rifle acts as a vector, directing the

viewer's eye towards this group of four figures. MacTavish's arm, along with the arm of Major Cranston, act as a protective barrier, while the foliage behind these figures protects them from behind. Peg-Leg Loo, holding the rifle, is wearing a long orange-coloured jacket with a sash belt and a black cap. The viewer sees him from behind, which maintains mystery. The figure to the left, who is probably Ah Kwee, is wearing a long purple shirt with red trimming. He is facing the viewer and he wears a shortened Fu Manchu moustache and a traditional black silk Chinese hat, although in a different style to the one worn by Peg-Leg Loo. Both figures are depicted in stereotypical clothing. The illustration on the spine shows another Asian figure in a long orange shirt and waistcoat. He appears to be smiling and carries an axe in his sashed belt. Like Ah Kwee, this figure also appears in front of a yellow background, emphasising that these figures are the yellow raiders referred to by the novel's title. Overall, these images communicate that the Asian figures are armed and dangerous enemies of the non-Asian characters and that the European characters are manly, experienced, warrior-like, protective and ready to engage in a fight if provoked. This image demonstrates how cover illustrations in the selection of novels discussed in this thesis also contribute to the discourses within the texts.

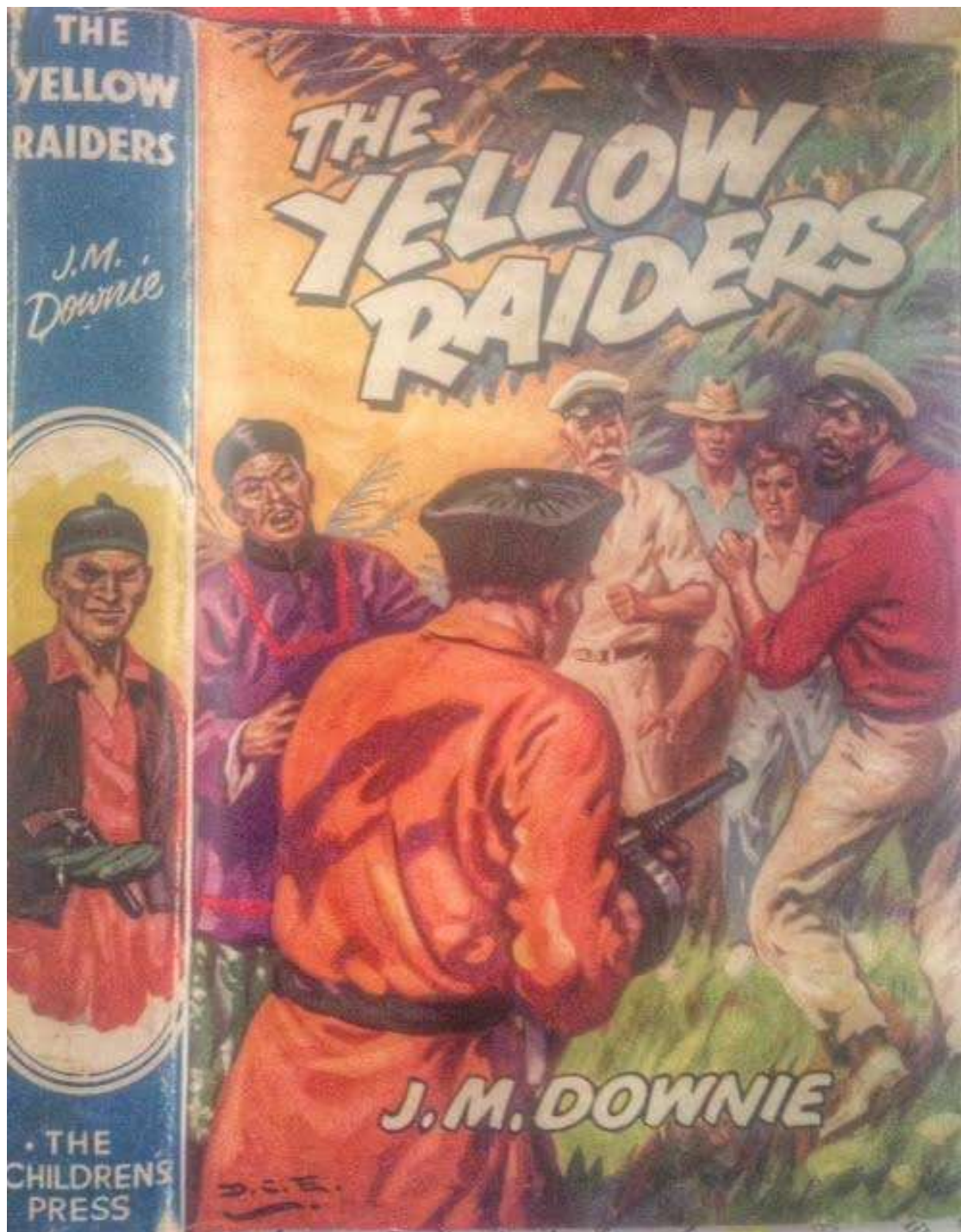


Illustration 2. *The Yellow Raiders*. Signed D.C.E. circa 1940

One of the major themes of *The Yellow Raiders* is pearling work. The novel refers to related topics of immigration and employment in Australia, as many of the pearlers are immigrants. The 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* attempted to limit immigration to Australia and formed the basis of the White Australia policy – but the *Immigration*

Restriction Act overlaps with another Act of Parliament that is particularly relevant to the town of Broome: The *Western Australian Pearling Act of 1912/1913*. Downie refers to this Act, without mentioning it explicitly and utilises it as part of the plot in this novel.

Ken Webster, a seventeen-year-old man from England, arrives in Broome to take over his deceased uncle's pearling operation and discovers that his uncle was seriously in debt to a local merchant, Ah Kwee. Ken's uncle Richard operated his pearling business for at least twenty years. Therefore, although no dates are mentioned in the novel, the business must have been operating since the 1920's. The captain tells Ken that Ah Kwee is a "big Chinese merchant of Broome" (11), who operates an illegal but successful pearling operation with his group of henchmen, including the white "blackguard" Kingfish Morgan (36) and the Malaysian character "Singapore Joe" who steals pearl-shell from other operations (98). Ah Kwee also co-ordinates a group of Japanese "robbers," "raiders" and "pirates" who labour on Ah Kwee's unlicensed luggers, making money "by robbing honest, hard-working men" who, unlike Ah Kwee, pay for their government licences (99-100).

Downie suggests that Chinese people such as his character Ah Kwee operate without licences because they are law-breaking characters: "cunning" (60) "pirates and gangsters" (58). The illustration of the man on the spine of the novel cover emphasises this depiction, with the combination of the slight smile and the weapon. Captain MacTavish also emphasises this stereotype, claiming that he "wouldn't trust that Chow farther than I could throw him" (11). Following Ah Kwee's theft of some pearls from Ken Webster's boat, Pearling Inspector Leash arrives, and explains the situation to Ken. Leash believes that Ah Kwee is the head of a gang of Japanese pearl poachers, and explains that there have been "several cases of piracy – with violence!" (58).

According to Leash, these men are:

... outlaws in their own country as well as in Australian waters ... Neither the Australian government nor the Japanese government will issue licences to them. Only a limited number of pearling licences are issued each year by the Australian government, and so far Ah Kwee has been unsuccessful in obtaining the six he requires... Without licences, they know that I can arrest them if I find them attempting to dive in Australian waters. (57-8)

This excerpt accurately describes some of the responsibilities of the Department of Pearling — to arrest those who are diving without a licence; however, it does not explain in detail the reasons for Ah Kwee’s lack of success in obtaining a pearling licence.

The 1901 Immigration Restriction Act sought to restrict immigration so that Australia only took in so-called white people, and to prioritise employment for white Australians. The Western Australian Pearling Act of 1912 was one of the acts that supported the Immigration Restriction Act in that it sought to exclude non-whites from profiting from the sale of natural resources; however, it did this in the context of having received, in 1916, an exemption from the Immigration Restriction Act. This exemption, granted after a Royal Commission, allowed the Pearling Industry to apply for permits to employ non-white workers. Although the Immigration Restriction Act generally put an end to indentured labour, according to Julia Martínez, in her 2005 article “The End of Indenture? Asian Workers in the Australian Pearling Industry, 1901-1972”, the pearl-shell industry continued to employ indentured, that is unfree Asian, workers until the 1970’s (127).

David Sissons, in Stockwin and Tamura’s 2016 edited volume of his work, report many instances of Asian pearl-divers being fined or imprisoned for taking time off work (20-21). Neither were they permitted to buy luggers or pay for licences. The

Western Australian Pearling Act of 1912 stated that only British citizens were permitted to own pearl luggers or to have shares in pearling operations. Michael Schaper, in his 2016 article “The Broome Race Riots of 1920”, writes that loopholes existed, which resulted in non-whites being able to own shares in an operation on occasion, although he does not elaborate on the specifics of these loopholes (114-15). This Act was in force until 1965, so Ah Kwee would never have been permitted to gain a license for a pearling lugger due to this discriminatory Act; he would only be permitted to hold a pearl-diving licence (Western Australia Department of Justice 1971).

Describing Ah Kwee’s lack of success in obtaining a licence as the result of his bad character, rather than as the result of Australian law, provides justification for the White Australia Policy forty years after it was introduced. The story of a Chinese character who is breaking the law and who is said to have acted violently in the past holds him personally responsible for his inability to “get ahead” and make a home in Australia. The cover image consolidates this interpretation. Analysing this narrative argument in tandem with Benjamin’s theorisation of violence and its relationship to law suggests that the depiction of Ah Kwee as violent is itself an act of violence that conserves and justifies the maintenance of both the Immigration Restriction Act and the Western Australian Pearling Act, which is not specifically mentioned in the novel. The suppression of this relevant detail can be considered strategic, as it enables a narrative in which an individual is blamed for his own lack of success, and one in which Chinese characters in general are stereotyped as cunning, untrustworthy and criminal.

This narrative strategy recalls Birnbaum’s theorisation of the way in which guilt can be apportioned as discussed in my Introduction. She presents the example of how a person who is poor in a society that values wealth is fabricated as someone who is guilty of poverty, because the unwritten law in that context is that wealth is virtuous. In *The Yellow Raiders*, Ah Kwee is constructed as being guilty of not legitimately owning

a pearling operation; however, due to the law at that time, he is actually represented as being guilty of not being a British citizen, British citizens (including Australians), being the only people who are permitted to own pearling operations according to the *Pearling Act*.

From a contemporary perspective, many Australians would consider the *Immigration Restriction* and the *West Australian Pearling Act* to be discriminatory. I argue that these Acts are examples of structural violence as they produced Australian citizens who had access to the benefits of Australian society and non-citizens, who did not. These divisions were based on race and appearance and had a far-reaching impact on the lives of those non-citizens.

Downie's novel tells future generations of Australians that Ah Kwee had an equal right to apply for a pearling licence. As MacTavish suggests, "wouldn't it solve the problem if the government was to issue licences to 'em?" The answer from the official Pearling Inspector is that Ah Kwee is a gangster who simply wants a licence so that he can continue to "rob and plunder on the quiet" (58). In fact, Pearling Inspector Keene continues, he believes that Ah Kwee wants to gain control of "the entire pearling industry of Australia" (59). This comment situates *The Yellow Raiders* in the genre of Australian Asian invasion literature, which I discuss in detail in the following chapter. The depiction of Ah Kwee is an example of how the racist assumptions regarding China and the Chinese that had been circulating in a variety of nineteenth-century discourses continued into the twentieth century, and provides an alternative argument to that of Lees and Macintyre's view, that Young Adult novels presented a more tolerant depiction of Chinese characters in the twentieth century (94).

The depictions of the Chinese characters in the *Smiley* series of novels by Moore Raymond published in the 1940's are not tolerant ones. Here, I discuss two of his novels, *Smiley, a Novel* (1945), and *Smiley Gets a Gun* (1947). Chinese characters from

two families who live in Smiley's hometown of Murrumbilla are developed across both of these novels. Charlie Sung runs the store in the main street right next door to Smiley's home (5). Sung is introduced in *Smiley a Novel* as, "Little, yellow Charlie Sung, wearing his inevitable sloppy blue jacket and trousers" and he is described as emerging "out of the gloom of the back room" (19). He is also described as "little," which infantilises him, and as wearing "sloppy" clothing, which is derogatory as it suggests that he is dirty, messy or at least, not carefully dressed. Rather than walking, he is described as "shuffling," which can also suggest a lack of care, pride or intelligence. Sung is not described as having a home, but is associated with the "gloom" of a room at the back of his shop. From the perspective of the housed, settled, white Australians, his lack of such a basic amenity as a home casts him as other at the point of his first appearance. To paraphrase Birnbaum, in this scene Sung becomes "guilty" of not having a home (97). This aspersion articulates the silent law that decrees that proper Australians should have a home. Sung breaks this unwritten law, and is therefore not a proper Australian. These descriptive elements combine to present an initial depiction of Mr. Sung that is violent in its effect of othering.

In *Smiley, a Novel* Smiley is endeavouring to raise money to buy a bicycle. One of his schemes involves charging a penny to display "an animal that walks backwards". This is an insect known as a "devil-devil", which he has caught and is keeping in a box (57). Sung has already given Smiley a contribution towards his bicycle and is described as having been "very patient" (19). When he declines Smiley's repeated demand to purchase a viewing of the insect, he tells Smiley: "animal not wanted." In response, Smiley derides him, muttering "Chinky-chinky-Chinaman!" (57). Racist name-calling was common in the Australian press from at least the late nineteenth-century according to Yu. Terms of abuse such as "Chows" "Chinks" and "Chinaman" were commonly used ("Bulletin Eyes" 137), as I have noted in discussion of the previous novels. These

acts of linguistic violence, introduced by Smiley's speech, are examples of actual violence in the world beyond the novel, which is related to the values and attitudes transmitted by this novel.

In the second of the Smiley novels discussed here, *Smiley Gets a Gun*, Smiley accepts a challenge from the local police sergeant to improve his behaviour. If Smiley succeeds, the sergeant has promised to reward him with a gun. Unbeknownst to Smiley, the locals have been betting on the outcome. When Mr. Sung's son approaches Smiley to tell him that his father wants to see him he speaks in the usual Murrumbilla vernacular: "'E says 'e's got somethin' to give you.'" This style of speech indicates that he is a local character; however, he is jokingly referred to as "young Chinese Singsong" (124). While most characters are figures of ridicule in the Smiley novels, this attribution marks Sung junior specifically in relation to his Chinese heritage.

Charlie Sung offers Smiley a rifle in exchange for losing his deal with the sergeant, so that Sung – and his friends who have bet against Smiley winning the gun – will win their bet. "Singsong" explains:

Me ole man says orl you gotter do is not be good so's you won't git yore gun from the sergeant. Then 'e'll win a lotter dough and buy you a bonzer gun 'isself. (125)

Initially, Smiley thinks this is an attractive offer, but he soon realises that he will not be able to use the gun, as he would live in fear of being caught by the sergeant with a gun of dubious origin. So Smiley declines the offer. "Singsong" makes Smiley swear that he will not tell anyone what his father has offered him: "Cross me 'eart and cut me throat," Smiley says, but "Singsong" also makes him swear on the flame of a candle (126).

Smiley ridicules this suggestion, but soon becomes concerned:

The Chinese had subtle means of revenge . . . the bamboo pill that spiked a man's guts and made him die an agonising death . . . the strangler's cord that

dropped over the head in the dark . . . and all those other fiendish devices
they were reputed to use against their enemies. (126)

This scene perpetuates many racist stereotypes active in Australia since at least the late nineteenth century. Mr. Sung is depicted as a corrupt gambler who is ensuring his win by manipulating and bribing Smiley. Yu argues that Australian journalism and literature promoted the idea that gambling was a particularly Chinese vice, as if white Australians were not involved in these activities (“Bulletin Eyes”130). Yu demonstrates how Chinese people were portrayed as “money-grabbing”, untrustworthy and cunning, in part because their homeland was also considered to be corrupt, in contrast to Australia where people were believed to receive a “fair go” (“Bulletin Eyes” 132-140).

When Mr. Sung tries to fix this bet he is also shown to be attempting to steal from his own townspeople, not in an outright courageous manner – as a bushranger might do – but in a sly, underhanded way. All of the vengeful acts that Smiley subsequently imagines also involve secrecy and disguise. The spike that kills its victim is secreted in a pill; the darkness conceals the identity of the strangler; the “devices” act on behalf of an absent attacker. These motifs also refer to the corruption of the “old world” of China, compared to the young democratic Australia, as Yu suggests (“Bulletin Eyes” 38), and to the idea commonly promoted at the turn of the century, that Chinese people were inscrutable, non-Christian and therefore sinful. This idea was the origin of the common name given to Chinese characters: “Ah Sin” (“Bulletin Eyes” 134-139). Each of these depictions also posits the antithesis: the idealised, honest, fair-playing, courageous, Christian, Australian settler.

However, Raymond’s depiction of “Singsong” is unique: no other novel that I have studied for the purposes of this research includes an Australian-born Chinese character who is presented as a permanent local inhabitant of Australia. Other Chinese characters, where their status is described at all, are depicted as temporary inhabitants.

This temporary status is not the experience of some actual Chinese residents of Australia. Marilyn Lake notes that as early as 1879, authors of *The Chinese Question in Australia* – Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy – wrote that they considered themselves both as “natives of China and as citizens of Victoria” (280). They saw themselves as both Chinese and Australian, and as at liberty to define their own attachments, rather than to be defined by white Australians. It is therefore notable that almost all of the depictions of Chinese people in the novels I studied for this research are depicted as non-Australian or temporary residents, as “Singsong’s” exceptional status highlights. This highlights the chasm between the white Australian description of the Chinese other, and the Chinese subject’s definition of him- or herself, in relation to home.

There is another Chinese family living in Murumbilla named the Coys. Their name suggests the pretence of shyness, which can also suggest inscrutability or deceptiveness. Each of these associations is problematic and concurs with the general stereotypes of mistrustfulness applied to Chinese people. Their name is also Orientalist as it is a homophone of the Koi fish that are a common feature of Chinese art and gardens. Smiley and his friend Blue, in a scene from *Smiley, a Novel*, plan to steal a watermelon from Mr. and Mrs. Coy’s market garden. I have previously referred to the stereotype of Chinese gardeners in relation to *The Getting of Wisdom*, and also in the discussion of *A White Roof Tree*. There may have been good reasons why Chinese people in Australia took up gardening as an occupation; however, the literary over-representation of Chinese characters who are gardeners has the effect of typecasting these characters and symbolically excluding them from other occupations.

Smiley’s friend Blue distracts Willie Coy by standing at their fence, shouting “Chow-chow-Chinaman.” The boys understand that this taunt will “make Willie wild” (73). It is clear from this scene that the term “Chow” and the practice of provoking

Chinese people was well-understood in Queensland during the 1940's. The scene also provides an opportunity for examining some paraliterature relating to the harassment of Chinese people in Australia. Lees and Macintyre review what they claim to be one of the earliest Australian Young Adult novels to portray Chinese people: Richard Rowe's 1869 novel, *The Boy in the Bush*. They write that this novel contains a scene in which a group of Australian boys taunt a group of Chinese miners, tugging at their pigtailed and pelting them with stones (94). Yu cites C. Haddon Chambers who recalls that the game of "being chased by a Chinaman" was a very popular Australian childhood game, in which children provoked a Chinese person into pursuing them. Yu argues that children were involved in much of the violence against Chinese people on the Australian goldfields ("Bulletin Eyes" 141). He also cites Henry Lawson's 1906 poem *To be Amused*: "while children ran / From Christian lanes and deemed it good / To stone a helpless Chinaman" ("Bulletin Eyes" 142). In this context Smiley and Blue's "game" does not seem to be concerned with a watermelon as much as it is a targeted attack on a Chinese couple, with the intention of making them understand that they are inferior and unwelcome.

While Blue is distracting Willie Coy, Smiley enters the Coys' property from the other end of the garden and steals the watermelon. Mrs. Coy turns and sees him, and Smiley wonders if she is psychic to have turned, just at that moment (74). She chases and catches him; "her thin, yellow hand reached out and caught him by the collar ... an arm whipped round his shoulders, dragging him down" (75). The description of Mrs. Coy's capture of Smiley emphasises her activeness and strength, as she chases, catches, and brings a young boy to the ground. She is a strong farming woman, but she is also witch-like, and frightening. Her thin hand can be read as resembling the hand of a skeleton, and as lacking robustness or softness. The signifier "yellow" used here in relation to the hand which is said to "clutch" him and to the arm which "whips" and

“drags”, is sinister, suggesting sadism, which was not part of the early- to- mid-twentieth century image of the Australian settler woman. As Yu discusses in relation to depictions of Chinese women in Australian literature, sin and ugliness were sometimes synonymous with the word “yellow” (“Australian” 231). He argues that this combination of admiration and fear was a hallmark of imagining the Chinese woman in early twentieth-century Australia (227). Smiley’s idea that Mrs. Coy was in possession of some mysterious secret knowledge or psychic power echoes the stereotype of Chinese and other Asian women as other, entirely unlike the stereotype of the Australian settler woman, who was idealised as mentally transparent, emotionally straightforward and devoid of secret powers.

Mr. Coy locks Smiley in their hut in an attempt to scare him out of trying to steal from the family again (75). As he does this, the local publican Mr. Rankin appears, demanding that Mr. Coy give him “a pipe” (75). Yu argues that early twentieth-century Australian literature depicted Chinese people, rather than Australians, as opium smokers (“Bulletin Eyes” 130). In this scene, unusually, a white settler requests opium, while Mr. Coy is shown to be providing it to him (75). Although this demonstrates that opium was not exclusively a Chinese vice, Mr. Coy is in the more serious position of supplying it. He worries more about having imprisoned Smiley:

Chasing young thieves out of his garden would be justified in the eyes of the white community, but locking the boy up might get him into trouble and cause loss of custom – if nothing else. (75)

Raymond perpetuates the stereotype that Chinese characters are more interested in money than in doing the right thing by the community, because the author depicts Coy’s primary concern as the fear of losing customers. It is implied that he is not a real member of the community: Australian settlers would be more concerned about watching out for one another.

Opium use is also ascribed to the Chinese character Yen Foo in Lillian Pyke's 1917 novel *Jack of St. Virgil's*. Pyke insultingly describes Yen Foo as a "yellow chow" who owns an opium den in Townsville, full of pipes and tables of gamblers (215). One of the characters explain that Yen Foo would not hesitate to attack someone with a knife (219). These signifiers of corruption, illegality and possibly violence are linked in this portrait of Yen Foo, which has the effect of situating him outside the imagined place of the law-abiding Christian settler. In the next section of this chapter I continue to explore depictions of Chinese characters by white Australian writers who ascribe the use of opium almost exclusively to the Chinese ("Bulletin Eyes" 130), in an examination the 1954 novel, *Simon Black in China* by Ivan Southall.

Southall commenced the popular Simon Black series in 1950 with the novel *Meet Simon Black*. Black and his fellow agent and adventurer, Alan Grant, along with their Alsatian dog, Rex, have many adventures over the following years. In the 1954 novel, *Simon Black in China*, an old friend of Black's, Peter Glass, dies in a plane crash in the Australian outback, near Hermannsburg Mission (29). Black and Grant intend to complete the mission that Glass began, which involves investigating an opium-smuggling ring based in China. Black suspects that Glass recognised that he was embroiled in an extremely dangerous international situation, but the recognition came too late. Glass, an ex-flight lieutenant, had been operating undercover when he was instructed, by an individual known as "The Ancient", to fly to Walaga Ridge to collect a mineral believed to be an essential source of "uranium 235", and deliver it to "The Ancient" in China (30).

The continued association of opium with China in Australian novels in the 1950's perpetuates the stereotype already discussed, and strengthens the notion that Chinese people were degenerate; however, Southall is also linking opium to another controversial and powerful substance: uranium. According to Thomas Keneally, in his

2014 book *Australians (Volume 3)*, uranium had been discovered in South Australian and the Northern Territory by early 1951 (478) and two nuclear tests were performed at Emu Field, on the South Australian mainland in 1953 (481). It was generally believed by Australian scientists and military in the early 1950's that nuclear war was imminent (480), which suggests that this theme was of general interest at the time in Australia. The connection made by Southall between opium, uranium and China needs to be considered in this context. He links the signifier China to that of opium – a connection that had previously been made. However, Southall then connects these two signifiers to the relatively new threat of nuclear war, consolidating and extenuating the idea that the Chinese were a dangerous other. The name of the Chinese leader – “the Ancient” – is also notable, as it plays on the stereotypical literary and popular production of China as a traditional, ancient country, compared with the progressive youthful Australia, as previously mentioned (“Bulletin Eyes” 38). The lack of a usual proper name also suggests mystery, and exaggerates the danger that has already been evoked, as if this is a code name for someone who chooses anonymity, such as a spy. It operates within the stereotype of the Oriental ‘Ancient’ wisdom and mystery, and fear of the other.

The protagonists refuel their plane in a volcanic crater on the remote Kuaman island, which Southall describes as being located near the east coast of “British North Borneo” (147). This description makes a connection between this adventure novel and British colonialism, casting the protagonists within a very specific history. By locating the stop-over there, Southall emphasises four distinct but related points: the extent of the British empire; the protagonists’ right to land there; the presence of the enemy in a remote hidden crater; and the relative proximity of these enemies to northern Australia. These premises produce both sides of the binary of the other and have several effects: they consolidate the identities of the protagonists as skilful, knowledgeable and protective of the readers. They also establish the Chinese men as being an imminent

threat. Upon landing, the protagonists are approached by three men, described as:

... three Asians, clad only in shapeless blue trousers, probably Chinese, probably...Their skins glistened in the sunlight. Their bodies were massive, gleaming, rippling, animal in majesty, scarcely human. They were seven feet tall, seven feet tall, seven feet tall. (154)

It is unclear whether Southall is referring to the men or the trousers as being Chinese, but the shapelessness of the trousers suggests the lack of well-formed individuality, a characteristic that is soon reiterated: “The Chinamen were still coming, three moving as one. They were human, but not quite, not quite as men should have been... ” (155).

Southall states this idea again, in this passage:

A bullet wouldn't hurt them, or would it, or would it? What's wrong with them? Was it the smile? Perhaps, perhaps. It was a beautiful smile. It was one smile on all three. That's the problem and the danger. (156-157)

Southall regularly employs this dry, repetitive style of the interior monologue, which Saxby describes as a “staccato, intensely masculine style” (1941-1970 145). In these passages, Southall's style works to emphasise the distance and sense of alienation of the protagonist from the Chinese characters, exacerbating the degree of othering that might be felt by the reader. The lack of individuality ascribed to these men is another way of saying that the men are all the same and therefore lack a true identity. Individuality is valued in the west, and ascribing a lack of it to a group of people is an insult, from a western perspective.

In each of these passages the differences between Black, Grant and the approaching men are emphasised. The height of the men is the overwhelming feature noted by the narrator, repeated, not just the three times cited here, but on several additional occasions throughout the narrative. Their size is emphasised in terms that suggest mass, musculature and sweat, and Black is explicit that he does not consider the

men human like himself. He describes the impression they make on him as “animal in majesty”. He feels scared: he marks the threat that the three men pose as “evil”. He feels unable to protect himself from them: “What an extra foot does to a man. It’s phenomenal” (157). The protagonists struggle to identify the men as human – they are “not quite” (155) or “scarcely” human (154). Yu notes that the use of animal metaphors was a strategy commonly used by journalists of *The Bulletin* at the turn of the century (“Bulletin Eyes” 132), and also that these recurring stereotypes of Chinese people remain “frozen” in Australian literature (“Australian” 34). This novel, published in the mid-1950’s, continues to perpetuate stereotypes disseminated a century prior.

Black identifies the similitude of the Chinese figures as “the problem and the danger” (156-57): problematic and dangerous for Grant and himself, presumably because these men would follow orders, rather than think for themselves. Black might also consider this quality of sameness as dangerous because he would not be able to divide and conquer – he would have no way to manipulate the men individually or psychologically. Perhaps his criticism of this lack of individuality goes further, suggesting that they might entirely lack a psychological nature, individual character or spirit. If this is Black’s formulation, his description of the men as animals implies that they are physical creatures, without free will. As animals, they are considerably more threatening and more powerful.

The Chinese men have a leader who is described as “Continental” (162). Black guesses that Klemmer may be Swiss or German and notes that he is armed (162). These attributions clarify that he is human, like Black, although he is also Black’s enemy. This suggests a continuity to the figure of the enemy from Black’s perspective: the German enemy whom Black fought against during World War Two is now in charge of the new Chinese enemy. Klemmer demonstrates that he is in command by assuring Black that his “Chinese friends [will] dismember” him, if he does not obey him (162). The idea of

the Chinese men as animals is consolidated by this image of them potentially tearing Black apart.

The Chinese setting is also othered in Southall's novel. The protagonists fly low over a remote region of China. They observe the landscape of clouds, lakes and mountains, and they see a monastery built on a cliff consisting of giant, block-like boulders. The spire is described as rising up into the clouds in an evil fashion (169-172). Both the natural and the built Chinese landscape is described ambiguously as both beautiful and looming large in a super-human and threatening way. This scene works as a generalised metaphor of threat, suggesting the mass of Chinese people who are able to build such huge landmarks, but who might also be prepared to invade Australia on such a scale that Australians would be powerless against them, just as Black felt powerless against the giant Chinese men.

The enormity of China was a popular theme more than forty-five years prior to publication of *Simon Black in China*. The idea of an “on-rushing tide of Asiatics which threatened the submergence of the white race” was promoted in Phil K. Walsh's film *The Birth of White Australia*, which premiered in Sydney in 1928. Themes of a large-scale Asian invasion (discussed in the next chapter), and the subtler metaphoric impression of Chinese largeness on a number of levels – bodies, landscape, landmarks and buildings in *Simon Black in China* – can provoke a sense of fear or crisis in the Australian imagination. As Kato observes in relation to stories of invasion by the Japanese, such feelings potentially encourage a defensive sense of nationalism and could have an effect on Australians joining the military (8). As well as the theme of Asian invasion, Walsh's film presented ideas that were later expressed in Southall's novel. Hundreds of white Australian actors played the Chinese characters and wore stockings over their faces “to suggest Mongoloid features” (146). Consistent with the depiction of the Chinese characters in *Simon Black in China*, Pike and Cooper

comment, in their 1980 book *Australian Film 1900-1977* that the “grotesque appearance was central to the film’s caricature of the Chinese as uncouth barbarians sneaking furtively around their makeshift hovels” (146). Similarly to the depiction of Charlie Sung being allocated a gloomy back room in *Smiley, a Novel* (19), Southall’s Chinese figures are not even human enough to have homes; rather, they are provided with “hovels” (146).

Southall’s novel caricatures and exploits an imaginary Chinese other, depicting it as large, evil, frightening, inhuman, slavish, lacking individuality, unable to think for itself, and without a home. This is especially significant given that this book is published in the mid-twentieth century, as it clearly echoes themes from the early twentieth century and earlier, demonstrating Yu’s claim that depictions of Chinese characters were unchanging in Australian literature of the twentieth century (“Australian Fiction” 34). Southall also connects the Chinese with the previous enemy of Australia – the Germans – reinforcing the reason for their exclusion from the Australian homeland. By painting this portrait of the Chinese other, Southall concurrently articulates the individuality, inherent goodness and superiority of the white Australian colonial subject, whom he positions as having the right to the central place in the narrative. Black inscribes both the narrative and geographic spaces as white, as Bill Ashcroft interprets Spivak in his 1989 book *The Empire Writes Back* (241) by controlling the narrative point-of-view and promoting signifiers of colonial discourse as if that discourse is the primary one.

Although there are some positive depictions of Chinese characters in the novels discussed in this chapter, such as Cheon in *We of the Never Never*, on the whole, Chinese characters are generally depicted as uneducated or as comic, particularly in relation to their speech and behaviour. Violence is attributed to Chinese characters in *The Yellow Raiders*, while the author remains silent about the exclusionary law that is

central to the plot of this novel. Themes of pretence, secrecy, inscrutability, cunning, tradition and money are repeated throughout the novels discussed here. Chinese characters are generally represented as different from settler Australians, but not in a way which is valued. Rather, they are shown as mistrustful and therefore as not belonging in the Australian home or in Australian society. The fact that, in two examples, they are shown as not having a home reinforces the notion that they do not belong in the Australian settler landscape. Chinese characters are depicted as animal-like and as barbarians; they are represented as threatening, dangerous enemies. In other examples presented here the Chinese are shown to be dirty, leprous, criminal people who work as gardeners or cooks. I have shown that derogatory depictions of Chinese people continue in the twentieth century, contrary to Lee's claim, and consistent with Yu's argument. The individual and cumulative effect of these depictions is one of violence towards the Chinese.

Apart from the depictions of Singsong, Cheon and Mr. and Mrs. Coy, the Chinese characters are not depicted as individuals, and even these characters are subject to stereotyping. What is it about the individual that is so unique or important? In a literary sense, a hero, heroine, or protagonist is compelling insofar as s/he expresses a desire, whether by acting on his or her circumstances or by articulating it in his or her own voice. What is notably absent from the depictions of the outsider characters presented in this body of work is that, apart from a few exceptions, they are not portrayed as autonomous agents. The Chinese characters are excluded from the Australian home and nation, but are never depicted as expressing that they are excluded. This may seem like a moot point, but it is an important one, as it links subjectivity with the possibility of holding a metaphoric home-place within the narrative.

These persistent demeaning and wounding depictions of stereotyped Chinese characters are incidences of linguistic racist violence and othering. These stereotypes

participate in the discourse of the Immigration Restriction Act as they symbolically exclude Chinese people from the notion of the white Australian home and the broader Australian homeland, just as the Act sought to actually exclude non-white people from Australia. As Johnston writes, in her 2000 essay “Literature and Multiculturalism”, although stereotypes may have no basis in reality, they often have real consequences on the social level, becoming habitual and difficult to escape for people living in the society which promulgates them (303). I therefore argue that the novels analysed in this chapter act as tools of violence in Arendt’s sense as they deliver violent messages.

This chapter introduced the theme of an Asian invasion. In the next chapter I elaborate on this theme in detail. I also look more closely at the literary-geographic depiction of the town of Broome. Chapter Four will continue to demonstrate the multiple ways that particular immigrant groups were construed in the twentieth century by examining the depiction of Japan and Japanese people.

CHAPTER FOUR – Riots, Pearls and Rape: The Japanese in the Australian Homeland

Japanese characters are relatively uncommon in Australian Young Adult novels and have received little scholarly attention. Stella Lees, in her 1997 article, discusses the representation of Japanese characters in two Australian novels published prior to the 1970's: *The Secret of the Desert* and *Bob Berrell*, both of which I also discuss in this chapter. However, Stella Lees and Pam Macintyre do not include an entry for Japan in their 1994, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Children's Literature*. By comparison, there is a list of thirteen entries for novels published in Australia prior to 1950 containing Chinese characters (94-5). Maurice Saxby makes no reference to Japan as a topic in either of his two volumes of *A History of Australian Children's Literature* (1969; 1971). Brenda Niall includes a listing for migrants in the index to her 1984 book, *Australia Through the Looking Glass*; but the majority of those referenced are British, with brief references to others, none of whom are Japanese (352). These examples highlight the lack of critical attention to the depiction of Japan and the Japanese and the related question of how the Australian- Japanese relationship was transmitted to young readers.

There are similarly very few writers who have analysed the depiction of Japan in Australian literature. Broinowski examines representations of Asia in literature and other media. Erika Smith, in her 2008 article "Representations of the Japanese in Contemporary Australian Literature and Film" found that the influence of World War One was still felt in depictions of the Japanese (49). Smith's work on the idea that facial features of Japanese people communicate suspiciousness is further developed in this chapter, since this trope is identifiable in a selection of Young Adult novels as well as in the enduring nature of expressed anti-Japanese sentiment. Kato considers representations of Japan and the Japanese in Australian literature and I build on her

work by exploring the presence of the theme of Asian invasion and the representation of Japan and the Japanese in eight twentieth-century Young Adult novels, ranging in date from 1903 to 1947. Robin Gerster has examined representations of Asia and Asians in Australian literature, including the Japanese, and I draw on his work better to understand the context of some of the identified tropes.

The novels discussed were all published after the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Bill. Attorney-General Alfred Deakin's 1901 speech to the House of Representatives in support of the Bill concerns Australian constructions of Japan and this has enriched my interpretations, insofar as it emphasises a notion of homeland as a place that might be defined by the skin colour of its inhabitants.

This chapter consists of three parts. Part One explores the Japanese in the literary and social geographic space of Broome, in north-western Australia. I contextualise the writings that are set in the town of Broome with reference to the historical work of Michael Schaper and Mary Durack. I examine depictions of a race riot in Broome and develop this idea by examining the notion of 'Asian invasion.' I expand on Catriona Ross's research by identifying, in Young Adult novels, themes of Asian invasion that she has previously identified, and I extend the theorisation of violence presented in this chapter with reference to Benjamin's theory of violence as applied to the Immigration Restriction Act.

Part Two examines the signifier of yellow skin, which is constructed in the novels as an essentialist trait, perpetuating the myth of skin and skin colour being an ontological sign which is connected with home and homeland. The idea of the Japanese having yellow skin emerges in these books in the period between the world wars but is consolidated during World War Two, when purposive connections are made between yellow skin colour, racial type, and enmity. This signifier is used as a linguistic tool of violence and marks Japanese people as enemies, and therefore, as not part of the

Australian home. I analyse the connections that are made in some of the novels between Japan and Germany. These connections symbolically position Japan as the enemy of Australia, as Ivan Southall did by connecting Germany with China in his novel *Simon Black in China*, discussed in the previous chapter.

Part Three of this current chapter explores the fantasy of Japanese men as lecherous, and the connected notion that white Australian men need to protect white women from the Japanese man. The trope of the licentious Japanese man has been identified by Kato, whose work I extend by analysing the construct of the lustful Japanese man in a selection of Young Adult novels alongside an historical Australian debate about rape; I argue that this theme inflicts violence on individual Japanese men and on the Japanese as a group by depicting them as uncivilised perpetrators of sexual violence. By positioning Japanese men as sexual predators, Australian men are elided as potential perpetrators of the colonial construct of ‘real rape.’ The home is traditionally depicted as a space for women and families. Anything that threatens them, threatens the home. In this case, the idea that women and children are safe inside the white Australian home and homeland is promoted by the presentation of the sexual threat posed by the Japanese enemy.

The Immigration Restriction Bill, also known as the White Australia Policy, was in discussion from the mid-nineteenth century with the term “white Australia” first used in the 1880’s, according to Bede Nairn, in the 1956 article “A Survey of the History of the White Australia Policy in the 19th Century” (86). Initial focus was on Chinese immigration; however, by the first decade of the twentieth century attention shifted to include Asia in general and Japan in particular. Attorney General Alfred Deakin, in a speech given in support of the Bill to the House of Representatives in 1901, articulated the focus on Japan. My reference to this speech is not intended to suggest that authors were familiar with this particular speech, but to demonstrate that these novels are part of

political discourse and involve young readers in the discourse popular at the time.

Deakin acknowledges that Japan is one of the most highly civilised nations in the world, a fact that he says is widely reported in Australian news and literature. Deakin admires the Japanese for their contributions to European art (rather than for their own art) and for their culture and aptitude for business. He reports that “His Majesty’s Government is, and earnestly desires to remain on friendly terms” with Japan (Fragment 2, p. 1). However, he states that the Japanese should be “absolutely excluded” from emigrating to Australia, specifically because of their “high abilities” and because “they most nearly approach us” and are, for this reason, “our most formidable competitors” (Fragment 3, p. 1). While Deakin extends respect to the Japanese, and compares them to Australians, he ultimately marks them as other and explicitly excludes them from the recently federated Australian homeland. This construction of Japan and the Japanese is thereby constituted via a kind of double-speak.

PART ONE, THE JAPANESE IN BROOME: THE BROOME RACE RIOTS AND ASIAN INVASION

There is some resemblance between the way that Attorney-General Deakin depicts Japan and J.H. White’s depiction, published two years later, in the novel *Fortunatus, a Romance* (1903). The protagonist, Mr. Fortune, recalls a visit to the port of Yokohama, during which the Japanese Emperor requested a tour of his yacht (193). Initially, Fortune feels honoured by this compliment, but later, when the Emperor convinces him to sell him the yacht, Fortune feels that he has been manipulated. He expresses grudging admiration, resentment and suspicion towards the Emperor and the Japanese Admiralty. This range of emotions combines to form an overall ambivalent impression. Despite this complicated representation, Fortune, just like Deakin, presents the Japanese characters as fundamentally untrustworthy and unwelcome in the Australian homeland.

Gurney Slade's 1925 novel *The Pearlers of Lorne* is set prior to the First World War, in Broome, here known as 'Lorne'. Slade's protagonist Peter Roxton has recently completed secondary school in England when his father is killed in a car accident (13). Without the money to join his friends at Oxford, he sets sail for Australia. *En route*, he considers gold mining, jackarooing, farming and surveying, but he decides to try pearling as an occupation. Fellow passenger Mr. Vane offers Peter work on his pearling lugger. However, Vane warns, it is risky for "white men in that out-of-the-way corner of Australia" (33). Peter must be prepared to risk getting "a knife stick in ...[his] back by an angry native" (sic) (32). This potential violence is depicted as originating from Aboriginal people. Violence towards Aboriginal peoples is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis, but it is relevant to my discussion here in this multi-layered, violent scene. Aboriginal people are overtly described in characters' direct speech as a violent threat, while later in this novel, and in the other novels discussed in this chapter, racial violence towards Japanese characters and the generalised Asian other also works to erase settler violence and Aboriginal presence.

Vane explains that pearling work is tedious, due to "the awful periods of monotony endured by white men immured with coloured crews, tossing about in the luggers for months at a time" (33). This explanation positions "coloured crews" as other, in addition to the apparently violent Aborigines, and as contributors to the ordeals that the more important white subjects must endure, rather than as subjects who might themselves also suffer from confinement. Although Vane poses these comments as warnings, they are also concealed lures – the idea that Peter might rise to the challenge and be courageous enough to confront "angry natives" and suffer "coloured crews" has the effect of foregrounding white masculine courage. Vane communicates a hierarchy by isolating the terms "coloured crews" and "white men" from each other in this sentence. He highlights the centrality of Peter as a white man, as a point of reference,

and one whose comfort and state of mind is of primary importance in situations of hardship. He occupies the central point in the narrative, which positions him as belonging to the place in which the narrative is set – Australia.

The writing is itself violent, codifying the “coloured crews” as subordinate and inferior, and implanting colonial rule by promoting the underlying assumption that the white man is the rightful and primary inhabitant of the town of Broome. By installing this second binary of Coloured/White, and utilising it in an argument, the conclusion of which appears to prove that Broome is the home of white Australians, the initial binary of Aborigine/White is eclipsed, and no further mention is made of it. Rather than introducing a tripartite structure, the author simply stops mentioning that Aboriginal people are present in Broome. This elision of Aboriginal people and Country is an underlying structure of writing violence in many of the novels discussed in this chapter.

While acknowledging that power, strength, force and violence are closely related and often occur in tandem in the actual (extra-literary) world, Arendt argues that it is important to distinguish between them in order to understand violence (*Violence* 46-7). Applying Arendt’s definitions to this example from Slade’s novel, those in power (writers who participate in contemporaneous political discourse) use tools or implements (books) to increase their influence to the point of violence (symbolic practices which threaten or harm others), in pursuit of an outcome (negation of Aboriginal sovereignty and immigration restriction). The words on the two pages (32 - 3) of *The Pearlers of Lorne* forcefully communicate, without describing or critiquing, the structural underpinnings of colonial power in early twentieth-century Australia, erasing Aboriginal peoples from the white Australian homeland while belittling and marginalising “coloured” others.

As Peter sails into Lorne, a fellow passenger points out the landmarks: “Those lights to the left are the Governor Lorne and Occidental hotels, and that’s Japtown away

to the right. That long line in between is the foreshore camps” (41). The hotel names designate them as part of the colonial project. These names are likely to have been found in various colonial settlements throughout the world. “Japtown” is separated from these colonial buildings by a “long line.” This suggests that there is a great distance between Japan and colonial Australia, a belief which is also consistent with Deakin’s speech. The use of the diminutive and dismissive “Jap” in the neologism “Japtown” has a derogatory ring to it.

The foreshore camps making up the “long line” are occupied by a multicultural group of non-white labourers, who are here deemed, in an off-handed way, to be non-distinctive, as only their camps are mentioned. While the Japanese characters are depicted as being geographically and symbolically distant, there is no place whatsoever on this verbal mud-map for Aboriginal peoples. The places that they inhabit remain entirely undescribed, suggesting that they are not worth thinking about, or are so out of the way or wild that they do not appear. This writing out is violent, as it mirrors other instances, which each participate in the ongoing myth of *terra nullius*; nobody is depicted as owning the land, or the land’s owners are not depicted as being present.

The proximity of the Governor Lorne and the Occidental Hotel, and the corresponding distance from “Japtown” is a literary example of the illogical claim that Asia was other to Australia – that Australia was proximate and similar to Britain while being distant and different from Asia. It is illogical because geographically the reverse is true. Such ‘sleight of space’ is an example of what Edward Said refers to, in *Orientalism*, as imaginative geography and history. This is the adoption, in various discourses, of designated familiar and unfamiliar places. For Said, imaginary geography and history allows “the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away” (55). Slade describes a small gathering of white Australians and Japanese people who do not make

their homes side-by-side. By commenting upon this social-spatial structuring, Slade contributes to an imaginative geography and history that defines British colonial worlds as familiar for white Australians, while Japanese and Aboriginal worlds are unfamiliar or non-existent places. By doing this, Slade once again locates the familiar white Australian home as central.

From at least the late-nineteenth century, Broome was a culturally diverse town. This was not typical for Australian towns during that period, as has been noted by Kato (36) and by Schaper, who describes Broome as the Australian town with possibly the highest levels of interaction between Asians and Europeans at the turn of the century (112). This is also noted in several novels discussed here. For example, J.M. Downie in *The Yellow Raiders* describes Broome as cosmopolitan:

In any street could be seen a strange and motley crowd comprising whites, Australian blacks, Chinese, Malayans, Japanese, Kanakas, Javanese, Indians, and Manilamen, beginning their daily tasks to the chatter of a dozen languages. (92)

Downie's use of the word "strange" can be read as applying both to some of the people seen on Broome streets and to the atypical nature of Broome, compared with other Australian towns at the time. Although there are clear hierarchies on the boats and in the structure of the town, characters from a wide range of cultural backgrounds are depicted as interacting at close quarters on the streets in *The Yellow Raiders*, and also in *The Pearlers of Lorne* and *Forty Fathoms Deep*, discussed later in this chapter.

Aboriginal peoples had previously been an important part of the pearling industry, but by the time of the setting of *The Pearlers of Lorne*, the situation in Broome had changed. Until the early 1870's, when the first Japanese divers arrived in Broome, according to Kato (205), the pearling industry blackbirded Aboriginal men and women

who dived with no protective equipment (Kato 205; Schaper 114, 116).¹⁰ According to Gracey and Spargo, in their 1996 article “Deaths in Broome, Western Australia, 1883 to 1994”, this practice resulted in many deaths (507-08). By 1920, Schaper reports, Aboriginal people were forbidden to come into town and were excluded from the pearling industry (117). We can see that the apparent cultural diversity did not extend to Aboriginal people through Peters observation on his first morning in town in *The Pearlers of Lorne*:

In front of him stretched the broad Goeland Bay, blue and glistening in the morning sunlight, with the Indian Ocean to the right and the narrow mangrove-lined creek to the left. From the jetty to the west to the clustered tin roofs of Japtown to the east, stretched the long line of white-painted foreshore camps [...] All along the sands sturdy little dark-skinned figures hurried to and from the boats – Japanese, Malays, Manilla-men, and Kopangers¹¹, early at work on the annual refit. Their sea-chants came to Peter with the blaring of gramophones from the white men’s camps. (51-2)

The environment is alive and busy with both natural beauty and the labour of a variety of non-white people, none of whom are Aboriginal. This scene, in which Japanese, Malaysians, Filipinos and Timorese are hard at work in the early morning can therefore be read in at least two ways – first: the white men are exploiting the labour of these workers, by arranging that they work longer and less attractive hours for less reward; secondly: at least some of these workers are reaping an intangible reward and actual profit from their labour. Slade makes reference to the virtue of work in his use of the adjective “sturdy,” to describe the workers, which is a term of praise. He might also be

¹⁰ “Blackbirding” refers to the kidnapping of Pacific Islanders and others for use as forced labour.

¹¹ ‘Manilla-men’ refers to Filipinos. ‘Kopangers’ is a term used for people from Timor, although Michael Schaper clarifies that this term could refer more generally to anyone who was recruited through the “Dutch colonial administrative offices in Koepang” (117).

comparing this virtue to the implied laziness of the white men, who are sitting around, with their gramophones “blaring” – a word which suggests indiscretion and lack of consideration. However, the description of the workers also diminishes them; the image of “little dark-skinned figures”, suggests manikins, rather than fully-grown adult men. The workers are situated in front of the foreshore camps, which are painted white, signifying the colour of the owners and managers of the town. Those white, fully-grown occupants are depicted as having the status to enjoy leisure, as they listen to music while others labour.

Peter works with a white character, Billy, and “three Japanese and three Malays” (104). As discussed in the previous chapter in relation to Chinese characters who were mis-named, a person’s name is a significant element of their identity as a subject and social being. Neglecting to name the Asian men, while providing a name for the white man is an example of what Hillel describes as a method of denying an individual or group their subjectivity and human rights, and of ensuring that they are not made to feel welcome (“Welcoming” 91, 98, 102). This is a small but pointed incidence of linguistic violence, which arises from an omission in the structure of the sentence.

All of the pearlers are described as wearing their pyjamas and linen hats when they are out at sea (112). Is this a sign that Broome is not simply segregated, as the layout of the town indicates, but that the white men have adopted an Asian manner of clothing? Does this indicate that Broome enjoys some degree of inter-cultural dialogue and mutual influence? Kato argues that Broome demonstrated a relatively high degree of inter-racial harmony, apart from a “race-riot” in 1920, discussed later in this chapter (36). Mary Durack in *The Rock and the Sand* writes that Broome was cosmopolitan: “much of the life of the town was generally shared and enjoyed,” with festivals being a common occurrence. She observes that Christians and “pagans” were “eager to impress each other with their different traditions” (206). This may be true. However, as Yu

argues, with reference to Chinese-Australian relations, positive depictions of relative inter-cultural harmony do not preclude the presence of racism or the maintenance of psychological and social ghettos. Rather, they complicate and enrich potential understandings (“Australian Fiction” 33). Apparent cross-cultural clothing does not indicate equality, or the absence of racist violence, but it does indicate dialogue. On land, Peter wears a helmet and a white suit made for him by a Chinese tailor (54). This is described as the attire of the white pearler and is suggestive of the stereotypical colonial master. The white hue of the clothing worn by Peter and the other white pearlmen differentiates them and is a potent signifier of power and dominance, suggesting a wearer who is cleaner than others and who does not do manual labour.

As well as being shown as doing the more of the manual labour, the non-white crew are belittled in various ways. On one occasion, when Billy announces that they are heading for Villanjarra Creek (a waterway that feeds into the bay), the Japanese and Malaysian crew is described as collectively “gabbling” with excitement (111). The word “gabbling” infantilises the crew and demonstrates a lack of respect for the distinctiveness of their languages. Billy further patronises the crew by telling Peter that “the beggars love the creeks even more than we do ... they go fishing for squids and things” (111). “Things” is a generic plural, and has a similar function to groups of “faceless” others (Kato 34) also serving to belittle the natural environment.

Although Peter and Billy are working away from home, just as the others are, they are positioned as the norm against which the others are measured and the eyes through which others are viewed. Billy demonstrates a lack of interest in what makes Villanjarra Creek a special place for the crew. He has noticed that squid is caught there, possibly not a usual food for white Australians at this time. What else the men catch is either so exotic or unappealing that Billy cannot name or identify it or he is so little interested that he has not attended to it. Billy and Peter can name everything they

themselves eat, but Billy does not consider this locally- sourced food either edible or nameable. This is a form of othering by diet and it undermines the divers' experience and knowledge of the ocean – knowledge which could alternatively be admired. Each of these violent acts are introduced in the form of direct authorial narration and in the individualised speech of characters – infantilising, generalising, patronising, degrading, denying autonomy, proper names and belittling knowledge – and concurrently promote the idea that the two white men, Peter and Billy, belong in the narrative.

This assumed dominance is also expressed in the explicit power relations depicted in the book. The Pearling Act of 1912 made it illegal for non-whites to own shares in a pearling operation, although Schaper writes that several Japanese did so, by way of an administrative loophole (114-15): “White men” are the managers, owning even the “Japtown part of the business” (58). As discussed later in this chapter, Schaper writes that Broome had at least three, more-or-less segregated, residential areas at this time: the white area, away from the commercial centre (114); Chinatown, where the Malays, Koepangers and others lived, beside the mangrove swamps (117); and the Japanese area with its own medical centre, boarding house and meeting rooms (115). Slade's claim that whites own the “Japtown part of the business” suggests that they owned some of the buildings, land or businesses in the Japanese area. Although Schaper writes that there were Japanese business owners, in Slade's novel the Japanese are depicted only as employees, who, for the most part, do not make decisions without the authorisation of white men, as, for example: “A continual string of half-naked Japanese tapped at the door with requests for different articles of equipment for the luggers” (58). This image suggests that the Japanese are inferior, under-equipped, incompetent and in need of direction. The scene emphasises that the whites have both the final say and hold the key, in more ways than one, to the equipment room. Schaper also notes that the Japanese community in Broome had a “strong sense its own self-identity and social

position,” which was “a notch higher in the social rankings than other Asian workers” (115). To depict any cultural group as servants is demeaning, but to represent a group of people who are well-known for their pride and independence carries a particular sting.

The Japanese are also shown as not being trusted to make decisions or manage assets. A Japanese man serves the white men: “A smiling Japanese entered with a tray laden with a teapot and cups and saucers, which he set down on a small table” (54-5). Several facial features of Japanese characters have been said to express untrustworthiness. In Slade’s novel, the primitively attired Japanese other serves as a domestic servant, coming close to the white man, inside his house but under his command. His lack of trustworthiness acts as the premise upon which his need for supervision is predicated, so the entire depiction works as an argument with its own internal logic. These structures of ethnically segregated workers tightly controlled by the white pearling masters were, according to Schaper, replicated in other parts of the British Empire, and were one of the important ways by which small white elites established and maintained authority over large culturally diverse groups of people (112).¹²

Peter, the protagonist of *The Pearlers of Lorne*, displays a quiet sense of superiority when he visits the Japanese part of Broome. Walking the narrow lanes, he observes the “queer little houses of Japanese architecture” (61). He looks inside the open doors and comments on the polished floors and “scarcity of furniture beloved of the Oriental” (61). This scene by Slade provides another example of the ambivalence with which Australians write of Japan. It clearly positions the Japanese architecture as other, and stigmatises it by the use of the adjective “queer,” and the stereotypical

¹² In 1920, Schaper writes, the white population of Broome numbered 900, while there were approximately 3,300 “coloured” residents, 2500 of whom worked in the pearling industry (113). Japanese were the largest group, comprising 70% of the Asian workforce (115).

attribution of “little,” but it also hints at a distinctive design aesthetic that might be admired by some, if not by Peter. The scene places the young white man in the geographic, cultural and symbolic place of the other in an atypical fashion. He is not there to disrupt, hunt, kill, or alter anything, but just to wander and observe. There is an uncertainty about what he observes that is particular to the way in which the Japanese are represented. This expression of hesitation might be part of Australia’s relationship with Japan and the changing role that Japan inhabited, between ally and enemy. The scene is complicated because Peter assumes the right to visit without an invitation, and his observation suggests the colonial gaze, that is, the right to gather and collect whatever impressions or ideas he wishes. But nevertheless, this is a rare depiction in early-twentieth century Young Adult fiction, of a young white man immersed in the geographic and social place of the other, while also remaining within Australia. No-one confronts Peter or causes him any discomfort – the Japanese residents could very well be welcoming of him – the reader does not know, but this is a possibility. However, there is a layer of violence operating in this scene, beyond the use of stereotypical terms, which trivialise and demean the Japanese.

Peter might be welcomed by the Japanese, but they are simultaneously excluded from the Australian home by restrictions which are highlighted by Peter’s leisurely stroll. The fact that he simply walks into “Japtown” is significant, because it highlights a lack of reciprocity. From approximately 1902, according to Hugh Edwards in his 2005 book *Port of Pearls*, Japanese people along with other “coloured people” were not permitted to walk around the white part of the actual town of Broome without first seeking permission, and were not permitted to speak to a white person without first being spoken to. A similar segregation by race and sex also occurred at the cinema and at sports meetings (65). There is a lack of commentary regarding the disjunction between the freedom of movement that the character Peter enjoys, and the spatial and

social limitations that constrained the Japanese community thus presenting this racial-spatial stratification to the following generations of readers as normal, and perpetuating this racist violence. The Immigration Restriction Act is fictionally enacted in this novel as an overriding system of power relationships, in which the Asian and Islander characters labour for the benefit of the white characters, and in which homes and places are segregated. The rights to cross these literary and political boundaries are unequally distributed, with the overall advantage falling to the whites.

This is a complex scene, which articulates Benjamin's mythical violence as it was developed by Agamben. The scene serves to mark an informal distinction between what is valued and what is valueless – not from the side of the valueless *homo sacer* who are not even mentioned – but from the side of those, such as Peter, who are protected by law. As noted by Schaper, the Japanese community in Broome enjoyed a relatively higher status than that of other Asian communities (115). This relatively higher status did not, at an earlier point in Slade's novel, deter him from depicting Japanese men as servants of white pearlers. Nor did this relatively higher status exonerate the Japanese community from the law that allowed white Australians freedom of movement within Broome while restricting “coloured people” from entering the white section of town, or speaking to white people without permission of a white Australian (115). With this scene, Slade demonstrates that Japan had a solid presence in Broome beyond the Japanese population – in the buildings, ways of life, architectural styles, domestic objects, services and associations. Despite this significant presence and the relatively higher status, members of the Japanese community were still excluded from the benefits enjoyed by those who had the protection of the law and held the status of being political subjects with full rights.

From this perspective, Peter's stroll through “Japtown” flaunts these rights, and demonstrates his value as a full citizen. In Benjamin's terms, an intangible pre-existing

judgement has been made regarding Peter's inherent freedom from guilt, which guarantees him the protection of the law. While the text does not mention what was effectively a type of internment that the Japanese and other Asian communities were subject to, by marking Peter as free a shadow is cast over those Japanese residents, who are sacrificed, in Agamben's terms, for Peter's freedom, and who are marked as guilty, in Benjamin's terms, by being obviously unprotected by this law. McQuillan's analysis of how the distinction between a legally supported value (such as Peter's position) and bare life (such as those of the Japanese) is foundational to the writing of law (128) can here be applied to the literary writing of settler law. This law is written in the narrative of Slade's novel and metaphorically on the ground in the imagined streets of Broome. This scene is a small part of the narrative which reiterates this law in both an informal and systematic manner: informal, because of its articulation in a story for young adults; systematic, in that it makes a link to the depiction of Japanese as servants of settlers and because this scene is part of anti-Japanese racism in Australian literature.

Broome's primary *raison d'être* was the pearl industry, and the topic of Japanese pearl divers involves a complicated conversation between people, place, social history and literary depiction. According to Slade, the Japanese were sought after as pearl divers, even when it was difficult to arrange indentured labour permits. The narrator of *The Pearlers of Lorne* writes of the Japanese pearlers that: "... their sailorly qualities are undeniable, and for that reason they are signed on as freely as the rather jealous Asiatic immigration laws of the Commonwealth permit" (105). The right of Japanese and other characters to remain in Broome is here described as being controlled by whites, but the white pearlers are also dependent upon the Japanese divers. Of course, pearl diving is a very dangerous occupation, and one that Australian divers may be very happy to resign from, if others are available. According to Schaper, Japanese divers were paid less than white divers. Indentured labour contracts in the early twentieth century usually lasted

for two years, Schaper reports, and extensions had to be approved by white pearling managers, so there was little time or encouragement for Japanese divers to develop ties to Australia or to consider it their home (118). The diver Hakanashi in *Pearlers of Lorne* is described as a very experienced sailor. He had been shipwrecked in Singapore where he joined a pearling fleet. Hakanashi had worked as a diver in Australia for four years and “was earning money that seemed fabulous wealth to his poor relatives in Japan, to whom he wrote once a year, enclosing his latest photograph and a sum of money” (105).

By emphasising that Hakanashi’s loyalty is to Japan in *Pearlers of Lorne*, Slade suggests that he chooses *not* to make a home in Australia, rather than the alternative readings – that he is made to feel unwelcome, is not offered a permanent position, is exploited in a high-risk industry, is marked as excluded on the basis of his race – by white Australians. Slade implies that Hakanashi chooses *not* to pay the debt of loyalty that he owes Australia for providing him with this dangerous opportunity to profit from pearl diving. This subtle but powerful argument lays the blame for Hakanashi, or an entire people, being excluded from the Australian home, at the feet of those people, rather than directly critiquing the laws, practices and policies of white Australia. In this example, violence is repeatedly inflicted, first by degrading and shaming the Japanese, and then by claiming that they are responsible for their circumstances. This has the effect of acquitting the perpetrator and silencing the victim.

The novel *Forty Fathoms Deep: Pearl Divers and Sea Rovers in Australian Seas*, by Ion Idriess (1937) extends both the exploration of the Japanese community in Broome and the theme of violence. The character ‘Old Sakai’ bears some similarities to Hakanashi. Sakai is a quiet man, one of the most accomplished divers in Broome. He is treated with respect and admiration by the community. He is a minor but distinctively drawn character, an exception to the usual portrayal of the faceless swarm of Japanese

characters (Kato 36). When Sakai dies in an accident, everyone is affected. Like Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*, Sakai is towed by a whale through the water to his death. The whale presses on the air-pipe of Sakai's diving helmet, eventually uncoupling it from the helmet so that the water rushes into the helmet and Sakai is drowned (313). The detail provided by Idriess allows the reader to experience empathy for Sakai and to understand that his death is an accident. Idriess provides a sincere and personalised memorial for Sakai, describing him as "best liked by all men" (314), recalling the wonderful stories that he used to tell the author "under the Poinciana tree" (314) and closing the chapter with the farewell, "*Vale, Old Sakai*" (314).

For Idriess, the town of Broome itself, with its unique cultural mix, provided a space in which to interact with Japanese people. Kato comments on the way the Japanese members of the Broome community invite everyone to attend the annual lantern festival (37). Durack also comments on the Japanese Feast of Lanterns for the Dead or *Bon Marsuni*, describing it in detail and claiming that the entire town considered it the most popular festival of the year (*Rock* 207). Community interactions and relationships inform Idriess's writing, so while he does apply generalisations to cultural groups, he includes some characterisations that move beyond this to describe individuals. This is not to say that Idriess does not participate in the violence associated with the construction of strangers, foreigners and outsiders as others in Australian literature. But on this continuum, he moves closer, in some of his representations, to a literature in which there is some connection, dialogue and empathy between the Australian one and the Japanese other.

For Kato, when an author of one cultural group bases characters on real interactions that she or he has with someone of a different culture, he or she has the opportunity to demonstrate that "there is no need to fear the 'Other'" (37). There is, after all, no problem with depicting the existence of difference. It is only when that

difference is problematised or when curiosity is replaced by the drive for power and control, that there is the possibility of violence. As Alison Ravenscroft writes in her 2012 book *The Postcolonial Eye, White Australian Desire and the Visual Field of Race*, the “demonisation” of those who are other than white is not driven by “a logic of radical difference” but by “the logic of the self-same” (2). These others are depicted as an inferior version of the white settler, and the depictions are limited by the settlers’ own language, ontology and classificatory systems, rather than taking an enquiring stance which might lead to a respectful acknowledgement of difference.

Geographic and social place influence this literature by enabling specific interactions, and literature documents and symbolises these relationships in ways that alter the notion of the Australian home. Sometimes these interactions between place, social history and literature involve violence. During the Broome race riot of December 1920 at least two Japanese men and one Koepanger man were killed, one white man died from a heart attack and many others were seriously injured. This incident is fictionalised in the novel *Forty Fathoms Deep*; however, there is alternative documentation regarding the riot and I draw on some of these historical accounts for this discussion.¹³ Idriess devotes an entire chapter to the event in *Forty Fathoms Deep*, which he terms “The Japanese Riots” and “The Japanese- Koepanger outbreak” (237). The term “outbreak” indicates that, while Idriess explored deep personal relationships between some European Australian and some Japanese characters, he was acutely aware of racial conflicts and considered that “Asians”, rather than “Australians”, were responsible for the violence that ensued, and that they were dangerous and fearsome.

The violence discussed in this chapter so far has mostly been towards Japanese characters and Japan through the language used to narrate the novels and the positions

¹³ Reports of the riot appeared in the newspaper, the *West Australian* each day from the 22nd December 1920 until the 25th December 1920, as cited in Schaper 123-128.

in which the characters are placed. By contrast, the following analysis of Idriess's work involves the depiction of violence in the events of the novel. Idriess's writing about the Japanese changes when he describes the riot, demonstrating the existence of an additional aspect of violence in the narration. He then portrays the Japanese as frightening and dangerous and any previous description that suggests that they might be equal to him vanishes.

Idriess writes that the riot breaks out during a heat wave (243). This is the only explanation for the riot that he provides. Schaper, on the other hand, suggests that there were at least four different accounts of what precipitated it – the heat of the tropical wet season; the close-quarters in which everyone was living, due to layover and Christmas break; cultural stratification encouraged by white pearling masters, and a history of conflict between the Japanese and the Koepangers (115-121). Schaper argues that stereotypes and generalisations by white Australians tended to ignore or hide the strained relations that existed between different cultural groups and individuals in Broome (117) but Idriess's chapter contradicts this theory. The Koepangers are notably absent from his list of welcome attendees at Sakai's funeral, which suggests that he was a careful observer of community and cultural affinities during his time in Broome.

Idriess's account of the beginning of the riot is fast-paced and frightening. First, there are fifty Japanese, and then there are four hundred. They come storming through the main street, armed with clubs, shouting "Down with the Koepangers! The Koepangers are killing the Japanese!" (238).¹⁴ Very soon another group of Japanese is attacking Chinatown and a moment later Idriess writes, four hundred men armed with clubs are approaching the Japanese meeting-house (238). This gives the impression that it is a carefully co-ordinated attack, planned to take the town by surprise. In comparison

¹⁴ Christine Choo cites some government documents claiming that the 1914 riot began with the Japanese rushing down "Napier Terrace into Hammersley Street, howling and yelling 'matter matter' which means in local vernacular 'kill' [Malay: mati = kill]" (104).

with the Japanese, the Koepangers are described as “unorganized” (sic) (238). While Old Sakai is described as a unique individual, in this section of Idriess’s novel the Japanese characters are definitively generalised, and the racial violence again appears in the narration, with Idriess describing the Japanese as “swarming” through the streets of Broome (238). The Koepangers initially flee from the Japanese and the white police inspector Thomas reacts nervously. He has only half a dozen police at his command and fears that the Malays, who had been “for years antagonistic to the Japanese” (240) might take sides, the consequence of which would be that the six white policemen would “find themselves up against three thousand coloured men run amok” (239). The term “run amok” is a Malaysian term which suggests that things might get out of control to a dangerous level. However, the use of this phrase in relation to a scene set in the town of Broome, again suggests the depth of inter-cultural influences and the distinctiveness of this literary-geography.

Inspector Thomas finds himself in an illuminating position, which challenges the colonial enterprise as it encapsulates the vital question, mentioned previously in discussion of *The Pearlers of Lorne*, of how small numbers of colonial masters can dominate and control large numbers of people from a variety of cultures. In this novel, rather than depicting Japanese in denigrating positions, which normalise the other’s subjection and enact control in this way, Idriess depicts a moment of violent crisis in which there is the possibility that white control of Broome may be lost. By doing this, he allows the reader to glimpse the possibility that this power and control is relative rather than absolute. However, as this idea emerges it is rapidly reined in. There is a type of ‘Boy’s Own Adventure’ shift at this point in the narrative, with the white men functioning as heroes: the white policemen “against tremendous odds had rescued ... Koepangers” (240); and Inspector Thomas’ concerned attention had momentarily turned to the women and children in the “scattered bungalows,” about whom, Idriess writes,

“he dare not think” (239). Several days on, the riot is more intense. Idriess writes that Japanese men broke through the barriers “slapping their chests and challenging them to “Shoot! Shoot!” (244). Two hundred white men, mostly returned soldiers have been enrolled as “special constables” (240); two distant camps attacked, and a white man, Jock Hay, “had been felled from a blow on the head. Things were serious” (240). Idriess notes that there was one “white fatality” (240) as a result of a heart attack, and names a Japanese, Youmichi Kawana, who has been “battered to death” (241). Schaper also lists Youmichi as among the dead in his history of the event (128). This is another example of what Idriess considers important to communicate to young Australian readers about this violent historic event – that the Japanese are the perpetrators of violence.

Schaper contextualises the riot in terms of ethnic segregation and discrimination, which, he argues were common to colonialism, and which often favoured one or more ethnic groups in an attempt to divide and rule (112). Schaper notes that, despite their better quality of life, there were reports that the Japanese were dissatisfied with the lack of racial equality (120). Arguably, the Japanese treated the lower-status and lower-paid Koepangers and others in demeaning ways (115-118). Therefore, the depiction of the violent riot can be read as the consequence of colonial structures in Broome. Idriess’s account of the riot also conveys the idea that the Japanese are organised and are a serious threat to the more vulnerable Koepangers (who are described as slightly built) and women and children, who, he writes, are at risk of being attacked by the Japanese.

Arendt argues that when individuals or groups “refuse to be overpowered by the consensus of the majority,” (*Violence* 51) strength is increased by the use of tools, until this strength and the use of these tools becomes violence (46). Idriess depicts the Japanese as using clubs to inflict violence. Other cultural groups are also described as using weapons, but are not shown as initiating the violence in the manner that the Japanese are. The Japanese, by demonstrating their power in this way, are producing in

Benjamin's terms "a visible outburst of violence" ("Critique" 294) which might be read as an expression of their experience in Broome. With this phrase Benjamin distinguishes between violence as a means to a preconceived end and violence which is a "manifestation" of existence or anger ("Critique" 294). The violence of the Japanese as Idriess and Schaper present it, is arguably a law-conserving violence. Benjamin argues that a violent act is robbed of its meaning unless it is considered alongside the ethical and historical aspects of that act ("Critique" 284). It appears, based upon the various accounts of the race riots, that the social status of the Japanese people in Broome in 1920 was endorsed by white Australians and that the Japanese took this seriously. Law is enforced, for Benjamin, by violence "under the title of power" ("Critique" 295). The "visible outburst of violence" establishes power ("Critique" 294-95). The law that the depicted Japanese attempt to conserve is that of the social hierarchy introduced by the white pearling masters, whereby the white pearlers are at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the Japanese, who are superior to the Koepangers (Schaper 112-18; Durack *Rock* 206).

Although I described the depiction of the Broome Race Riots as examples of violence in the narrative rather than in the narration – violence in the said, rather than in the saying, or in the signified, rather than in the signifiers – violence *also* arises in the narration in both Idriess's novel and Schaper's social history. Each of these accounts uses indirect language with respect to the deaths of the two Japanese men and the Koepanger man during the riot, so while it is clear that these men were killed, the impact of their deaths is muted and their killers' identities are also suppressed. In a passage from Schaper's essay he uses the phrase "two Japanese had been killed" (123). The effect of using this form of language resembles that of the use of euphemisms that Heather Burke explores in nineteenth-century explorer notebooks (145). It is language in which the facts cannot quite be pinned down, the seriousness of the crime is

downplayed or cannot be confirmed. In this particular instance, the use of the pluperfect, combined with the passive mood, together indicate that death occurred at some point in the past, but there is an uncertainty surrounding when and who committed the crime, which interrupts reader attention and disrupts the evocation of empathy.

The fictionalised narrative of the actual race riot in *The Pearlers of Lorne* demonstrates how rapidly violence can erupt. Violence might begin at home, according to this account, but it is provoked by outsiders. By consulting several different accounts of the riot, a different reading emerges. The riot seemed to relate to conflict between the Japanese and the Koepangers and to be perpetrated by the Japanese. However, my analysis demonstrates that the colonial social structure is an equally important precipitant of the violence. Order is restored to Broome, in the fictional account, with a collaboration between the Japanese and white town leaders and this partnership is shown to be initiated by the white leaders. Without critical commentary it might be accepted that the white Australian town leaders had no part in the riot apart from that of restoring law and order. This examination demonstrates that the Japanese were responding to the status quo as it had been constructed by white leaders and quite probably also to patterns of everyday injustice. The fictional depiction of the riot replicates these patterns of injustice and is, despite the presence of contrary representations, an example of racial violence, promoting stereotypical characteristics and tropes and failing to focus on the experiences of the Japanese – even failing to hear or record the various reasons for their protest.

Coutts Brisbane's 1931 novel *The Secret of the Desert* has a different ideological tone to the novels that have been discussed in this chapter so far. *The Secret of the Desert* is firmly rooted in the tradition of the Australian invasion novel as discussed by Gerster in his 2007 article "Six inch rule: Revisiting the Australian occupation of Japan 1946–1952" and also his 2009 essay "Representations of Asia";

Ross, in her 2006 article “Prolonged Symptoms of Cultural Anxiety: The Persistence of Narratives of Asian invasion within Multicultural Australia” and her 2009 article “Paranoid Projections: Australian Novels of Asian invasion”; Kato in her 2008 book *Narrating the other*, and others. The Australian invasion genre almost exclusively concerns Asian invasions, as Ross points out (“Paranoid” 14). The main characters in Brisbane’s novel discuss the threat of Asian invasion and the vulnerable “empty north” early on in the novel (16). The idea that Australia is empty is a common trope in the Invasion Novel genre, as Gerster also observes (“Representations” 310).

One of the first Australian Asian invasion novels was William Lane’s futuristic novel *White or Yellow? A Story of the Race War of A.D. 1908* (1888). This was a dramatic call for strengthening the Australian national military defence force, which imagined a Chinese invasion of Australia (Gerster “Representations” 310). In 1908, Kato writes, one of the first novels that imagined a Japanese invasion of Sydney was published in *The Bulletin*, Arthur Adam’s “The Day the Big Shells Came” (44). That same year, “The Commonwealth Crisis” was serialised in a popular journal, and was later published as a book that portrayed a Japanese invasion of Northern Australia, defended by a “white guard” consisting of Australian bushmen (“Revisiting” 42.4). Notably, Kato writes, the expulsion of Japanese people from Australia was at its peak at the time these two works were first published (47). Peter Pierce, in his 1985 article “Perceptions of the Enemy in Australian War Literature” and Ross (“Prolonged”) argue that this theme has continued throughout the twentieth century. Pierce discusses John Hooker’s 1984 book *The Bush Soldiers* in which Japanese occupy northern and eastern Australia (166), while Ross analyses John Marsden’s 1993 *Tomorrow* series which tells the story, from the point-of-view of a group of young protagonists, of the invasion of Australia by an unnamed Asian country (“Prolonged” 87). Ross argues that many of the imagined invasions are depicted as violent and theorises that the response of Australian

writers to Asian invasion is one of complex fear (“Paranoid” 11).

The response of white Australians to the possibility of invasion in the novel *The Secret of the Desert* is generally one of self-interest, rather than complex fear. This novel depicts violence towards the Japanese as justified because Australia belongs exclusively to white settlers. A further level of violence in invasion novels, and in this novel in particular, involves the disavowal of the white invasion of Aboriginal land. The depictions of Asia, Japan and the Japanese in *The Secret of the Desert* involve the direct authorial narration of violence, the representation of violent scenes, and the use of language that enacts violence. This novel is also affiliated with violent extra-literary discourses, for example those surrounding the Immigration Restriction Act. I have previously discussed Arendt’s analysis of the differences between power, force and violence. In the case of the Asian invasion theme an extra level of force is added to the violent effect of these narratives by the fact that they are preceded by other Asian invasion narratives and therefore appear to be historically authorised. This is what Butler describes as “citational” violence (27) which relies on its association with pre-existing discourses to provide some of the force of the violent effect.

As Ross observes, the language used for the act of Asian invasion is similar to that used for natural disasters: the invaders swarmed, in the nature of a plague, “spilling down” like a landslide, or overwhelming Australia in “yellow waves” or “Asiatic floods” (“Prolonged” 87). The word ‘swarm’ also suggests bees, wasps or ants. Borrowing the terminology of entomologists or of natural disasters, white Australia marks the imagined invaders as non-human. The association of the signifier ‘yellow’ with the liquid waves, floods or rivers also suggests urine – a waste product of the body which is not named, and is expelled, suggesting, in Kristeva’s sense, from her 1982 article “Approaching Abjection”, something abject about the Japanese and Asian bodies, combined with a desire to expel them (125-27).

The Secret of the Desert begins on a schooner sailing through the Gulf of Carpentaria, along the coast of Australia's Northern territory. Captain Ned Girvan is sailing home to Rockhampton accompanied by his old friend, a hunter and member of the British Secret Service, Thomas Paston, known as Tommy. Also on board is Girvan's younger brother, Jimmy, Billy Kettle, the "half caste Kanaka" second mate (18), and Ah Sin, the Chinese cook and steward. This coastal setting is common in invasion narratives. Meaghan Morris describes the Australian coastline as "a permeable barrier against waves of over-population" (89) suggesting that Australia is a vulnerable island.

The crew spots a ship which vanishes when pursued. The next morning, they discover a dead man on a boat, an entomologist who has kept a detailed diary, the most recent pages of which are missing. While this mystery is being set up the author provides a Socratic dialogue between Tommy and Girvan. Is the Australian country hospitable? Can it support life? Is it a fit home? Is the scale of the country impressive or threatening? Is the Gulf calm or treacherous? Girvan argues that the Gulf country is "Sand and rock and marsh" for hundreds of miles inland (16). Even if the Japanese did invade, he argues, the British Navy would stop them. This is another example of Edward Said's concept of imaginary geography – Britain and Australia are in close proximity to one another. Why would they invade? he asks, because the land has no value – the "Sahara or the Gobi Desert are smiling paradises compared with some of the tracts in the interior here" (16). Tommy argues that the Japanese have researched Australia and understand the technology required to access the water in the "subterranean lakes and rivers" (17). The tone of this discussion is educated and informed, establishing Tommy's argument as a reasonable and logical one about the white homeland. The idea that the Japanese have already investigated the geology of the north and that they understand the technology required, suggests their preparedness and skill, but also a degree of stealth or cunning, as this is not common knowledge –

Tommy says that he was told this in a private conversation:

Japan is like a hive, with a swarming population which keeps increasing at a tremendous rate. They're getting fearfully overcrowded at home, and they have no colonies worth mentioning. Here's Australia, a thundering great continent with about the population of London. Most of the country is empty. Japan is within easy striking distance. What's more natural than that she should turn envious eyes this way? Australia would be an ideal dumping ground for some of her superfluous millions. (16)

Brisbane dehumanises the Japanese, who are researching Australia with the intention of invading, a parallel trope to the one of the dead entomologist, who was researching insects and was killed, it turns out, by the Japanese. The word “swarm” evokes the idea that a collective of insects will naturally seek a new home, and this seeking involves an uncontrolled, expansive movement. The words “tremendous” and “fearfully” are intended to communicate Tommy's education, confidence, and authority, which provides a forcefulness to the argument while also suggesting something frighteningly large.

In fact, as Kato writes, Japan invaded the comparatively large region of Manchuria during the year that this book was published (206), but there was no argument that this was motivated by population density.¹⁵ What matters here is that Tommy believes that Japan has an excess of population. By contrast, Australia is presented as desirable – it is a continent with an expansive landmass. As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, Australia is imagined as proximate to Britain – Tommy provides the population of London, rather than any other city, for comparison with Australia. Ross notes that a connection was made between the two notions – that Asia

¹⁵ It is not clear which month this book was published so it cannot be assumed that the author held prior knowledge of this invasion.

was populous, and Australia was empty – in mid-nineteenth century and that this informed the fantasy of Asian invasion (“Prolonged” 86). Morris also writes about this idea, conceptualising it more abstractly as a tension between “the landscape (the ‘nothing’) and ... population (the ‘numbers’),” leading to the fictional scenes of invasion in which white people become the victims (89).

Tommy presents Japan as an envious female a tradition that was also established in the nineteenth century, according to Gerster, when Asia was depicted as a sensual, irrational female space in which white men could indulge “erotic possibilities either denied or taboo at home” (“Representations” 312). This image continued to hold currency in the twentieth century, with the depiction of Asian women as “accommodating, if occasionally treacherous” (“Representations” 312). Kato writes of Japan as a feminine, romantic and exotic setting for Australian literature from the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth (39), while Daniel Milne describes how, in this same time period, Japan is described as having been “secluded for over two centuries” and as being “burst open” by the West (146). There is a connotation of rape in this image, as if Japan does not want to be opened up but the West forces this upon “her.” Gerster also writes of the imperialist image presented of the East as a place “begging for the benefit of Western (that is, male) penetration and mastery” (“Representations” 312).

Tommy’s idea that it is “natural” rather than rational, for the “envious,” female Japan to turn her eyes towards Australia, carries the further suggestion of flirtation and provocation. There is a further associative link here, with the image of the country being “burst open,” as the image of an insect nest bursting open, producing exactly this next image, that of swarming millions, seeking a new home, just as a new Queen bee needs a new colony. Finally, Tommy describes Japan as wanting a “dumping ground” for “her superfluous millions”, suggesting that Tommy believes that Japan does not want its own

people, or thinks badly of them. The idea that a country does not want its own people is disrespectful to that country and the connections that this constellation of violent images has with the notion of home become explicit here, as it is the Australian home that the Japanese are said to want. There is a threat of violence towards Japan that is carried by the network of associations implied within the interconnected discourses regarding the sexualised relationship between the Japan and “the West.” Violence is also explicitly carried out at the level of the speech of the character Tommy who describes Japanese people as feminine, subservient, unwanted, unsuccessful and inhuman and, also, violent.

Ross argues that Australia is anxious that it may be lost by invasion because it was “founded on invasion” (“Prolonged” 89-90). She proposes that Australia repressed the colonial invasion, which became part of “the national unconscious” (“Paranoid” 13). She draws on Pierre Macherey’s model of “symptomatic textual interpretation” to argue that narratives of Asian invasion are silent on the theme of colonial invasion. This silence points to the implicit meaning of the narratives revealing the “unconscious of the text” (“Prolonged” 89). For Ross, these novels are generated from the Australian “cultural and historical unconscious” and this model of reading the text is what constitutes the “return of the repressed” (“Prolonged” 90) rather than the novels themselves being a return of the repressed. Morris uses the concept of phobia and argues that the repetition that is realised in the telling of invasion narratives is a “historical repetition” (88). She theorises that each retelling is a revision of history and creates “a remainder” (89). The remainder that Morris theorises can be thought of as a piece of the real, in Lacan’s terms – a register which, as Robert Hughes and colleagues note in their 2002 introduction, “The Dialectic of Theory and Clinic”, cannot be signified and so, repeatedly causes strong feelings (31). This remainder could be thought of as an aftertaste which persists and drives the construction of another invasion narrative.

It is interesting to consider that violent narrations about others could contain, or be driven by, multiple rather than singular narratives of disavowal. This thought is elaborated by drawing on the writing of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in their chapter ‘1914: One or Several Wolves?’ from *A Thousand Plateaus* (30) in which they critique Sigmund Freud’s 1914 case of the Wolf-Man published in *An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works*. The depiction of invaders in the form of a swarm or tide allows a reading of this violence in the narration as a kind of madness, rather than one of unconscious anxiety or phobia. The theory of the return of the repressed, which both Morris and Ross draw upon in their work on Asian invasion, is a psychoanalytic phenomenon first formulated by Freud in 1896 in his collected essays reproduced in *Early Psycho-Analytic Publications* (170). Freud brings this theory from the clinical field into the social-literary domain in 1938 in the first essay in *Moses and Monotheism* (80; 86; 88; 94-5). For Freud, a neurosis arises following the repression of an early trauma. The trauma is installed in, or becomes the nucleus of, the unconscious, around which symptoms develop ((E) Difficulties” 94-5; “(G) Historical Truth” 127). For Lacan, repression and the return of the repressed are the same thing and occur simultaneously, as recorded in *Freud’s Papers on Technique, 1953-1954* (190-92). The fundamental basis of each of these theories is that repression is a neurotic function in which the repetition of a ‘trauma’ is taken up by the dialectic of signification and the unconscious, at the point of repetition, rather than at the time of the trauma.

I suggest that these depictions of Asian invasion are the result of violence that has been rejected from the symbolic rather than repressed, as both Ross and Morris argue. The violence is, as Lacan says in *The Psychoses, 1955-1956* seminar, “abolished internally,” periodically returning from “without” in the form of a psychotic delusion which attempts to patch a rupture in the external world (45-6). I argue that the theme of invasion has more in common with psychosis than neurosis. Depictions of invasion and

slaughter are an entirely different kind of fantasy, suggesting a psychotic or schizoid presentation such as the Wolf-Man experienced, according to Lacan, and also for Deleuze and Guattari (*The Psychoses* (45); *A Thousand Plateaus* (30-1, 33, 34, 39) one that is *without* an unconscious.

Deleuze and Guattari argue that the “unconscious” for the psychotic is not something inherited through the generations that precede him or her, but is an assemblage populated by many different and changeable human, social and technical elements, lines, and intensities (34-41). While Ross argues that the individual signifying chains of historicised trauma within the Australian unconscious (the bloody slaughter of white invasion) lead to a return of this repressed in the form of a “symptomatic textual” reading of the novels (“Prolonged” 89), Deleuze and Guattari’s theory suggests that, in the case of psychosis, the real horror of violence is part of a network of multiple influences which, by the fact of their networked structure, take the form of multiplicities, or to use their technical term, a rhizome (34). In this theoretical reading, the colonisation and slaughter of Aboriginal peoples by settlers would not be understood as having been inscribed as a single trauma in the Australian cultural unconscious but in the form that one might argue it actually took, that is, multiple, discrete, connected and disconnected murders, killings and massacres, acts of warfare and ‘sport.’ Alongside, and interacting with these crimes, the multiple passages taken by white settlers and convicts from Britain and other countries of origin, could also be envisioned as driving the multiple violent hallucinations and paranoid delusions of Asian invasion.

Tommy’s narrative in *The Secret of the Desert* of unwanted, rejected and “excess” people being “dumped” in Australia (16) makes sense in this theoretical context. “Excess” people who are “dumped” in a country are associated with the idea that they might violently take over the country, ruthlessly slaughtering those who are

already there. The fact that these imagined invaders – if this is a “return from without” of an internally abolished, unsymbolised real horror – are posited as ‘swarms’ is also consistent with Deleuze and Guattari’s formulation of madness producing formations that are structured as multiplicities.

Three different levels of violence can be seen as interacting with notions of home in a number of Asian invasion novels as they do in *The Secret of the Desert*. First, the historical violence imagined as having been experienced by some convicts and settlers in Britain, in Australia and *en route*, is displaced onto the imagined Japanese characters and they (the resulting hybrid of convict-settlers and Japanese) are described as being unwanted at home and as being ‘dumped’ in Australia. This implies that Australia is not a home that anyone would freely choose and is a country which functions as a receptacle for various forms of historical violence. Secondly, the violence of the war between white Australians and Aboriginal peoples is disavowed by being displaced onto the invading Japanese characters and is graphically described as slaughter. This again suggests that violence is integral to the Australian homeland – the founding, home-ground violence is bound to be repeated – not simply in the sense of a return (that is, a perception), but in the form of an act. Third, violence is implicit in the othering of Japanese peoples, in representations where they are imagined as being unwanted in Australia and by their own country. The Japanese characters are forced to bear the entire assemblage of violence, and are then the recipients of violence as a result of this interpellation.

PART TWO: THE JAPANESE AS YELLOW SKINNED

Mary Grant Bruce’s novel *Peter & Co.* introduces a variation on the typical invasion narrative by suggesting that the Japanese do not work alone but are directed by Germany. It is important as it provides one of the first instances, identified by this

researcher, of Japanese characters being overtly described as having yellow skin. I argue that this construct is introduced from the broader cultural discourse into Young Adult literature at this time to serve patriotic and nationalistic ends. Ward Lock published *Peter & Co.*, the sequel to *Told by Peter*, in 1940, the same year that Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in Berlin and the year before Australian Prime Minister Curtin declared war on Japan. Bruce wrote the novel prior to the formation of the Axis powers, following a trip she took with her husband to Dunk Island in Northern Queensland, where, according to the website maintained in her name, she heard rumours of the impending war and also of suspicious Japanese boats off the coast (np). One of Bruce's main arguments in this novel is that Australians are straightforward and easy-going to the extent that they can be easily duped, in contrast to the Japanese and Germans, who are duplicitous.

Peter, his sister Binkie, their parents and a teenage governess named Tarry arrive in Cairns by boat. One of the first things they see is a yellow python coiled up, "basking in the sun. It watched us" writes Peter, the narrator, "with little beady eyes, not troubling itself to move" (99). This image works as a metaphoric presentiment of the Japanese characters the family are soon to encounter who are, according to Bruce, also keen to settle in. Although pythons are generally harmless, this snake is depicted as gazing at them with beady eyes, as if dangerous. Yellow is an unusual colour for a snake although the water python *Liasis fuscus* inhabits the area about which Bruce is writing and is possibly the snake to which she is referring. It is actually dark brown to black in colour, usually with a bright or dull yellow belly (Queensland Dept. of Environment np), so it is particularly significant that Bruce decides to describe it as exclusively yellow. Bruce also describes the Japanese characters whom the family meet as "little yellow-brown men" (157). These signifiers and their associated impressions are examples of violence in the narration. The reader does not receive a

direct rendition of anything violent, but the narration produces violence – Japanese people are equated with snakes that intend to invade and threaten Peter and Binkie’s world. The narration produces prejudice and has the effect of excluding the signifier ‘Japanese’ from the idea of the Australian home by producing a feeling of fear.

Peter’s family first come across some “Japs” (157) when they are exploring in their boat the *Bonito*, a Japanese word for fish. This suggests that Peter’s family are being inundated with significations of Japan – even their own vessel suggests Japan. They come upon a small well-protected bay and see a group of Japanese men surrounding a Hawksbill turtle which they have dragged up onto the beach with ropes. The men are “rough looking little yellow-brown men in blue dungarees,” who are smiling at the family (157). The turtle is alive and fighting although it is tied up: “still dangerous and full of fight, its head moving from side to side and its vicious-looking beak snapping” (158). The Japanese tell Peter that they plan to sell the shell and eat the flesh of the turtle with rice. The Japanese are immediately associated with another wild and dangerous reptile, so although they have captured the turtle, they are themselves implied to be dangerous. It is significant that the Japanese characters are associated with reptiles, which positions them ontologically at the farthest possible distance from Peter and Binkie.

It is also significant that the family enters the protected bay, as this idealised image is part of Bruce’s binary: it represents her fantasy of Australia as it was prior to this invasion. This fantasy suggests that there was no trouble prior to this threat from the Germans and Japanese and further, it implies that white Australia was always settled, in both senses of the word: that white Australians always lived here and that there was – historically – no conflict. However, the island now contains a host of dangers. The children find evidence of scorpions, centipedes and “red-spotted black spiders whose bite can paralyse a man” (187). But the island also retains an idyllic quality, as it is

described as being full of beautiful birds and fish. It is a place of which Peter and his family feel some ownership, so much so that Binkie wants to adopt the island. This is a nostalgic fantasy image of the white Australian homeland.

A number of insulting stereotypes are contained in this brief introductory scene. The Japanese are depicted as money hungry, rough, criminal, dirty and dangerous. They are also described as little, a stereotype that has been previously commented upon. However, in this scene their name has also been contracted to the insulting term “Japs,” implying that they are a known enemy that can be contained in this abbreviation and that they are not respected enough to be called by their proper name. This scene foreshadows what is to come, as the children are later held captive and violently treated by the Japanese after they attempt to alert the coast guard that a submarine is in the area. This is the final nail in the coffin of Bruce’s comprehensive othering of the Japanese characters. In her Australia, Australians would never inflict cruelty on children or animals, but the Germans and Japanese are shown to be capable of this kind of violence. As previously discussed, the sentimental notion of home is constructed as a safe space for women and children. The attack on children conjures the idea of the settler Australian haven of safety – the family home – being invaded.

It is important to comment on the use of the colour yellow at this point as the Chinese people were the initial focus of the Immigration Restriction Act in Australia, and references to Chinese characters who were described as having yellow skin appeared earlier than the publication of the novel *Peter & Co.* Bruce, in her 1910 novel *A Little Bush Maid*, described the gardener Lee Wing as having a “broad yellow face” (8). The slippage of this signifier from the Chinese to the Japanese in 1940 is consistent with Butler’s elaboration of Althusser’s theory of the interpellative function, as the Japanese characters are being reinterpreted and reconstituted by these descriptions of their bodies and skin (24).

Japanese characters have been described by Bruce earlier as being a “yellow-brown” colour (157). According to Michael Keevak, in his 2011 book *Becoming Yellow a Short History of Racial Thinking*, prior to the nineteenth century the word yellow was never used to describe skin colour (1-3). Hiroshi Wagatsuma, in his 1967 article “The Social Perception of Skin Colour in Japan” writes that the Japanese are more likely to describe themselves as white-skinned (429). The term “Yellow Peril” is used in Brisbane’s 1931 *Secret of the Desert*, in relation to the feared Japanese invasion of Australia (15). It is also used in Miles Franklin’s 1946 sequel to *My Brilliant Career*, *My Career goes Bung*, when Father O’Toole proposes that Australian women should have large families to “fill up Australia and hold it from the Yellow Peril at our doors” (316). However, the word is not used to explicitly describe a character’s skin colour.

This term “Yellow Peril”, Keevak writes, is attributed to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, who promoted the 1895 drawing titled “The Yellow Peril, Nations of Europe Defend Your Holiest Possessions.” This drawing, attributed to H. Knackfuss, was widely published in newspapers, distributed as postcards and displayed in steamer ships. It depicts a group of young women who represent the nations of Europe being led by the Archangel Michael. To the left, a Buddha sits in the storm clouds above a dragon. Keevak writes that the German press described the image of Buddha in this drawing as representative of “the heathen idol” atop a “demon of destruction” (127). This is one of the first widely disseminated images to depict a European fear of invasion by “the great yellow race” (127) and the threat of East Asia to Christianity. It is therefore not just the white Australian way of life, or the land, which Australia imagines that it may lose: it is also the Christian religion, Australian values and ideology which is seen to be threatened by East Asia. The signifier “yellow” is therefore one of the tools of violence that settlers used against this imagined threat.



Illustration 3. The Yellow Peril, Nations of Europe Defend Your Holiest Possessions, by H. Knackfuss. Circa 1895.

It is significant that in “The Yellow Peril” the women stand ready, as the viewer reads the words “our holiest possessions” and that the Archangel and the cross are shown as protecting the women (126-28). As I have previously mentioned, women, children and the family are considered the natural inhabitants of the intimate space of the home, and by extension the homeland and nation. In this image, the women of various nations, such as Boudica of England, Germania of Germany and Marie of France, are shown as willing to fight and sacrifice their lives to maintain their way of life. This is a powerful example of Benjamin’s theory that violence is used to maintain law and unwritten norms and values. It is extremely likely that Wilhelm’s image contributed to the popularisation of the term “Yellow Peril” and also to substantiating the notion that the East intends to destroy European, Anglo-Celtic and Christian values

Although the term “Yellow Peril” has previously been used in the novels that I discuss, the scene in Bruce’s 1940 novel *Peter & Co.* is one of the earliest incidents that I have identified of the use of the word yellow to refer specifically to the skin colour of Japanese characters. The word was previously used by Coutts Brisbane in his 1931 *The Secret of the Desert*, when Tommy tells Girvan that he underrates “the yellow brother’s capacity for secrecy” (72), and is used again when they confront the Chinese/Japanese character Ah Sin/Toyuni: the author describes “his yellow face streaming with tears” (40), so there has been a precedent. It is subsequently used – prolifically – in Morwell Hodges’ 1947 novel *Bob Berrell*. I argue that this idea emerges in a more definitive way in Bruce’s novel, because in 1940, Japan and the Japanese have acquired greater significance and distinctiveness for Australia as a whole, rather than just northern Australia, due to their imminent status as a war-time enemy. This social and literary construction, therefore, becomes more detailed, prolific, intimate and hateful. Australia was coming to a consensus that Japanese people were not, as Keevak states, “the English of the Far East,” or white-skinned with a “yellow or sallowish complexion” as they had been previously described in 1915 (137) – they were the enemy.

This is a moment in Australian Young Adult literature when Japanese skin colour is becoming yellow; it is “yellow-brown”, therefore doubly non-white. Keevak argues that until the West felt “the perilousness of the region” there was a “blithe disinterest” [sic] in clarifying the exact word for East Asian skin colour (124-5). When East Asia moved to the forefront of the Western mind, Keevak contends, there was sudden agreement that Japanese had yellow skin, as several fantasies converged: skin colour as a marker of race, history of “Mongolian” invasions and the idea of multitudes of people migrating to the west (124-5). Keevak writes that this idea, once agreed upon, became retrospectively inscribed in history, with *The Cambridge Ancient History* of 1923 describing the usefulness of yellow skin colour for the prehistoric “Mongoloid

man” (139). This ensured that the Western Orientalist fantasy had the authority of history behind it for future generations. Similarly, Bruce ensures that the next generation of Australians takes Japanese skin colour as an objective perceptible ‘fact,’ as a marker of racial category and as a sign of otherness – and understand that yellow skin does not belong in white Australia.

When Peter’s family hear the news of Japan’s victory in the Second Sino-Japanese War, Peter notices that talk of war preoccupies the adults around him. He overhears his father’s friend proposing that, if Germany gains the upper hand, “the Japs may take a chance against us. They’re showing their teeth plainly enough in Tientsin now” (147). It is significant that Bruce mentions Japan’s victory against China, which recalls their earlier victory against Russia in 1905, a war that, Kevak argues, appeared to mark the end of the fantasy of absolute Western control of the “civilized world” (sic) (126). Australia is nervous, and this is articulated in the certainty with which it reconstructs its enemy. The Japanese are becoming yellow, and becoming non-white, in the same moment that they are becoming powerful, untrustworthy and threatening to Australia. Authorising oneself to definitively describe another’s skin colour removes a person or group’s right to self-determination about something intimate – the body. Describing another’s skin colour as yellow is violent as the descriptor intends to alienate one group of people from another.

I have previously mentioned the idea developed by Morris, of the Australian coast as a “permeable barrier” against Asian invasion (89). The fear that Australia has no solid boundaries is repeated here, along with the suggestion that white Australians are ignorant and have no expertise in the cartography of the oceans that surround their country; rather, the “unwashed” Japanese have already infiltrated and mapped these fluid borders. Peter comments that, when the Japanese were carrying his injured father through the shallows to their boat, they “were a good deal more than knee-deep ... as

they're very little men, Dad said later that he'd felt the sea most uncomfortably near" (160). Perhaps it was the Japanese in Australian waters that his father felt were "most uncomfortably near" rather than the water itself. The possibility that the Japanese other is closer than the Australian had thought, and might have more knowledge of Australian marine waters, is confronting to those who hold the belief that Australia is proximate to Britain and is irreducibly distant from Japan.

These ideas of presence, knowledge and ownership introduce a further level of violence in the narration, notably present by way of an absence. Virginia Marshall, in her 2017 book *Overturing Aqua Nullius: Securing Aboriginal Water Rights*, argues that the Australian legal system has failed to articulate and uphold the rights of Aboriginal peoples as owners of their own cultural landscape, which, Aboriginal peoples understand, consists of "the fabric of the land" and the water that is inseparable from it (xvi, 29, 220). Aboriginal knowledge of the Australian coast is neither acknowledged nor valued in Bruce's novel, while Japanese knowledge is highlighted. The dangerous consequences of Japanese knowledge of the ocean and of white Australian ignorance are finally brought to the fore and the young characters realise the seriousness of the threat from the Japanese. This is reminiscent of the narrative in the 1913 film *Australia Calls* directed by Raymond Longford, in which Australians were presented as ignorant of the real threat that faced them. Peter writes:

If the Japs took us away in the lugger, I didn't believe they would let us go: it would be so much easier and safer for them to dump us overboard in a place where the sharks would end the inconvenience for them. ... I could imagine Mura [one of the Japanese seamen] taking part in it with great enjoyment. I shut my eyes tightly so that I couldn't see his evil face. (219)

The rest of the novel follows the formula of the invasion genre with two important differences. First, the Japanese characters are shown to be following a German leader,

implying – like the narrative in Ivan Southall’s 1954 novel *Simon Black in China*, discussed in the previous chapter – that the Germans being definitively ‘white,’ are the superior and more worrisome foe. The next point of difference is the role that the Australian land plays in the narrative. Gerster writes that in popular early-twentieth century invasion narratives there is often a “white guard” consisting of Australian bushmen who defend Australia against invasion (“Revisiting” 42.4). Here, Bruce places the Australian bush in the role of “white guard.” When the German and Japanese characters, Patten and Mura, begin poking at a green ants’ nest hanging in a tree branch, Peter and Binkie feel hopeful, as they know what might happen. Their knowledge suggests that they are at home on the land of the island. The nest falls onto the men and the ants attack, provoking them to run into the ocean to wash off the ants. This gives the youngsters time to escape and leads eventually to the German and the Japanese being captured before they can invade. The Australian land has provided an efficient defence, suggesting that the enemy are somehow a natural phenomenon which nature resists. However, the novel ends on an ominous note, retrospectively gathering up the content of the entire narrative and emphasising its part in the current patriotic, nationalistic discourse. As the family are on the ship heading home to Sydney “a tall digger” (in contrast to the “small Japanese”) requests everyone’s attention. The last line of the novel is given to him: “War ahead” (254).

PART THREE: THE JAPANESE AS A SEXUAL THREAT

The novel *Bob Berrell in North Australia: A Story of Adventure and Peril for Youths of All Ages* was written by Morwell Hodges and published in 1947, although it is set during the Second World War. It contains prolific use of the signifier “yellow skin” and is more explicitly intent on promoting anti-Japanese propaganda than was Bruce in *Peter & Co.* *Bob Berrell in North Australia* differs from other novels discussed in this

chapter due to two scenes of sexual assault of a young Australian woman by a Japanese man. I argue that this novel brings together anti-Japanese racism and the colonial construct of ‘real rape’ in an exercise of nation formation.

At the start of the novel there appears a list of characters. Given the novel’s filmmaking theme, this appears to be a cast list. It is divided into two parts, the first is titled “The Friends we meet” (np), and includes Bob the protagonist, “his pal” Taffy, his dog Husky, family members, director and crew of the Hollywood film, local politicians, businessmen, local public servants, journalists and the “Townspople of Cooktown and Officers and Men of H.M.A.S. ‘Canberra’” (np). This list is significant as it includes everyone who belongs in the town or on a broader more sentimental level, everyone who belongs to the category of ‘home.’ The narrator explains that Cooktown was the place that Captain Cook first landed, symbolically positioning this town at the centre of the narrative of white Australia. Hodges is writing at both levels – that of Cooktown, Bob’s home – and also of the nation of Australia, “A white man’s country!” (46).

The second part of the list is titled “The Villains of the Piece.” This list consists of everyone who is not part of the home and Nation. These people are significantly all Japanese: “Takasaki Fan Tan, director of Matsui Film Company of Tokio [sic]; Ko Ushio, cameraman; Pilots and Crew of Japanese Seaplane “Kyota,” call sign KTA3; Hordes of Simian-Men on Barrier Reef Island” (np.). Hodges establishes this binary before the page numbering for the novel even begins.

Bob Berrell tells the story of a sister and brother who are happy to acquire paid work when a Hollywood film crew arrive in town. Unbeknown to the characters, two separate film crews actually arrive in town simultaneously – one from Hollywood and another from Japan. Bob and his friend Taffy work as location scouts on the basis of their local knowledge – they are “real North Queenslanders” and real “bush lads” (16). The town mayor, believing that he is speaking to the Hollywood producer, unwittingly

offers Bob's sister Nola as a leading lady to the Japanese film crew. Nola and her family believe that she is to act in the Hollywood film with Bob and her parents worry that she is too young. When they learn that it is a Japanese film that she is to be involved in, they join other locals to protest against the Japanese presence in their town. The mayor tries to retract his offer, but the Japanese filmmakers do not agree to release Nola from the verbal contract.

It is difficult to describe just how enthusiastic Hodges is in his express hatred of Japanese and Aboriginal peoples. He employs violence in the stylisation of the individualised speech of the characters and in the authorial narration. Japanese people are described as animals throughout the novel: for example, they are called "simian" (np); they are better to watch than "cock fighting" (32); they are "devils" (33; 46; 81); "snakes" (58); "reptilian" (59); "monkey-like," (59; 87; 88); and are described as having "claws" (77; 92). These terms recall similar tropes in *The Secret of the Desert*, where Japanese people are compared to insects (16), or in *Peter & Co.* where Japanese are depicted as invertebrates, reptiles and monkeys (157) and this supports Kato's contention that Japanese people are regularly depicted in early-twentieth century Australian literature as animals (8). However, Hodges takes this claim to another level, including these images so regularly that the reader is inclined to accept or ignore them with a feeling of defeat, as this linguistic violence is so persistent.

Similarly, Hodges uses the descriptor 'yellow' liberally throughout this novel. The local Cooktown newspaper publishes a front-page headline following the film crew's arrival: "Yellow Peril at Large" (67), referring to the nation of Japan and to East Asia in general. But the word is more often used as an ontological adjective, to describe a character's overall being: "yellow boys" (46) and "yellow men" (87); or to describe Japanese people's skin: "yellow fingers" (60); "yellow-skinned" (81); "yellow face" (88). As explored earlier in this chapter, it is clear that this author accepts and chooses

to promote the construction of yellow skin colour. The message is loud, clear and persistent: Japanese people are inferior as they are not white.

The novel also participates in the narrative of Asian invasion and the deviousness of the Japanese. The Japanese film director is named Fan Tan, the name of a Chinese game, indicating that Hodges is perhaps writing about a generic 'Asian' character, which is another form of othering. He tells Nola that Japanese sailors have "charted every mile of these waters" (102), and that they disguise themselves as pearlers or fishermen who are "apparently quite innocently pearling and gathering trochus shell and bêche-de-mere. Ha-ha-ha!" (103). This is similar to the proposal put forward by Tommy in *The Secret of the Desert* (17), that the Japanese familiarise themselves with the north Australian coast for reasons other than fishing and Bruce's argument in *Peter & Co.* that Japanese officers are disguising themselves as deck hands (146). In *Bob Berrell* the Japanese characters admit that they are spies, who have established bases and hidden agendas.

The distinctive elements in this novel are the sexual assaults by Fan Tan. I will consider the depiction of these sexual assaults in the context of several theories proposed by Jonathan Gottschall in his 2004 article "Explaining wartime rape" that address the persistence and purpose of sexual crimes during war. Using this material to theorise what Hodges is doing in this novel, I make a connection between the assault scenes in this novel and colonial discourses of rape, as constructed by the journal *The Bulletin*, and as critiqued by Nina Philadelphoff-Puren in her 2010 article "Reading Rape in Colonial Australia: Barbara Baynton's 'The Tramp:' the Bulletin and Cultural Criticism". I argue that the discourse of 'real rape' persisted in twentieth-century Australia, and that the novel *Bob Berrell* is part of this discourse.

I have previously drawn attention to how settler Australians regularly sexualised Japan, as Tommy in *Secret of the Desert* does, and as Gerster and Kato have discussed.

I have also discussed how the primary mandate of the settler Australian was to make a home, which implies maintaining or defending that home. Given that, from the romantic idealised perspective the ‘natural’ inhabitant of the home is the woman and family, the idea of defending women and children from attack by intruders is a powerful one. As demonstrated in the image by H. Knackfuss reproduced earlier in this chapter, women are sometimes depicted as the “holiest possessions” of a nation. Defending their “innocence” becomes a vital part of the nationalist endeavour to defend the home.

The author of *Bob Berrell* does not excel at metaphor or suggestion. He represents the Japanese film director and spy, Fan Tan, as a rapist. Hodges describes the “braided epaulettes” and “ribbon badges” of Tan’s uniform (59). These details situate the assault in the context of war. Tan’s victim is Bob Berrell’s sister, Nola, who is described as “so young,” “slender”, and beautiful, “a strong athletic girl”, and “a true Australian girl”, who dreams of starring in a Hollywood film (50, 86-8, 32). Nola therefore represents the white Australian national characteristics precisely because the assaults that she suffers are intended to be read as Japanese crimes against Australia, as well as against her.

For Gottschall, rape during wartime is a weapon – used strategically and purposively to devastate communities and social worlds, alongside bullets, bombs and propaganda (129-131). As a weapon, rape targets the collective identity: women are raped because they symbolise the important community elements such as culture, religion and family (131). Therefore, Gottschall argues, wartime rape is functional in the social anthropological sense, rather than incidental (133). Notably for my discussion, Gottschall considers how civilian communities turn against soldiers in response to wartime rape. He distinguishes between the different ways rape is used as a weapon of war; however, it is worth examining how these weapons may be used in tandem. When Hodges depicts Tan sexually assaulting Nola he uses this depiction as a

weapon of war which can be read as functional in the same way that rape in war is functional, in that it serves a definite purpose and the purpose in this case is the construction of an abhorrent other, who sexually attacks a young Australian girl and strikes at the fabric of the Australian home. As Gerster writes:

Australian fears of Asian invasion were both indistinguishable from and intimately related to associations of the East with unbridled lasciviousness. The yellow hordes did not just want to pillage the country, they wanted to ravage the women too. (“Representations” 311)

Hodges attempts to turn the settler Australian community against Tan and the Japanese by depicting him as a rapist. This construction is all the more powerful as it is presented to readers who might not have read anything like this before, or for whom this might hold extra interest as it appears to have something to do with sex.

The reader is asked to participate in the violence. As Hillel writes in her 2004 essay “Voyeurism and Power” when a female character is eroticised in a Young Adult novel, the reader is placed in the position of a voyeur. This has different consequences for a male or female reader, each of whom might oscillate between identifying with the position of object or voyeur, although the male reader might be more likely to take the voyeuristic position, and the female reader the position of eroticised object (72). Each position is prescriptive and limiting, and involves violence at a sadistic or masochistic level.

I describe these scenes in some detail as it is difficult to believe that they appear in a Young Adult novel because of their explicitness – especially a novel that is subtitled “... *for Youths of All Ages*”. It is important to analyse the non-straightforward way that violence operates here. The first assault occurs after the mayor tells the Japanese crew that he was mistaken and that Nola cannot perform in their film. The Japanese crew leave town, taking Nola with them (76). Two “henchmen” hold Nola

“cruelly round...[her] slender young body” as they force her away from her home (86). The mention of Nola’s home is important here, because this is the parallel theme of the novel. Her home represents the masculine white Australian nation, which Hodges is portraying as under threat by the Japanese, in addition to the intimate feminine place of her own body.

The henchmen pinion her arms behind her back, causing her “excruciating pain” (87). During this struggle, “Nola’s hair came tumbling down around her shoulders in golden disarray” (87). The term “shoulders” is repeatedly used as a euphemism for breasts, as will become apparent. The image of a young woman with hands tied behind her back and blonde hair spilling around her body “in disarray” might be found on the reverse side of a playing card. Although by the late 1940’s Australian women wore their hair in a variety of styles, it was usually kept off the face. The image of a woman’s hair falling free from its constraint was sexually suggestive. Hodges introduces another textual layer here. Nola is depicted as a young captured movie-star, encouraging the idea of voyeurism and also enjoyment, as one might enjoy oneself at the cinema. Hodges is simultaneously denigrating the Japanese captors. He is ostensibly accusing the Japanese of a sexual crime in both a war-like and a cinematic setting, suggesting that a white Australian would not commit such a crime, while presenting it in a way which allows pleasure to be drawn from it. The duality of the setting and hybrid sense of outrage and sexual pleasure is maintained throughout the two scenes.

The henchmen also bind Nola’s ankles together and “thrust a dirty red silk handkerchief chokingly between her teeth” (88). Nola thinks that the Japanese are monsters and that she would rather “die than have these lustful wretches lay their hands upon her” (88). For what reason does the author describe the ropes that “had cut cruelly into the soft white flesh beneath her sheer stockings?” Why does he write that “her pulses” throbbed violently;” the tears “swam in her violet eyes”, and her torn “thin

white silk blouse” which reveals “her snow-white bosom” which is exposed to her “captives’ greedy stare” [sic] (89)? Is it to emphasise the fact that the victim here is whiteness itself, as well as white womanhood – a possession of whiteness: her white flesh, her white blouse, her snow-white bosom? There is a pornographic element to this lengthy and detailed description, in the use of words such as dirty, red silk, throb, and pulses, phrases describing cruel cuts beneath stockings, and images such as the torn blouse, which strengthens the argument that Hodges is not simply depicting an assault but is drawing pleasure from it.

Nola is “hauled” aboard a plane, “wild-eyed and hysterical”, where she meets Tan, whose eyes “roamed over her shamelessly” until she feels that “she lay before him naked and ashamed” (90-91). The pornographic element of this scene is confirmed as Nola realises that she is being filmed. Metaphorically, Nola fears that she is about to lose her virginity: “A pang shot through her heart, and in a flash, she realised that this was to be her first appearance before a movie camera” (91). Nola resists Tan by thinking of him in racist terms. For example, she (silently) calls him “the leering Mongol-Jap” and “a half-breed” (95-96). Tan tells her to take off what remains of her blouse, and clutches her arms, scratching and scarring her “yielding flesh” as she screams. He enjoys her struggle, calling her a “sweet Australian wild bird”, whom he says that he will tame. He hits her “viciously across the face with the steel-like palm of his hand ... And then he struck her again ...” cutting and eventually scarring her lips (95), until she loses consciousness and “mercifully, she dropped into oblivion” (92). Her loss of consciousness allows the possibility that sexual acts that cannot appear in the novel may occur in this lapse, amplifying the violence attributed to Tan and to Japan more generally, while simultaneously providing an opportunity for a sexual conclusion to occur off the page.

However, it is not over for Nola, whose ordeal continues for almost twenty pages. When she awakens, she is on the bed and her shoes have been removed. Tan raises his hand as if to strike her again, but instead verbally threatens her with death if she does not obey him (95). Again, she is told to “strip” and this time, to dress as “a Geisha” (96). When she does not obey, the henchman again rips off her blouse as the cameraman holds her arms behind her back and throws her on the bed while Fan Tan laughs “uproariously” (96). Her clothes are ripped off until she is wearing only her stockings. The narrator writes that Fan Tan approves of what he sees. Nola’s golden hair is referred to once again, as it mantles her “virgin whiteness” (96-97). Her shoulders again appear to be a code word for her breasts, which are rarely mentioned, although often referred to in this surreptitious way. She is forced violently into a green kimono, and she crouches “in abject terror” and emphasising her goodness, prays that God will protect her (99-100). She is left alone with Fan Tan who has a “fanatical light” gleaming in his eyes, as he speaks about how he will conquer Australia. She feels as though “she were gazing into a black, bottomless pit” as he looks at her, and she realises that she is being hypnotised and controlled by him. He gives her some wine and as she drinks it, “she saw his eyes widen and form themselves into a horrible gaping chasm ... she was falling into it ... down down ... down” (112 - 113). Hodges portrays Fan Tan as a monster, and the ellipses at the end of this scene suggest further unspeakable actions. Nola again loses consciousness and agency. Her thoughts, experiences or feelings are rarely referred to, but from this point of the novel they cease entirely. I suggest that what is omitted here is the rape of Nola.

The Australian Government’s Department of Information was established in 1939, soon after the outbreak of the Second World War. According to Broinowski, this department began a “hate Japan” campaign in 1941, aiming to demonstrate that the image of Japan as an artistic, sensitive nation disguised a vicious other side. The

department produced propaganda such as the slogan, “We’ve always despised them – now we must smash them” (70). Hodges’ novel can be seen as part of this propaganda campaign.

The confused, heightened emotions that are expressed through these pages evoke Agamben’s theorisation of propaganda. He describes the hallmark of propaganda as highly affective sensational writing, which disguises the ideological message – in this case the claim that Japanese are sexual monsters who should be “smashed” – which is conveyed surreptitiously, but deeply, through the engagement of the reader’s body (231-33). Agamben does not suggest that all affective writing is propaganda, but that the transmission of an ideological message in a sensational form is likely to be drawing on this seductive effect as part of its power. Agamben’s theory allows an elaboration of Arendt’s analysis of the distinction between power, force and violence. As I described in Chapter Two, Arendt argues that power introduces more force to the tools of violence (*Violence* 37). By applying Agamben and Arendt’s theories to these scenes from Hodges’ novel, I argue that power might arise from social status but it might also be evoked by a particular type of sophistry which uses sensational writing to engage the body of the reader. This bodily force subsequently augments the force of the violence enacted by the novel, which, in Arendt’s terms, is the tool. This novel reinforces popular culture and political discourse and introduces it to the younger generation of Australian readers, potentially delivering these messages to Australians of the future.

The detailed sexual violence against Nola, culminating in what is surely her rape, excites emotions of terror, isolation and pleasure. The expressed sensations are both violent and sexual while the message is overtly ideological. The violence is therefore operating at each of these levels, effectively communicating the message that the Australian home is not a place for Japanese people although it is potentially vulnerable to their ravages, while also transmitting a confused misogynist message to

young readers regarding sexual assault and pleasure. These scenes occur within the context of war and within the context of colonial discourses of rape, which shaped the Australian legal construct of rape as a crime that could be confirmed by an interrogation of the victim's history and character. Nola, as a young, white, virginal woman, is an archetypal victim of "real rape," as she effectively has no sexual history and has a good, clean (white), character. Philadelphoff-Puren traces the history of this colonial debate by examining a variety of historical, legal and literary sources. She argues that *Bulletin* writers tried to develop a formula by which the public and the judiciary could distinguish between what they termed 'true' or 'real rape' and what they considered false allegations of rape (2).

Philadelphoff-Puren reports that the *Bulletin* editor, John Feltham Archibald, became obsessed with a case in which a group of 'larrikin men' were charged, and four executed, for the rape of sixteen-year-old Mary Jane Hicks in Sydney in 1886 (2-3). The idea that women made false accusations about rape arose in various discourses around the turn of the century including those of medicine, law and psychology and *The Bulletin* brought these arguments together to argue that men – particularly working-class men – were the victims of rape accusations (2, 4). The rules of evidence in rape cases were developed in the context of this debate, with a police surgeon arguing that if a rational woman did not consent, sexual intercourse and rape were impossible (4). The focus was on the woman's character, and the men were reframed as the victims of violence who were "cruelly wronged" (5), by these accusations of rape made by "malicious or hysterical females" (6). "Real rape" was "rare as hen's teeth" and usually only occurred when virtuous women were left alone in the bush (4).

Framing a Japanese film director as a rapist participates in this discourse by emphasising that what is most important in a rape case is the interrogation of character, rather than testimony. Hodges focuses on Tan's and Nola's characters, appearing to

prove that Tan is a cruel, “coarse,” “yellow,” “evil” “creature” (59, 87, 88), and that Nola is a blonde, blue-eyed beauty who can evoke sympathy from the reader (and provide them with pleasure): a flawless white virgin and victim of ‘real rape.’

In this chapter I have analysed the descriptions, appellations and images of Japanese characters in eight twentieth-century novels and found that, in contrast with generic depictions of Asian characters, Japanese characters are more likely to be depicted in nuanced ways. They might be described as skilled or artistic in one chapter, but presented as violent or greedy later in the same novel. This ambivalence is theorised as reflecting changing national relationships between Australia and Japan, and demonstrates how some Young Adult literature was closely involved in Australian discourses of immigration restriction, war, and international relations. The depictions reflect ways in which authors were influenced by, and contributed to, these discourses. This is evident in the use of the term “yellow” to describe the skin of Japanese characters. This term was previously used in Australian novels in relation to Chinese characters, but became more prevalent between the two World Wars, signifying Japan’s transition, in white Australian literature, from ally to enemy. The act of describing a people’s body has an interpellative function as described by Althusser and expanded by Butler in her analysis of hate-speech in *Excitable Speech*. That is, the authors constitute the Japanese character as part of delimited section of Australian society (24), but as a yellow-skinned, duplicitous, servile presence, and therefore, not part of the true Australian home.

While the Japanese are shown as having a clearly demarcated place and some social power in Broome society, they are subject to a process of othering in the economic, geographic and racial fields. I examined the literary-geographic and socio-historical place of Broome, which operates as a complex exception to the trope of the white Australian homeland, and which also replicates the settler colonial law of

segregation of the races at the level of the home and home-town. Japanese people are sometimes depicted in the form of a swarm, described as being unwanted in their own country and as wanting to invade Australia. The depiction of the riots contributed to this overall sense of threat, although some of the portraits of individual Japanese men are sympathetic.

The depictions of swarming, threatening, Japanese characters are injurious to individual Japanese people as they deny their individuality and sense of personal interiority, and they also damage the relationship between white Australians and Japanese people and support the White Australian Policy. In fact, as I have made evident, some of the novels discussed in this chapter explicitly depict the Immigration Restriction Act as a protective barrier. The fear of being overtaken by the Japanese was expressed in a variety of Australian forms during the twentieth century, including, as Ross argues, in a narrative that was compulsively repeated and couched in the generic phrase, “Asian Invasion” (“Paranoid” 14). I argued that this theme of invasion has more in common with psychosis than neurosis as other commentators proposed.

The novels discussed in this chapter enact violence by using words and images in ways that produce injuries and are thereby tools of violence as Arendt argues. The violence implicit in the depictions of ‘Asian invasion’ refers back to some imaginary past authority and so are also, in Butler’s sense, forms of “citational” violence (27) relying on an association with pre-existing discourses to provide the force of the violent effect. The novels discussed in this chapter support Benjamin’s theory of violence, as they symbolically enact the Immigration Restriction Act, therefore maintaining this law. This insight allows me to argue that we need to reorient our understanding of linguistic violence so that it is viewed it as part of a network that also contains the actual cultural violence that the linguistic violence often refers to, cites or participates in, and from which it draws some of its force.

Finally, my discussion has demonstrated that both war-time tactics of propaganda and Agamben's theory of propaganda and linguistic violence enable a rich reading of some of these novels. Graphic descriptions of violence against women are presented to depict Japanese men as salacious, and as enemies who should be kept out of the Australian 'home' in order to protect white Australian women. These acts of linguistic violence aim to restrict the movement of Japanese characters into the Australian home, literally and figuratively, and imagine the literary Australian home as one which is exclusive of Japanese people. This provides further insight into the notion of the Australian home and homeland and the violence associated with its constitution and its boundaries. The following chapter expands on the theme of the enemy in Australian literature by examining the depiction of German characters.

CHAPTER FIVE – The Fatherland and the Dachshund: Signs of Germany

Chapters Three to Five combine to demonstrate the multiple ways that immigrant groups are construed as other in twentieth-century Young Adult novels. In this chapter I analyse depictions of German characters and signifiers that are associated with these characters in eight Australian Young Adult novels published between 1896 and 1945. In comparison with the depictions of Chinese and Japanese characters discussed in the two previous chapters, German characters are more likely to be presented as singular, rather than in groups. This suggests that, although these characters are personified as enemies of Australia, their European background makes a difference to their creators. They are provided with a sense of individual characterisation, even while they are represented in stereotyped ways, which is a courtesy not always extended to Japanese and Chinese characters. In this chapter I draw upon Veracini's theorisation of the triangular structure of social relations in a settler society, Hillel's work on othering in Children's and Young Adult books and Jacques Rancière's theory of the *ochlos*, from his 2007 book, *On the Shores of Politics*. These theories assist me to clarify ways in which othering occurs in the novels and to examine what it achieves, specifically in the relationship between violence, home and homeland, and also – as it has proved integral to the theorisation thus far – in relation to law.

Hillel's research deals directly with the topic of othering Germans I am examining here. She discusses how, in Australian Children's and Young Adult literature, anti-German sentiment is a very long-standing feature. Her discussion of several Australian children's books from the late nineteenth-century – *Dusky Dell*, *His First Kangaroo* and *No Longer a Child* – demonstrates how this targeted form of othering preceded World War One ("A German" 41-2).

Arthur Ferres's 1896 novel, *His First Kangaroo*, falls slightly outside the time-

frame of my research, which begins in 1900; however, this novel was reprinted in 1900 and 1901 and is included here as it is a significant piece of Australian turn-of-the-century fiction. *His First Kangaroo* is set in the Lachlan River area of New South Wales and is the story of the holiday adventures of a group of schoolboys. The theme of othering German characters is overt in this book, as Hillel notes. Schoolboy Dick is studying for his matriculation and dislikes his German lessons and the German language itself. Dick “detested German – calling it in his fury, “beastly frog-croaking” (14). This insult speaks to the sound of the language, aligning it not with human beings but with beasts. Hillel argues that comic and derogatory renditions of the German language have persisted for a very long time, from at least the late nineteenth century to the time of publication (1997) (“A German” 42-3). Hillel draws on the work of M. Singh to argue that, although writers face challenges in accurately depicting accented speech, there is a difference between attempting to represent a character authentically and stereotyping them by their speech (“A German” 45).

Dick’s criticism of the German language pertains also to his teacher, Dr. Weiber, who is trying to teach Dick the German language, so the insult is both generalised and personal. An attack on the German language is an indignity to German people, most of whom are aware, as Kristeva writes in her 1991 book *Strangers to Ourselves*, that the notion of a specific German culture emerged in the sixteenth century when Luther translated the Bible into spoken German, setting himself “against Roman authority by “unlatinizing’ German culture” (177). In the course of doing this, Luther formalised the German language and introduced an idea of German culture that expressed localism and pride in the German written language (178). It was especially the fact of Luther transcribing spoken German that made this act so significant for the German people, and therefore makes attacks on language so offensive. Luther explained that the reason he chose to translate the Bible into commonplace spoken German was that the “mother

in the house and the common man speak thus” (177). This quote describes how, for Luther and many German people who appreciate him, the idea of German pride has its roots in the home. This notion also makes a definitive connection between the home and the mother, which is significant for the themes of this research. In the context of this extract from the novel *His First Kangaroo* it suggests that an insult directed at the speech of a German character is potentially wounding to the individual, their mother, their home, their intellectual and religious tradition, their culture and nation.

Dick complains that Weiber expects too much of the students and that he “storms and raves, calls names and ... swears” (15). Speaking to his father, Dick repeats the insults used by a fellow student, who calls him “Mr. Sauerkraut” and a “walkin’ lager-beer barrel” (15). Such insults might seem like harmless amusement; however, they become part of an overall long-term, cumulative sentiment that has real effects. These taunts follow a similar pattern to other types of racism in the novels reviewed for this research: they make fun of the language and of a limited number of signifiers and apply only a delimited range of characteristics, which reinforces stereotypes. The construction of these stereotypes takes a ritualised form of subordination, as Butler argues (26). The ritual element manifests in recursive acts of hate speech, which violate and subjugate certain people and groups discursively. These repeated acts put people in their place, denying them the status of individuals or citizens and marking them and their speech as not belonging to the Australian home or as having an Australian voice, as a consequence of this ascribed otherness. This strategic logic is circular and violent as it subjugates a group of people by depicting them in stereotypical ways and then re-subjugates them for having those characteristics that were ascribed to them in the first place. In the novel, *His First Kangaroo* the text interpellates the reader into a set of assumptions based on the premise that Germans are unlike, and inferior to, settlers – even a British-Australian school-boy has more social power than a German doctor and

has the social right to wield this power by ridiculing a teacher in public.

The violence operates here at several levels. There is the reported violent interaction: Dick accuses Weiber of verbal violence – shouting and swearing at the students – and Dick, in turn, delivers a violent insult at Weiber and at the German language and culture. However, we hear only from Dick, but not from Weiber. Dick is in the position of the one: the figure who has the privilege of authoring the narrative. Although he may have been offended or hurt by Weiber’s alleged swearing and shouting, he has not been silenced by the experience. The text carries this extra level of violence by silencing Weiber. When a character is not addressed within a text, s/he might be read as minor, irrelevant or s/he might be forgotten. The silence which occurs for a character when s/he is not provided the textual space to reply is a different type of silence to that which occurs when s/he is not addressed. Dick is in a favourable position in the scene described here, as he is depicted as a member of the status quo: he has a voice, he comments on the offence he has taken to Weiber. Weiber’s nationality is clearly of consequence in this reversal of the traditional social hierarchy that occurs within this text.

Hillel examines the work of Ethel Turner and Mary Grant Bruce from the early twentieth century and shows how both of these writers stereotyped German characters and used these portrayals to promote Australian patriotism and to cast a favourable light on the images of Australian soldiers (“A German” 44-46). She observes that Germans are often described as “cowardly and untrustworthy” (“A German” 44) and argues that depictions of Germans during this time are part of the discourse of Australian patriotism and heroism. Hillel demonstrates this argument with a scene from Bruce’s 1919 novel *Captain Jim* in which Jim is speaking with his fellow prisoners of war, telling them that they are decent men and soldiers, that the Turkish soldiers are worthy opponents, but that the German soldier is a war criminal (“A German” 44). Here, the attribution given

to the German soldier goes much further than the notion of the untrustworthy individual German character, as Jim casts a judgement on the entire German nation's conduct during war. Bruce makes an equivalent far-reaching, rash claim about the Australian nation: that it is "decent": that is, it plays within the rules of war ("A German" 44).

Mary Grant Bruce had previously made a similar claim in her 1915 Young Adult novel, *From Billabong to London*. Mr. Linton, Jim, Norah and Wally are sailing to London aboard *The Perseus* so that Jim and Wally can join the British army. When someone enquires about the likelihood of encountering any German warships during their voyage, Norah responds in a naïve, courageous and matter-of-fact manner: "Why, it would be an experience. I don't suppose they would hurt us, even if they sank the ship. And our luggage is insured" (89). The signifier 'German' (in this case referring to a warship rather than a soldier) is used in counterpoint to the ideas of courage and easy-going nature of the invincible Australian. In this scene, it is an Australian girl who carries this signification. Later in the same novel an elderly Australian woman is depicted as brave and patriotic. She explains that, although a particular knitting stitch is one of her favourites, she has stopped using it in an act of patriotic sacrifice, because it is a German stitch. She is shown bravely continuing her knitting as German soldiers board the ship (256). In these two scenes Bruce presents the female versions of the "splendid fellows" who fought at Anzac Cove and whom John Monash¹⁶ in his 1915 "War Letters" describes as embodying the Australian values of courage, endurance and good spirits while under threat (100). These scenes could be considered part of the "rhetoric of idealistic imperialism" that Peter Pierce describes as "truly dangerous" (172). This is because it uses idealistic abstract language or images to valorise war while effectively ignoring the costs and casualties.

The chief officer of *The Perseus* and Jim Linton are surprised when they

¹⁶ John Monash (1865-1931) was the commander of an Australian brigade at the Gallipoli landings.

discover that one of the passengers is German, especially given that he “doesn’t talk like one” (168). The chief officer says that he finds the German language “beastly” (169). This scene denigrates the German language in a very similar fashion to Ferres in *His First Kangaroo*, even using the same word, “beastly”, which suggests extremity, cruelty and unpleasantness. Moreover, the scene dismisses the idea that a person could have a multicultural identity or a migratory history as many Australians had: if the German passenger was German he should “talk like one.” Smith explains that he has lived in England and that the English language is as “familiar to me as German”. However, he says, “I have but one country, and that is the Fatherland” (168). Smith has already been found with spy equipment, so in the world of this novel, his stated loyalty to Germany, alongside the discovery of this equipment and his familiarity with the English language, speaks to the duplicity of his essential German character, rather than to his complexity or potential cultural hybridity as a character.

The hybrid category is a dangerous one in settler colonial societies as it threatens the internal boundaries of the social form, which, according to Veracini’s theoretical model, is tripartite. This structure compartmentalises “indigenous and exogenous Others” (31), keeping them separate from one another and also from settlers. This is necessary as settlers, as discussed in Chapter One, need to maintain their own exogenous status – that is, their claim that the place known as “back home” continues to exist, while simultaneously making a claim for being “indigenous” – having a sense of being at home in the settler society. This phenomenon of having two homes manifests as a “split” in the settler sense of self that “is rarely reconciled” (24).

Smith does not qualify as hybrid because his personal history, politics and cultural identifications are irrelevant to a settler social structure. He is an “exogenous Other” because he is a foreigner, and, as most of the novels discussed in this chapter make clear, he is one of the “debased” German “exogenous Others” (26-7), who, in the

twentieth century, will not be invited to transition into the settler colonial category in Australia. The debased exogenous other is segregated from the settler by sustained attacks, such as stereotyping, criminalising, and positioning as the enemy, as practised in these novels. The exogenous other is depicted as the diametric opposite of the settler colonial character, which is reductive – that is, the traits attributed to the different groups are considered by settlers to be actual, even though those who are circumscribed by these categories are diverse, distinctive and changeable.

Later in the voyage, after leaving Cape Town, the Linton family is playing a musical game when a German warship shells *The Perseus* (251-252). Norah sees a grey ship “lying not far off, so close that she could see the evil mouths of the guns that looked out from her side. Flame and smoke sprang from them as she stopped, breathless. Again, the long crash echoed, and water shot into the air ...” (251). This scene, which supports Hillel’s theory that a particular focused discourse emerges in some Australian young adult novels in this period, combining themes of anti-German sentiment and racism, Australian patriotism and heroism. Hillel’s argument is also consistent with Veracini’s theory – that settlers identify themselves in counterpoint to the groups that they have constructed as exogenous others. Evil is a word denoting the extreme point in an ethical continuum, and although Norah uses it in relation to the guns, and specifically the “mouths of the guns,” that are pointing her way, she is speaking of the guns of a German warship, not guns in general. Her use of the word in connection with the word ‘German’ is clearly anti-German and racist and simultaneously, yet silently, renders the Linton family and other passengers sailing between England and Australia as ‘good.’

The passengers are mainly, but not exclusively, Australian. They are also shown to be courageous and idealised, as they gather on the port side of the ship with no sign of panic or “disorder” (252). The Linton family is depicted as rational and organised,

unaffected by fear or anxiety, as they manage to collect their belongings in just a few minutes. Norah is represented as especially good-natured and heroic, as she thinks both of herself and her family and also empathises with the Captain, whom she considers “so responsible”, and who may, she regrets, imminently lose his “lovely ship” (252).

Norah muses on how *The Perseus*, and in particular her cabin, in which she has displayed photographs of her home and of her school friends, has, over the course of the journey, grown familiar, “like a second home to her...fixed and stable” (253). This intimate connection and sentiment of home, alongside the sensation of the violent siege, described as a series of “long, heavy Boom-m’s: “Boom-m-m! Boom-m-m! Boom-m-m!” (251) has a similar effect to the one that was achieved in George Coates’s 1916 film *If the Huns Came to Melbourne* in which enlarged photographs of Melbourne were manipulated to appear as if it had been bombed (Pike & Cooper 83): it brings the threat of war, and the idea of a very particular enemy, right into the intimate space of the Australian home. Norah makes the link between her cabin on *The Perseus* and her home – in fact, her cabin might as well be her bedroom at Billabong. Norah observes how the homelike atmosphere and mementos of her cabin suddenly appear “curiously out of place and forlorn” (253) when the violence of war arises. This phrase suggests that strangeness and sadness violently enter Norah’s intimate space and private history, transforming the idea of home into something vulnerable and subjective, able to be taken away in a moment.

Bruce’s repetitive use of the word ‘German’ completes the equation. The German warship, which Norah has been attacked by, is described as “the German ship” (254), “a grey ship” (251) and as “the grey German warship” (253). The German officers who come aboard the *Perseus* looking for Smith (the German spy) are described as “brutes” (255). However, the ship is then referred to simply as “The German”, as if it is acceptable to conflate subject, nationality, threat and ship at such a moment (254).

This confusion does not erase the insistence in the text. The narrator is adamant that this one signifier can neatly pin down the place of the enemy.

In her 1916 novel *John of Daunt* Turner begins to explore some of the subtle difficulties that arise between individuals when their countries are at war. However, the novel moves into a predictable patriotic drama. The trouble begins at home, with Mrs. Daunt being unable to find a house-maid. This complaint carries the weightier problem of how different social classes manage to interact on an everyday basis in the domestic sphere. Early on in the novel the Daunt family is clearly depicted as upper-middle-class with the use of a few key signifiers. Mrs. Daunt, “clad in a kimona of exquisite rose-pink silk” (33), is described as interacting playfully with the children. It is morning, and from this intimate scene the reader might easily conclude that Mrs. Daunt is removed from the responsibilities that would require her to act in a mature, rather than a playful, manner with her children, or from those that might result in her exquisite kimona coming into contact with anything messy. She is clearly a woman who has both surplus leisure and finances to indulge a contemporary aesthetic.¹⁷ Her husband is a doctor who speaks French around the house, another sign of the household’s upper-middle-class status (44). Their home is clearly differentiated by each of these sign-posts from the two-room houses of heel-worn women in a different part of Sydney, in Turner’s 1896 novel, *The Little Larrikin*. The depiction of the working class is another aspect of marking a character as other, which is relevant here as Gertrud is a servant. In this chapter, however, I focus primarily on culture and nationality.

The help that is proving so difficult to find is required both for the home and for Dr. Daunt’s medical practice, under the same roof. Daunt completed part of his study in Cologne and recalls how well the German houses were managed. He decides to “obtain

¹⁷ The influence of Japanese art and aesthetics on European culture known as Japonism began in the 1860’s. However, musical theatre in the early twentieth century popularised the Japanese style clothing for the European and Australian market (Fukai 1994).

one, or more, of the thick-set, hard-working young Maries, or Louisas, or Gretchens, or Elizabeths, with which every German house seemed to overflow” (46). The other, in the form of a female German maid, is clearly generalised here in this derogatory comment which is a form of violence against all women of this class. She is wanted for a narrow range of skills and attributes, which obscures individual subjectivity altogether. The individual particular subject is erased, while the upper middle-class Australian home is depicted as a place of automatic entitlement: one that can place demands on the world and have them fulfilled.

The Daunts effectively import Gertrud and they are very pleased with their selection. Gertrud “had the knack of making things extremely comfortable in the kitchen” (14-15). Here, the kitchen is portrayed as an important part of the settler home and Gertrud is valued because she enriches this room. Initially, the appointment works out well: the furniture “shone Teutonically”, and Gertrud is considered superior to her Australian counter-parts with regard to household management: “the table linen was darned in a fashion calculated to make happy-go-lucky Australia shudder with silent sympathy” (48). While this is a compliment, it is a back-handed one: it praises the efficiency of the housework, while denigrating the personality that completes that work as unspontaneous compared with the supposed light-heartedness of Australians. This idea is emphasised when Gertrud is described as maintaining an almost mechanical approach to scheduling. Dr. Daunt cannot be satisfied with another maid’s help after Gertrud, as she always has his shaving water on hand precisely at 7.30 a.m. (38).

Cowman found that German characters in British children’s and Young Adult novels began to be demonised and depicted as the enemy, described as dirty, cowardly, disloyal, brutal or heartless, over a relatively short time-frame in the early twentieth century (105-6). Cowman is noting a difference in the degree of contempt with which German characters are drawn, given Hillel’s findings that German characters were

depicted disrespectfully in the nineteenth century (“A German” 42-3). The Daunt household can be read as a microcosm of settler colonial Australia when war breaks out in 1914. Gertrud’s presence becomes problematic only “a week after England declare[s] war”, when the household is described as being confronted “with its own problem of aliens” (51). Until this point, Gertrud has not been referred to as an alien. The problem is not depicted as simply one-sided. The Daunts are anxious about having Gertrud in their home, but Gertrud has problems of her own. When Dr. Daunt rescues a group of men from the “drill and rifle club” from a rainstorm, Gertrud refuses to serve them. She says she “will not help to drink and feed men who go to fight my country” (55-56). When Mrs. Daunt attempts to discuss this with her, Gertrud has a fit, throwing saucepans and running upstairs, leading Mrs. Daunt to fear that she will hurt the children (57). Dr. Daunt has previously appreciated and depended upon Gertrud, but this incident leads him to conclude – as the Lintons concluded in relation to Mr. Smith on-board *The Perseus* – that “a German plainly was a German, and must be treated as a German” (56). He soon demonstrates how it is that he believes one should treat “a German” saying to his wife, of Gertrud: “I’ll grapple with the Hun in the morning” (57). Dr. Daunt moves with surprising ease and rapidity from cherishing and complimenting Gertrud to comparing her to a warlike, barbarous people, by using the highly insulting term ‘Hun’. The word suggests a people who destroy everything beautiful, including nature and art. Daunt’s use of this word to refer to Gertrud implies that, apart from the particulars of her service to him, he may never have thought of her as a subject in her own right, independent of her nationality. Although she is a significant character throughout the first half of the novel, this word suggests that she was not considered part of the home or family and only ever played a pragmatic part in the Daunt’s life and social world.

She becomes German and Hun-like and, simultaneously, her disposability is

accentuated, and the settler's view of her further limited to a new set of more defined characteristics: potentially traitorous, unreliable and dangerous. The Daunts tell Gertrud that she must leave and arrange an alternative position for her with a German family, but Gertrud insists that she stay with them until the war is over. She threatens suicide rather than be sent from their household ("John" 61). This is another example of the domineering or "bully" characteristic attributed to German characters that Hillel refers to in her article ("A German" 42), as Gertrud uses her suicide to persuade the Daunts to change their minds. The Daunts acquiesce but keep her out of sight in the basement.

As her replacement they hire Daisy, who is Australian, tardy and casual, but who is said to accept Gertrud. For all Daisy's purported lack of prejudice, when the Daunt child, Ian, discovers a German patient's dachshund dog in their yard, Daisy tells him that it "ought to be shot and poisoned and interned" (89). She explains that the dachshund is wagging its tail because it is gloating about sinking British ships, that the dog only eats livers torn from live geese, and that its owner, Mr. Schwarz, teaches it to bite little girls' legs (89-95). Ian believes Daisy and devises a plan with his friend Con to poison the dog (90-99). The boys spread "deadly poison" on a knife that Con has received for his birthday (109). However, Mr. Schwarz and his dachshund have returned to Germany and some "staunch Australians" have moved in (111). When the boys try to retrieve the poison knife after learning of their mistake, Ian is bitten by a different dog. This is an example, in literature, of how prejudice can be transmitted through hate-speech, and how those who are the receivers of this hate-speech can carry it into action in unforeseeable ways.

While Dr. Daunt stitches his son's wound he instructs Ian to: "hold on to the arm of the chair with your other hand, and ... put your teeth together hard like a wounded soldier does" (126), drawing a comparison between the child and a soldier. After "the horrid, horrid work [of stitching the wound] was done," Ian found "a new respect for

himself as well as a huge self-pity” (129). So, although he was acting misguidedly, Ian is rewarded and becomes a kind of hero by going after the German in the form of a dog. Gertrud was very recently Ian’s carer, cook and cleaner. Now, the boy has tried to kill a dog because he learnt that it is the same nationality as Gertrud and is his enemy. He sacrifices his relationship with Gertrud by this violent act and is rewarded for it. As he recuperates, he is presented with an aspiration in the form of a visit by his Uncle John, who reflects and magnifies Ian’s apparent heroism. Uncle John, only nineteen years of age himself, explains to Ian how he has been wounded at Gallipoli but is returning to battle (178-180). Hillel discusses the way in which the German other serves to solidify the preferred identity of the Australian. This is well demonstrated in the second half of the novel, from which, once the emphasis has shifted to the Australian war hero instanced by Ian and Uncle John, Gertrud all but disappears from the narrative.

Nevertheless, she does appear again near the end of the novel, when Mrs. Daunt telephones her and asks her to stretch out the evening meal to serve more people than were originally expected. Gertrud initially replies that this is impossible. Turner writes that Mrs. Daunt cannot stand up to Gertrud, but that she “bowed to the voice and will nine miles away” (216). This is another example of the stereotypical ‘bullying’ attitude referred to above. Mrs. Daunt describes an alternative plan in detail and orders Gertrud to implement it. “Do you hear me ... nothing is to be forgotten?” she says, and Gertrud answers, “with instant respect and resignation, that nothing should be forgotten (217). Gertrud is thus once again generalised and forced to represent Germany and its defeat. But Turner also insults Gertrud here, suggesting that she is a member of people who obey orders rather than think for themselves when orders are issued in a domineering fashion. The overall depiction of Gertrud is insulting, and violent as any subjectivity and humanity is subtracted from her portrait. Australians, by comparison, are constituted as honest, elegant, brave, casual, spontaneous, loyal and emotional. These

values are highlighted as the preferred ones within the Australian home and are emphasised by reference to Gertrud's way of being.

Lillian Pyke, in her 1919 novel *A Prince at School* sets up a constructed image of the British-Australian against that of the untrustworthy German figure. She does this via the mouthpiece of a young Islander character, and utilises this image to encourage Australian fear of Germany and to mask settler violence in Australia. *A Prince at School* is an adventure set in “the South Seas” (20). English children Lola and Arnold West grew up on the island of Villatonga with their friend Andi, the son of an island chief. When their mother, a wealthy widow, dies, Lola and Arnold are destined to be sent to Australia. The island is the site of an important British naval base, and due to its location, “Germany is waking up to the importance of the place” (58). The three friends aim to stop Germany from gaining power over the island.

Andi's father has recently been usurped as chief of Villatonga. A German character named Bernstein has supported another local man to take his place. Andi is determined to win back British-backed leadership of his island. The idea that Germany would position itself in the Pacific to threaten Australia is reminiscent of the 1917 film by Franklyn Barrett, *Australia's Peril*, which, Pike and Cooper write, drew upon the “popular paranoia about a German spy menace in Australia” to depict Germans building a munitions base in the Pacific and launching an attack on Australia (89).

Andi believes that white people – specifically the ‘right kind’ of white people (i.e. British) – should resume control of his island. He supports the imperial myth that his people require assistance and education in order to “make use of the resources” available on the island (141). He argues that the British Government “stands for justice and honourable dealing ... for the good of all concerned” (141). Andi is a kind of honorary white character as he has grown up under British rule, in the company of the young Britons, Lola and Arnold (soon-to-be Australians). Yu discusses this hybrid

ontology in relation to the particular kind of Chinese character who is described as having a “white heart” (“Australian” 203). However, Andi is depicted as a simulacrum without the status of an authentic white person. For example, when he arrives with Lola and Arnold at boarding school in Australia, one of the students describes him as a “live nigger from the South Seas” and he is automatically taken to be “a native servant” (74).

Andi, like Lola and Arnold, is decidedly anti-German. Andi’s position is exploited here – as if having these pro-British and anti-German slogans issuing from the mouth of a subject of British colonisation gives them more weight and also validates colonisation. He is an inconsequential other in the way that he is utilised as a puppet. According to Andi, there have been “bloodshed and trickery” wherever Germany has colonised (139). He provides the examples of South Africa, the Cameroons, and some of the Pacific Islands, completely ignoring the “bloodshed and trickery” involved in the invasion and colonisation of Aboriginal Australia by the British, along with every other country colonised by the British. This is a demonstration of the ways in which literature may attempt to manipulate common social beliefs for the benefit of particular groups and ideologies, and of how repetitive story arcs serve to keep the history of violent invasion of Aboriginal Australia undeclared.

The novel demonstrates Andi’s argument about the British-Australian moral character compared with the German one. The Germans kidnap the young characters, on the orders of Bernstein, brutally gagging and blindfolding Lola (188). The Germans are constituted as other as they appear to be devoid of free-will – their loyalty to their nation and their superior officers is not depicted as admirable, as the British-Australians’ is: “Every subject of the Fatherland had received his instructions, and knew how and when to act upon them. Bernstein’s part had been allotted to him, and it was well for him that private gratification and imperial aims went hand in hand” (204).

This excerpt is semantically dense. First, the use of the term ‘Fatherland’ was

commonly used in relation to Germany, but nonetheless denotes patriarchal rule and all that is associated with that: order, rules, discipline, the wider world and authority. The Germans' plans are shown to have progressively increased in scope: "All the islands where there is a German influence will be in reality German possessions ... In a short time, aye, before this year is out, the Kaiser's name will be supreme in the world" (198). The Germans are depicted as wanting to colonise everyone across the islands and across the world – not just the Indigenous islanders. This is contrasted with the British 'Motherland,' which carries connotations of comfort, forgiveness, care, home and familiarity as Britain – so the myth goes – only colonises non-Europeans, and who, they believe, are in need of improvement (Said "Lecture at York University" np). The British Motherland is shown as wanting to build relationships with Andi and the other islanders, rather than wanting simply to dominate or exploit them.

The terms Fatherland and Motherland work to construct a fundamental difference between England and Germany. The terms draw upon the most powerful of metaphors. 'Fatherland' and 'Motherland' use gender in a metaphorical sense to describe nations, but there are also actual gender and sexual elements to the narrative here. The sexual element is highly significant, since, when Lola is kidnapped, she is physically assaulted, and Bernstein's sister tells her that her brother intends to marry her, whether she wants to 'marry' him, or not. Bernstein's sister gives Lola a dress to wear. The physicality of the attack, the ambiguous and out-of-place signifier 'marry', and the provision of the dress, all highlight Lola's sex and body, and, in tandem with the kidnapping and gagging, imply a lack of a voice, a lack of consent and rape. This part of the narrative speaks of sexual violence as part of war, in a similar way that the novel *Bob Berrell* did in relation to Japanese sexual violence, as discussed in Chapter Four. Here this trope is utilised to promote anti-German discourse, as the author suggests that this is what settler Australian women would be subject to under German

leadership. This scene demonstrates how the transmission of patriotic and racist ideologies can occur within affective space – the scene incites excitement and also disgust for the young female protagonist. This transmission is a gender issue as it is a way of bringing girls into the war effort as patriotic subjects via the female body and sexuality, and via the emotions associated with a sexual threat. While in this example, a German woman supports her brother to assault an Australian girl, it is not just German men who are othered in this way. Kato discusses how this occurs with Japanese men (91), Roslyn Cooper demonstrates the same point with Italian men in her 1993 article “Italian immigrants in Australian fiction 1900-1950” (72) and I discussed this in Chapter four with the Japanese film director Fan Tan. I have not identified any novels in which settler men are depicted as assaulting settler girls. Although Lola plans to rescue herself, she is eventually saved by Arnold and Andi, who are shown as courageous and morally good, precisely because they would not assault or rape a woman as part of war.

Charles Shaw is another author who portrays Germans as vilified others in his 1943 novel, *The Green Token*. In this novel, Shaw introduces an Italian character as part of this racialised and excluded set. The plot follows the Chester family: Bill, Betty and their father. Mr. Chester had been a prisoner of war in Turkey, where he was captured following the 1915 Gallipoli landing of the Australian military. He escaped from the prisoner-of-war camp with Mr. Bolton, who is in the present time of the novel, a member of the British secret service. Bill Chester, aged twelve, and his younger sister Betty become involved in secret service work when Mr. Bolton gives Bill a green token inscribed with an Arabic phrase and asks him to deliver it to his father. Bill’s father explains that, in English, the phrase asks, “Of what use are friends that do not answer?” (19).

The green token’s inscription has a similarity to the more generally familiar Morse code signal of SOS or the voice-distress signal of Mayday: ‘Come and help me!’

The green token, then, is a call for help in the form of a silent object. It is sent from one ally to another, asking for assistance. As well as asking for help, it is a way of testing the status of the person who receives it, with regard to their familiarity or otherness. If a person answers this call, he or she is a friend and an insider – if a person fails to respond, s/he is the enemy, or the other. It is noteworthy that despite the otherness of the script, Bill's father can read it. Mr. Bolton can speak French, Italian, German and Arabic (17). This emphasises Bolton and Chester's special secret skills, and affirms their capacity to fight successfully against something unfamiliar or other.

Bolton is pursuing a German secret agent, Carl Grumm, who has a previous association with the battleship, the *Graf Spee*. The *Graff Spee* was an actual German ship responsible for sinking nine Allied ships in 1939, prior to the declaration of war. This was seen as a premeditated act that went against the rules of war, unlike anything that the British army would do – an act that branded the Germans as other. This reference is a form of citational violence in Butler's terms (27): both the man and the ship are dangerous, devious and untrustworthy.

The exact nature of Grumm's involvement is not articulated, nor is the reason why he had a falling out with his government. Given Bolton's position in the secret service, there is, conveniently for the plot, much that cannot be told. Bolton has followed Grumm from Argentina to South Africa, where he was said to be involved with "the anti-British crowd" (72) and has located him again in Australia. Grumm is thus depicted as nomadic and as not belonging, but also as a dangerous other force, one that is now very close to (the Australian) home. This strategy involves symbolically introducing a threat to the intimate spaces of Australian adult, young adult and children's lives. The threat is connected with the signifier 'German' and is intended to frighten readers. The bodily feeling of fear increases the force contained in the cognition that German people are harmful and inhuman and strengthens the overall

semantic content of the scene. The book therefore works as a tool of violence, in the sense that Arendt formulates: it carries the violence and implements it upon individual Germans and Germans as a group.

Bolton believes that Grumm is now going by the name of 'Anderson' and pretending to be Norwegian, thus being doubly untrustworthy. He is not only disguising his nationality and concurrently demonstrating that he is skilled at falsifying official documents, but he is impersonating an Australian ally. Bolton says that Grumm is a big "fair man" and observes that "many Norwegians are very much like Germans" (72). This implies that Grumm is duplicitous, but also that Australians are trusting and easy-going to the extent that they are easily duped; moreover, they are so straightforward they would not think of disguising themselves as someone else.

Bolton observes Grumm and another unknown man at the train station buying the train tickets for Albury, heading towards the Hume Dam. Bolton notes that another man is accompanying Grumm, but he says: "I don't know who that other is" (73). There is something ominous about this observation: not knowing who this other is suggests a lack of control or danger. Bolton asks Chester to follow Grumm and the unknown other, in the event that the two men split up. Chester agrees, saying that he has "fought for Australia once and ... can do it again ... even if it's a different kind of fighting" (75). It transpires that the other man accompanying Grumm is Enrico Castellini, who, the reader is told, is an Italian who fought "the Abyssians"¹⁸ and who is said to be a person who would "do anything for money" (102).

Grumm and Castellini capture the child, Bill Chester, while they are attempting to blow up the Hume Dam. The villains' foreignness is communicated through their speech and grammar when they capture, question and restrain Bill. "Do not a sound

¹⁸ The Italian army fought against the British army during WWII in Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in what was known as the 'Abyssinian Campaign' of 1940-1941.

make,” (115) Grumm tells Bill, and then asks, “Who are you? You are doing what? Going where? In a whisper speak or I choke you!” (115). I previously discussed the difficulties entailed in rendering a particular accent in relation to the novel *His First Kangaroo*. In this passage, there is no such difficulty. Rather, Grumm’s style of speech simultaneously ridicules his character and betrays his German origins grammatically, by the placement of the verb at the end of the sentence “In a whisper speak”. This form of ridicule, as observed at the start of this chapter, is not superficial: German people are conscious of the intimate connection between their culture and their language.

Castellini’s voice is described as “soft and silky” (115), denoting sophistry, seductiveness and also suggesting something sinister. These characteristics already had some currency in the Australian social imagination in connection with caricatures of Italians according to Cooper. Just fourteen years prior to the publication of *The Green Token*, *The Bulletin* ran a serial called *Rogue Amber* in which an Italian character, Antonio Carducci, is described as “soft, sweaty, sensuous,” implying a state of sleazy criminality (68). Anti-Italian racism in Australia distinguished between the northern- and the southern-born Italian; however, Roslyn Cooper notes that Australian writers were generally ignorant as to the enormous regional diversity of Italy, due to this “fixation on the binary opposition of northern and southern Italians” (14). Thomas Keneally, in his 2016 book *Australia a Short History*, writes of a Queensland report into immigration from 1924, which described the southern Italians as “swarthier”, and noted that they were referred to as “the Chinese of Europe” and were demeaned as “scum and refuse”. Northern Italians, by contrast, who were associated with Scotsmen and who were the preferred Italian immigrant in Australia (921). These are both important points in the context of Shaw’s depiction of Castellini, as he is depicted as the more criminal, southern type of Italian.

I have previously demonstrated how, by generalising a people, it becomes easier

to stereotype and demean them. Cooper's observation, that Australian writers were uninformed about regional differences in Italy clarifies how, in generalising and othering a people, more than their individuality is lost. By focusing on skin-colour, facial characteristics, or body type, Australian settlers lost the opportunity to appreciate the nuances of many regional details beyond the north-south binary. The other within Australia also loses the possibility of having a wider field or social network in which they feel that they are known and understood. This sense of being known is one of the features of home, as it is often thought of as a place where we can be ourselves among people who accept us. The references to "the Chinese of Europe" and "scum and refuse" from the Queensland report into immigration raises the issue of how racism and othering is transmitted. By comparing people from southern Italy to those from China, the authors of the report are using a kind of short-hand – marking the newer others with the already socially established stigma, in order that their interlocutors receive the message that these people are not accepted as part of the Australian home. In this case, rather than marking the southern-born Italians as familiar proximate others, they are marking them as familiar distant others, or in Veracini's terms, as those deemed to be in need of "reform", prior to being considered for entry into the settler sector of the population (29).

The names Grumm and Castellini are villainous names, with complicated syllable forms and associations of frightening stories from Grimm's fairytales and gothic castles. These sounds also communicate otherness, and support the idea of distant others, rather than familiar others. This is especially so when they are compared to the older heroes' names, Chester and Bolton, which sound straightforwardly English, with their dual-syllable inverted iambic beat, and which also suggest home, British history and heritage as they are the names of British towns. What more essential mark can be made on a character than that of their name?

Grumm and Castellini are captured when Betty alerts the security police with her loud whisper. Grumm, Castellini and the generalised German and Italian others that they represent are shown to be corrupt due to their preparedness to threaten children (they would “do anything for money”). Once the villains are captured, the young hero, Bill, reports that they were never seen again. Bill’s summation is a good example of how foreigners and others serve to define the boundaries and values of a nation (or a community or an institution), as their expulsion, in this case, leads directly to an assertion about the safety of the home and Australia. Bill and Betty return home, where their mother, another signifier of home, has been waiting for them. The exclusion of the others is extreme in its absolute nature here: they are never seen again. This all-encompassing exclusion has connotations of violence in that no redemption, forgiveness or change is considered possible. Signifiers of violence have been connected to these particular others throughout the story: holding prisoners of war, blowing up a ship, deceiving others about their identity, planning to blow-up the state water supply and threatening to choke children. Acts of violence are also performed through the literary process by demonising and caricaturing these characters in relation to their race, speech and culture: implying that they are historical enemies, ridiculing their language, drawing them as one-dimensional characters and encouraging simplistic associations with their names. As Ingrid Johnston notes, social typecasting is difficult to escape once it has been contrived and disseminated (“Literature” 302).

Rather than seeing Chester and Bolton as old men, children Bill and Betty, look at them in a very different light once they know they are working for the secret service. The German and Italian exogenous others can be thought of as the construction of one part of a tertiary relation, by which the older ex-World War One settler-Australian characters recover some of their previous vigour, pride or ego in the eyes of the next generation – the characters Bill and Betty and the implied readers. However, this

narrative of domestic rejuvenation is not a simple one but depends on violence, which is evoked as the child characters – and hypothetically, child readers – are drawn into the history of hatred that properly belongs to, and is the responsibility of, the adults of the narrative. The author attempts to seduce these post-World War One generations of children with the mystery and excitement of the narrative and by providing them with an opportunity to insert themselves into the war narrative. In doing so, the younger characters play out a replication of the story of the previous generation of settler-Australians and are bequeathed the associated prejudices of their predecessors as part of that adventure. The fact that the German and Italian characters are forever banished from the idea of the Australian home is a harsh blow directed at the future, which presumably belongs to Bill, who has now been choked by a grim German, and Betty, who has endured the necessity of saving her captured family from those who were going to kill them and who were described, rather than in any other ways, as ‘German’ and ‘Italian.’

Jancy Wins Through, the first book in a series of four written by Anne Bracken, is another novel in which young characters are involved in a plan to demean and evict an ostensibly German character. In its materiality, the novel, published in 1945 at the end of the war, speaks of post-war shortages. It is printed on rough yellowed paper, has an indistinct typeface and visible stitching along its spine. The novel offers something approaching a critique of the other in a relatively small scene by demonstrating how suspicion against others, mistaken conclusions and unthinking consensus can lead to actions that are both ethically wrong and socially and personally destructive.

At the start of the novel the reader learns that Jancy’s father is missing in action in Malaysia. There is an implication that he may have acted unpatriotically or in a cowardly way. Jancy’s mother cannot stand these rumours and, unbeknown to Jancy, has had a “nervous breakdown” and has been hospitalised. Initially, Jancy, aged twelve,

is in the care of an unsympathetic aunt, but, thankfully, an old army-friend of her father arrives and takes her to live with his family. The Richmond family lives beside the ocean in rural New South Wales. Jancy befriends Rusty, one of the Richmond daughters, who is about the same age, and together they attend Miss Grey's school for girls. At school, Jancy meets Yvonne Poulett whose mother believes that it is "unpatriotic" (40) to employ the music teacher, Madam Platz, and who gives her daughter Yvonne permission to withdraw from music classes. Yvonne is not content to do this alone, so she advocates for all of the students to boycott music lessons with the aim of forcing the school to dismiss Madam Platz. According to Yvonne (who makes it known that she is French), the girls should not be forced to learn from a German teacher, not after "what those beasts did to France" (37).

One of the other students, Rhona, is depicted as an outsider. She expresses ideas that are contrary to the student group and she is neither silenced nor apparently affected when Yvonne makes remarks about her being overweight (38). Rhona confronts Yvonne, telling her that she is "condemning Madam Platz" for her own benefit and that the boycott is a convenient way for Yvonne to avoid music lessons, as it is well-known that she does not like practising scales (38). Rhona argues that Madam Platz is a very good teacher and reveals that she is a refugee and the sole breadwinner for herself and her father whom she cares for (43). Yvonne is sceptical. She convinces a majority of the senior girls to join the boycott. Jancy is fearful, although she feels extremely angry:

... at this horrible plot against gentle, sad looking Madam Platz, and no less dismayed at the prospect of being deprived of her beloved music, but being a new girl and still timid, she had not the courage to raise a dissenting voice among her seniors, and stood miserably silent as they all filed out of the room. (41)

The plan to boycott Madam Platz unfolds rapidly after this scene, as one of the girls tells Madam Platz to her face that they do not want her there because she is German,

and Madam Platz falls silent, turns noticeably pale and walks out of the school (42-3). It eventuates that Platz is not German but a Polish refugee.

Jacques Rancière works with the Greek term *ochlos* to theorise and understand how the voices of certain people are excluded from democratic discourse. Rancière uses the term the *assembly*, which is the place where one can enter public discourse and be part of the people – the *demos* (32). When laws serve only certain parts of the *demos*, and these parts gather together in *a unity*, this unity is what Rancière refers to as an *ochlos*. Simply put, the *ochlos* are those who profit by the exclusion of certain other groups from the body of the *demos*. In Benjamin’s terms these are the law-makers; in Veracini’s terms these are the settlers; in Hillel’s terms these are the ones who construct and expel the others. These are not directly comparable concepts; I provide them simply to bring together several theoretical models to further broaden the analysis. Rancière also describes the *ochlos* as the mob, and as the “animal rule of politics” (32). They are the majority, and they break and reform according to which other voices are heard – or manage to break in – to the *assembly*. The concept of the *ochlos* is useful here to describe the way in which these norms are sometimes constituted, violently, in the moment of encounter. It can also be fruitfully employed to expand the idea of the other as aberrant, by including situations in which the other is excluded from the *demos*, and so, unheard in the *assembly* and potentially not protected by law – such an other might even, as is the case with Agamben’s *homo sacer*, have the law used against him/her/them.

In *Jancy Wins Through*, Bracken does not directly critique anti-German racism, but rather critiques the process by which someone is supposed to belong to an ostracised group, and the mob mentality that ensues when the *ochlos* acts on this premise. She also offers a theory that those who are already outside the *ochlos* have the capacity to recognise and name this type of persecutory behaviour or animal rule. Rhona has been

teased for being overweight and has possibly thought about the effects that such judgements can have and what her own values are in response. Jancy's mistreatment by her aunt has also sensitised her to the effects of hostile and exclusionary treatment and allowed her insight into the injustice of treating someone in such a way. Bracken suggests the possibility of a horizontal network of peers and advocates, operating in some literature, between outsiders, strangers, others and foreigners. As Kato notes in relation to the Japanese and settler Australian characters in Idriess's novel *Forty Fathoms Deep*, authors have the opportunity and the choice to show that there is no need to fear the other ("Narrating" 37). Bracken also demonstrates that when violence is enacted upon the other, other *others*, who may be less excluded at that moment or in general, can name this violence and effect change.

In this chapter I introduced Hillel's theory that the construction of the other serves to shore up the identity of the one. I read Hillel's work alongside Veracini's theory of settler colonial social structures, whereby 'the one' is identified as the settler colonial, who operates in a triangular, rather than the binary structure of colonialism that does not involve settling. In the tripartite structure of settler colonial societies, consisting of settlers, exogenous others who come from outside, and indigenous others who come from inside, the settlers have an antipathic relationship with the exogenous others. Within the category of exogenous others, there are some who will soon be transferred to the settler group, while others will potentially never make this transition, being stigmatised and debased. Settlers identify themselves as "more" than exogenous others: more patriotic, more trustworthy, belonging more. They also identify themselves as "less" than the exogenous others: less foreign, less out of place, less strange. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, settlers also define themselves as having more rights, being more lawful, and also, significantly, as being more protected by the law, than the others who are discussed here.

In this chapter, one relationship between law and violence is reiterated and more clearly contoured by this repetition, and a new relationship emerged from the material. In Chapters Three and Four, Chinese and Japanese others are vilified, for example, by being depicted as sellers and smokers of opium and are maligned as gamblers and as sexual criminals. In this chapter, German characters are regularly criminalised by the authors who formulate of them as enemies of Australia. Some of the novels equate German characters or German soldiers with the Gestapo, as if there were no differences between them. Jim describes German soldiers as war criminals in *Captain Jim*; Gertrud, once the war begins, is called a Hun and hidden in a basement; Bernstein kidnaps the teenage Lola and attempts to seduce her; Grumm is a secret agent who attacks children. These characters are identified as criminals, already on the wrong side of the law, and apparently not deserving the protection of the law. For Benjamin, as Birnbaum elucidates, violence is directly or implicitly directed at those who are considered guilty, thereby consolidating that guilt (97).

This chapter demonstrated that some novels attacked the language and voice of German characters and described why this was a particularly hurtful insult for German people. The German characters discussed in this chapter are described as criminal and as untrustworthy, ridiculous, servile, and officious. They are insulted by being depicted as mindless, aggressive and unethical. These are individual acts of violence towards German people and culture, which accumulate. Eventually, the figure who suffers from these insults directed towards Germans becomes guilty of being German, just as Birnbaum articulates the process of guilt as it operates in relation to the pauper, whereby the person who suffers from poverty is transformed into a person who is guilty of poverty (97). Being guilty of being German – or being believed to be German – is enough to reverse the usual social hierarchy. The social laws or norms that would ordinarily apply between teachers and students do not apply to Dr. Weiber in *His First*

Kangaroo nor to Madam Platz in *Jancy Wins Through*. The students have more social power than the teachers, verbally attack them in public and threaten that they can make them lose their jobs.

The symbolic violence directed towards Germans in the novels discussed in this chapter suggests another relationship between violence and law besides the one summarised above. That is, the fact that those figures, Madam Platz and Gertrud, might be subject to violence which in itself transmits the message that they are not protected by law, even when, unlike characters such as Mr. Smith, Bernstein, and Grumm, they have not broken a written law. Smith, Bernstein and Grumm have acted as secret agents and committed crimes against children – but these other characters have been silenced, humiliated and locked up sometimes merely for being supposed to be German. They have been placed in a literary social space beyond the protection of the law.

I theorise that these depictions of linguistic violence enforce borders between characters: that is, the borders that segregate settlers from exogenous others, and that separate both of these groups from indigenous others. These borders have consequences. Settlers are those whose homeland will legally protect them, while the debased exogenous others are not always protected by law. This kind of symbolic stratification, like Nixon's slow violence, can intensify over time, informing beliefs about different levels of *demos* ('the people') and degrees of access – or lack of access – to the *assembly* (a place to be heard).

These characters are situated, as they are written, on the other side of the law, despite the only law broken being that of being supposed to be German. They are marked as *homo sacer* (bare life) in Agamben's terms, excluded from political society and subject to violence and sacrifice. They are not offered the protection that settlers, who are citizens of the Australian homeland, automatically enjoy. They do not belong to the settler category and the law, in the positive, protective sense, does not apply to them.

As McQuillan argues, and as I have noted in the Introduction of this thesis, mythical violence, such as is expressed in these novels, and Agamben's theory of sacrifice and bare life come together to direct when the law is applied and when it is not (128).

I argue that Arendt's theorisation of violence assists in drawing this material and these different theories together, and interpreting the slow, long-term, cumulative effects of the violence expressed in these Young Adult novels in relation to their depictions of German characters. Violence is related to law, particularly to law that pertains to ownership and belonging, but it requires a tool, as Arendt demonstrates, in order to be effected. These Young Adult novels work as the tools of violence, giving body to the informal law that Germans are not settlers and do not belong in the Australian home or homeland as they are outside the law, in the dual sense that they are guilty and that they are not protected by the law.

In the following chapter I expand my exploration of Veracini's theory of triangular settler colonial social structures by exploring the influence of violence on home and homeland in depictions of Aboriginal characters, culture and Country.

CHAPTER SIX – Depicting Aboriginal People, Languages and Country: Practices of Erasure, Containment and Degradation

In this chapter I bring together violence that is directed by settlers towards the land and violence directed at people. The content of this chapter suggests further connections between violence and law and so, conversing once more with the work of Walter Benjamin, I argue that many of the incidents of linguistic violence in the twenty-one novels reviewed in this chapter, published between 1901 and 1966, promote written and unwritten settler laws. However, settler law and settler identity operate differently in relation to Aboriginal characters, the land and landscape, compared with how they operate in relation to migrant characters. Benjamin, paying special attention to unwritten laws, arrives at the insight that when a person “unwittingly infringes upon” an unwritten law or crosses what he refers to as an “unmarked frontier,” the response is retribution, rather than punishment (“Critique” 296). Retribution is less formalised and can be more savage than punishment. I argue that the acts of retribution towards Aboriginal characters described in this chapter, along with specific articulations of settler law found in the novels, work as blueprints that schematise the extent and condition of the settler home and homeland as it is transmitted through some of the novels discussed in this chapter and through related discourses.

This chapter has five parts. In part one, I draw connections between violence directed at land and that directed at people by examining the boundaries established between settler spaces and Aboriginal spaces and at how these distinctions are extended to construct a type of fictional Aboriginal figure in settler space. I argue that this structuring consolidates the settler home and homeland. Patterns of colonialism are not my focus but it is nevertheless worth noting at this point that such patterns contribute to the violence that is discussed in this chapter. In part two, I continue my discussion of violence and the home as it relates to the depiction of so-called “wild” Aborigines. I

examine how this character type is distinguished from the “non-wild” Aboriginal in the selected novels. In part three, I explore the notion of assimilation as it is depicted in the novel *Little Black Princess* and in the film *Jedda*. Part four focuses on the depiction of Aboriginal women in a selection of novels. For this topic, I develop Liz Conor’s work on Aboriginal women by identifying, in Young Adult literature, tropes that she has critiqued from a range of cultural sources. In part five of the current chapter I examine the representation of violence towards speech and language. I have previously explored this theme in earlier chapters. I refer to and develop the critical work of Bradford and Hillel, whilst also engaging with the theorisation of Rancière to examine how the speech and language of Aboriginal characters is represented in these novels.

PART ONE, SETTLER SPACES

As the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) writes on their website, from the mid-nineteenth century three types of spaces were set aside by the Australian Government for Aboriginal people to live within. These were missions – run by churches, reserves, and managed reserves or stations – established by the Aboriginal Protection Board, which had total control of residents. The Board usually provided rations and housing, forcibly moved people onto and off the reserve and assumed the legal guardianship of children (np). These were structured places that contained Aboriginal people and with which Aboriginal people also developed relationships. Although Aboriginal characters who live on missions are described as “Mission Blacks” in the 1948 novel *The Cattle Duffers Adventure in the Kimberleys* by Stanley Brogden (198), as “Mission trained” by Mary Grant Bruce in her 1940 novel *Peter & Co.* (107), and Joseph Bowes refers to missions in his 1925 novel *Fur Hunters in Australian Wilds* (134), I have not identified any novels that depict these reserves or missions. However, many novels depict Aboriginal characters on pastoral stations.

These settings serve a similar function in that they provide a formal space for Aboriginal characters, although in the novels this space is symbolic. These fictional settings likewise enable settler characters to observe, count, control and put Aboriginal characters to work.

The 1949 novel *West of Sunset* by Margaret Kiddle introduces the pastoral station as a site where Australian settlers categorise Aboriginal peoples into two distinct types: “station blacks” (171) and “wild blacks” (173). The lines on the landscape which approximately mark this boundary also nominate land that is known and owned by settlers and that which is not. This categorisation therefore measures the extent of the settler homeland. It also separates Aboriginal characters into those who are administered and under the gaze of the settlers from those who live on their own terms and who might escape the white gaze. Bradford discusses the Aboriginal character Billy who appears in many of Bruce’s Billabong novels. Billy is a “black boy” who undertakes the menial tasks, carries provisions, and grinningly obeys all orders. He is likened to a dog, is continually subject to observation and control and is the subject of a running joke regarding his habitual response: “Plenty!” (*Reading* 44-7).

The figure of the native boy was commonly a male of any age who had been trained by white men to work as a station-hand, stockman, labourer or domestic servant. Parallels could be found across the range of colonial literature. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, patterns of colonialism are not my focus. However, this figure speaks to the transnational focus of imperial history and geography which emerged at the end of the twentieth century, in which colonial space is conceptualised as a web, with interactions and influences between various colonies being just as important as relationships between the central imperial power and its colonies, described by Alan Lester describes in “Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire” (127).

While some of these figures are portrayed as hardworking or loyal, they are segregated rather than being shown as part of settler life. The “blackfellows” who work on Werriwa station in Bowes’s 1923 novel, *The Jackaroos*, live and eat “in a humpy down in the middle of a patch of scrub”, separate from the white station hands, and from the Chinese cook. The explanation provided for this segregation is that the “blackfellows ... smell bad”, and, are “shy as shy. Wouldn’t eat in white men’s presence” (53-57). Distance from the Chinese cook is significant, socially and spatially: although he lives in a building, he is also subject to racist comments. This literary map of the Werriwa station thus acts as a way of detailing the social hierarchies in which the Aboriginal figures are at the bottom.

Bradford also argues that Billy is in the lowest place of the hierarchy: called a “dog”, he is ordered to perform the worst jobs, is explicitly ordered around by the young characters and is the most often ridiculed (*Reading* 46). Hillel observes that the Aboriginal character Bucko Boy from E. Harcourt Berridge’s 1903 novel, *Wurra Boys* sleeps in the stable (“Race” 591). These examples suggest that the “native boy” characters who live in the confines of settler space are not provided with basic human rights of adequate housing but are depicted as sleeping – without complaint – in places that usually house animals.

An analogous hierarchy appears in the preface to Gunn’s *We of the Never Never*. Each of the non-Aboriginal characters is introduced by name. These names are capitalised, even those who are formally un-named such as: “Some of our Guests”. By contrast, although Gunn later provides names for some of these Aboriginal characters, none of them are formally introduced with the other characters at the start of the novel, rather, they are introduced as “a few black boys and lubras”, written entirely in lower case letters, immediately prior to the introduction of the “dog or two”, also uncapitalised (ix). This separate grammatical camp that the Aboriginal figures are allotted is not

equivalent to that of the other human characters. As Morris argues, in many of the social spaces of contemporary Australia, the settler relationship with Aboriginal people is not a relationship between actual people, but rather exists as one between “white Australians and the symbols created by their predecessors... [via the] stories told by former colonists” (110). Something similar could be said of the stories told in many of the novels reviewed here. Gunn’s preface is a good example of Aboriginal figures occupying the place of a symbol: this symbol provides a useful counter-point for the settler Australian identity. As Veracini describes it, the two categories of “exogenous” and “indigenous Others” (21) assist settlers to appear as a people who have autonomously and legitimately moved in (17; 34) and who are “virtuous” and normative in their repeated acts of settlement (34).

Aborigines also appear in other settler-controlled spaces in the novels under review. When Peter and his family arrive for their island holiday in Bruce’s 1940 novel *Peter & Co.*, they are brought a morning cup of tea by two “black boys” (104). These characters are referred to in the possessive form as “Mr. Burgess’s two native boys”, and are described as “fine upstanding fellows” (107). They are valued specifically because they learned to speak and write English on a mission (107). In this scene, the signifiers that designate these young men as being accepted in the Australian home are literacy, the associated influence of the mission and their relationship with Mr. Burgess, which is one of servitude or slavery. In the Australian context, characters such as these “black boys” have direct connections with the Stolen Generations, as Aboriginal and other academic commentary such as that by Rosemary van der Berg’s description of her father’s life demonstrates that many stolen Aboriginal children were institutionalised and later placed as labourers and domestic servants in homes and on sheep and cattle stations (van der Berg 1994). The two layers of violence operating here – within the text where characters are depicted as slaves, and the normalisation of violence which exists

beyond the text – serve to maintain written and unwritten settler laws and settler institutions such as missions. This scene contributes to the dominant imaginary of the Australian homeland as a white nation in which Aboriginal Country and Aboriginal children were depicted as the possession of white settlers.

The “two black boys” in Barr’s novel *Warrigal Joe* are part of a larger “outfit” that is looking for new cattle country but Murradoo and Billy have a separate fire when the party camp at night (8). No reason is provided for this segregation: it is presented as the norm. The evening campfire takes the place of the kitchen, so this scene articulates the way in which, even when non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people work together, an unwritten settler law decrees that settlers do not share the convivial acts of companionship implicit in eating together with Aboriginal characters, as settlers do not consider them as equals.

In the illustration on the frontispiece plate of Fergus’s 1928 novel *Little Australian Pioneers* Aboriginal figures are also depicted as subject to segregation. An Aboriginal man, surrounded by white children, points towards what he describes in the text below the illustration as “white man’s home”. He clarifies: “His spirit is there. Me Blackfellow”. The Aboriginal figure is shown to authorise the separation of settler and Aboriginal homes. His acknowledgement that the settler has a legitimate place to which his spirit is connected obscures the common lack of settler acknowledgement of the deep connection Aboriginal peoples have to their homeland. His apparent acceptance of the settler home conceals the history of land theft, while the words “Me Blackfellow” read as the abject, self-excluding, ventriloquised voice of a self-justifying settler.

The Aborigines who live and “help” around the station in Gunn’s *We of the Never Never* and *Little Black Princess* receive clothing, tobacco and meat but no payment (“Never Never” 48, 58, 147, 151, “Princess” 172). Although the settlers might well consider that this was adequate payment in kind, white station hands were paid in

money. The fact that Aboriginal workers were not, is a type of economic segregation and economic violence.

Heather Burke and colleagues describe three specific types of violence that occurred in colonial Australia as documented in a range of historical sources. These comprise explicit violence, such as shootings, attacks and massacres; clandestine violence, such as poisonings, disease and forced sexual exploitation, and structural violence such as “the compartmentalisation of Aboriginal people through processes of race, governance and labour” (145). The representational segregation appearing in these novels is a discursive perpetuation of this third type of violence.

According to Catriona Elder, in her 2009 book *Dreams and Nightmares of a White Australia, Representing Aboriginal Assimilation in the Mid-Twentieth Century* some white Australian novelists presented the separation of Aboriginal culture from white settler society as a national solution to the perceived ‘problems’ of assimilation (203). Although these tableaux of separate quarters, campfires and homes presented in the novels are published prior to the official era of assimilation, the ideology of segregation clearly pre-dated its appearance in anti-assimilation discourses. I am not referring here to an idealised notion of assimilation, in which a person from a particular cultural group becomes incorporated into the dominant mainstream culture, to the point that she or he is accepted, afforded all of the opportunities and rights available to the mainstream group and is practically indistinguishable from that group, rather I am referring to assimilation as defined by Elder.

As she discusses, in much twentieth-century Australian fiction an assimilated Aborigine is one who is compliant and does not display resistance to white actions or policies (107); who is useful; who labours on “settled runs” (93); and who supports white values (34). Assimilation, in this sense is very similar to the violent ideological phenomenon of “Aboriginal engulfment or erasure” (36). In the remainder of this

chapter, when I use the word assimilated, I refer to this depiction, and also to the formal Australian policy of assimilation. This policy came into effect in 1937 with the Commonwealth/State conference on “native welfare”, which adopted assimilation as a national policy (austlii “Assimilation” np). The N.S.W. *Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1940* instituted the Aboriginal Welfare Board and amended the previous 1909-1936 Protection Act. Significant changes included a change of emphasis from “sheltering” Aborigines to “assimilating [Aborigines] into the community” (162). By 1951 all Australian States had adopted an assimilation policy (austlii “Assimilation” np). The N.S.W. Act allowed for Aboriginal children to become “wards of the Board” and prohibited others, such as family members, from visiting or communicating with them (165-66). These children were no longer legally referred to as “children”, but as “wards placed in employment” (171) and any wages paid went directly to the Board (163). As Elder writes: “[d]iscourses of assimilation took place in governments, institutions, academia, popular and high culture” (16) and have been analysed by writers such as Anna Haebich, Katherine Ellinghaus, George Morgan, Quentin Beresford and Paul Omaji (16).

Benjamin argues that the manifestation of violence in its law-making function establishes what is to be law, but that violence does not dissipate at the moment that this law is introduced. Instead, power is introduced, and this power is intrinsically bound up with the violence that brought it into being. The powerful, or the “mighty,” as Benjamin writes, citing Sorel, hold all the right (“Critique” 295-96). Depictions of Aboriginal characters – especially young ones – providing free labour for settlers are violent depictions that embed settler law and are part of the multiple discourses that precede and enable the introduction of the 1937 National Assimilation Policy.

The tracker is a well-known Aboriginal figure who is generally depicted as helpful and non-threatening but is subject to extreme constraints. One of these

limitations, which can be viewed as a settler law, is that the settler holds all the rights to any skills or knowledge displayed, and any outcomes produced, by the tracker.

Donald Macdonald constructs his narrator as having a good understanding of Aboriginal culture, in his 1901 novel *The Warrigals' Well*. The protagonist explains that Aboriginal trackers wear “a kooditcha – a large soft shoe of emu feathers and blood” so as to leave no trail (81). However, this shoe was not used by all Aboriginal groups and Macdonald’s lack of differentiation between groups is culturally inappropriate as it disregards important differences between Aboriginal countries. The design and use of this kind of shoe is clever but the narrator does not comment on this. The idea of leaving no trail suggests the way settlers described Aboriginal people as being able to appear and disappear, as if from nowhere, in a similar way that animals can do. Donald Macdonald, by contrast, demonstrates his desire to leave the mark of his knowledge on the reader. This mark casts him as the apparent inventor of the shoe, replacing the actual creator, in an act of epistemological violence. This violence maintains the settler law that says that any skills or knowledge displayed by a tracker and any outcomes produced become the property of the settler.

A similar appropriation and elision of Aboriginal knowledge and skill occurs in Bowes’s 1923 novel, *The Jackaroos*. A cattle duffer steals some cattle and the white workers visit a nearby Aboriginal camp to request the “services of one of [the chief’s] smart young men for tracking services” (243). The young man is initially described as smart, but this praise is short-lived. The white men do not ask his name; instead they christen him “Midget” because he is “undersized” (245). The idea that he might prefer his own name or even have a name appears to be unthinkable: they are focused only on his physicality and on the work they require from him.

“Midget” demonstrates his familiarity with his country: “even tracks that were invisible to them were plain to him” (246). Despite this skill, the settlers do not

congratulate or thank him; rather, they “congratulated themselves on the acquisition of such a capable helper” (246). Again, the Aboriginal character is provided with food or tobacco but not with autonomy, rights, a wage or acknowledgment of his skills and knowledge.

Leslie Lee wrote another, slightly different example of textual exploitation of an Aboriginal tracker in his 1928 novel *The Road to Widgewong*. This is the story of a very young character, Bob, who is escaping a violent home life. His alcoholic father used to beat him, lock him up and prevent him from going to school. After his father dies in an accident, Bob runs away, believing that he is responsible for his father’s death. His friend Jim stole money to give to a hungry family and believes that he is wanted by the police. They are both anxious not to be caught. Their greatest fear is of black trackers, whom they do not believe they could evade. When Jim finds a girl’s skeleton he appears to be sick with fright. Bob asks him if he has “trodden on a snake or seen a black tracker” (38). These young characters, who fear they are on the wrong side of the law, believe that a black tracker is frightening and has extraordinary powers.

The boys wonder why the girl’s parents did not use a black tracker to find her and hypothesise that the ground must have been too disturbed by the white search parties (38). It is as if the objective of black trackers is to be in the service of certain white characters and are only accepted in that limited role. Any goal, skill, knowledge or subjectivity the tracker might achieve or demonstrate passes over to the white man whom he or she is in the service of. Trackers are more favourable than ‘wild blacks,’ only insofar as they perform services for, and are in a relationship of servitude to, white characters consistent with the definition of assimilation provided by Elder.

Native police are another character-type depicted in some of the novels under review. Nettelbeck and Ryan write that, unlike other Aboriginal workers, the native police in New South Wales in the mid 1840’s were paid with a daily ration of tea and

flour, provided with a uniform and blankets (51). They were assigned a horse and a weapon after taking an oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria and to the commandant. After the change to self-government in the mid-nineteenth century, until the native police troops were disbanded in 1905, over 800 native police worked in New South Wales earning three to five pence a day (56). These writers also report that native police spoke openly about killing ‘wild blacks’ and that the most serious attacks by native police were in response to the killing of settlers (55). Their strategies included surrounding Aboriginal camps at dawn, “and not counting the number of Aboriginal people they killed” (55).

One of the young characters in Bowes 1923 novel *The Jackaroos*, expresses astonishment that “black police” even exist when he hears that “a posse” of them is going to be sent to Roma in central Queensland. Another character explains that they are useful as they have innate tracking skills, and are selected by white settlers and taught how to use the “carbines” with which they are armed (74-75). Aleck’s initial disbelief might be based on the belief that Aboriginal people are outside white law, not part of it, and that Aboriginal people cannot be in a position of authority as this contradicts settler law. The response that he receives – that the “black police” are entirely under the command of white officials, who select, train and arm them – clarifies that they are being used as tools of the settlers and have no independent authority.

In the novel *The Warrigals’ Well* explorers Meredith and Ogilvie are searching for gold with Billy, a “scotchman” (sic) and “the big black”, Samson (43). Billy notices a police inspector crossing a creek with “some of his boys” (51). As well as infantilising these characters, this observation is part of the pattern of repeated tropes of Aboriginal servitude and slavery indicated here by the use of the possessive pronoun “his” in relation to the inspector, who is depicted as having complete control over the native policemen who are depicted as servile. Later in the novel another police sergeant

invites the explorers to join him in a raid to “tache [sic] these Myalls that a white man houlds [sic] the right o’ way here from the sunrise to the sunset” (77). The explorers have already witnessed these native police digging a “rough grave” for two white prospectors, Big Duncan and Little Duncan, who were “killed by blacks”, as their epitaph describes (82). The surviving prospector “is swearin’ to drink the blood uv [sic] a dozen Myalls” (78), and the narrator explains how everyone would feel a “desire for vengeance” (79) in this situation. This is consistent with Benjamin’s theorisation that when a person crosses an “unmarked frontier” the response is not punishment in the usual legal sense, but retribution (“Critique” 296). The sergeant intends to force the local Aboriginal people to understand that their land has been invaded by a superior group and that they do not have the right to defend it, as it no longer belongs to them. The sergeant speaks as though there is a pre-existing law: that the land “from sunrise to sunset” belongs to white man, but this is ambiguous, not least because the limits of the land that he is referring to are metaphoric rather than geographic.

This is an example of how individual enactments of settler law are carried by various discourses including those of Young Adult literature. It is also an example of what Butler calls citational violence (27), as the sergeant appears to reference an earlier law, which authorises him to carry out the violence that he is proposing (27). This is an unwritten law about land rights and the violence is retribution towards the Aboriginal characters who have not sufficiently heeded the unwritten settler law which states that Australia belongs exclusively to the white settler. In being described as ‘wild’ the ‘Myalls’ are depicted as being without law. This implicit assumption in the text is also part of the violence done to this group of characters by the overall structural integrity of the scene – the whites have settler law on their side; the ‘wild myalls’ are without law, or are unlawful. Aboriginal law is ignored.

The lines between the native police, trackers and myalls are extremely

ambiguous in *The Warrigals' Well*. The narrator explains that the “black police” reign “by terror” (81), suggesting that they enact more extreme violence than white police. This implies that they are ‘wild’, while obscuring the fact that they are colonial instruments under settler instruction by the use of the word “reign”. This ambiguity also suggests that, although settlers impose this structural dichotomy upon Aboriginal people in literature, film and other mediums, they were not entirely convinced that the ‘non-wild’ Aborigines are trustworthy. As the narrator in *The Warrigals' Well* says, a “Dieyerie boy, even after a year’s residence with a white man, will smile in his face the one instant, and split his skull with a nulla-nulla the moment his back is turned” (76).

Fox, Meredith and the others agree to go on the raid with the Irish sergeant and the native police although “strictly as non-combatants” (81). Fox says that his job is not “nigger-killing”, and he does not wish to “help the police with their dirty work” (82). The use of the word “nigger” is violent especially when used in conjunction with the word “killing”, and this phrase again situates this narrative in the broader, transnational colonial literature. The words in combination are intended to hurt, depersonalise and normalise a desire to eradicate Aboriginal people – even though Fox says he will not assist, he does not try to stop the murders.

The sergeant tells Fox and Meredith that he has a right to “take ... [their] “black boy” (83), and to make him part of the troop of native police. There has been no previous mention that Samson is a young man, so the term “boy” can be assumed to be derogatory, borrowed from America and denoting inferiority in the sense of the ‘native boy.’ The sergeant goes ahead and “takes” Samson, “as a special constable without the ceremony of swearing in” (83). The symbolic force implied in “taking” Samson is apparently sufficient to carry the action through; the law, if it formally exists, is not required. For Benjamin, there is always a law in play when mythical violence occurs (“Critique” 278), even if that law might be ambiguous (“Critique” 292). In this scene,

the law is ambiguous, as Samson is being “taken” to act as an agent of the law. It is ironic, and perhaps emblematic of early Australia’s relationship with law, that it is the police sergeant who stakes a claim for Samson, and then illegally authorises him as a police member in order to attack and kill other Aboriginal characters.

Samson is transformed into a figure who can be possessed, humiliated, manipulated, dominated and forced to commit murder, entirely without his consent. He is clearly a possession of the white men, who, as in the previous discussion regarding trackers, appropriate his admirable characteristics such as his strength, for themselves: “in justice to our black boy,” the narrator says, “I must say that he looked physically able to annihilate any two of the trackers” (83). It is troubling that the narrator poses this observation in terms of justice at a point in the narrative in which there is clearly no justice for Samson. Nor is there any justice for the “Myall” who is shot dead by the native police as he wakes (89), without questioning and definitely without trial, as soon as the party arrive. Other Aborigines are shot but the author does not describe how many. Just as these deaths do not occur in the historical record (Nettelbeck & Ryan 51-2), neither do they appear in this literary record.

The sergeant explains how his troop “always tackle ’em at the first break o’ dawn ... for we get ’em all in camp then” (87) – a tactic that is also consistent with Nettelbeck and Ryan’s description of such attacks on Aboriginal communities by native police and settlers (51-2). The first men to be killed are referred to as ‘Myalls writhing in their death-throes’ (90), rather than as men or Aborigines, a differentiation discussed in the next section of this chapter. This attack might well fit the description of a massacre as “a big mob” of Aborigines is murdered (81). The brutality of the killing is contrasted with the setting, which is described as a “quiet palm glen” beside a waterfall (89). The contrast is chilling. The beauty of the setting is part of what the sergeant claims belongs to white men, while the ‘Myalls’, each one of whom soon “lay upon his

back with his loins slashed open” (92), are the apparent obstacle to achieving a sense of settled belonging to a beautiful home.

As my analysis thus far indicates the signifiers that connote ‘non-wild’ include wearing clothing, speaking English, being literate in English, being willing to be ridiculed, smiling, obeying orders, being willingly segregated, being helpful, willingness to offer skills and knowledge for free, being willing to do menial, unpleasant or ‘dirty’ work, willingness to work hard, willingness to track and kill ‘wild’ Aborigines, being willing to be owned by a settler or by the Australian government. The depiction of the ‘non-wild’ figure does more than simply trivialise, ridicule and caricature Aboriginal figures: it depicts and describes emerging policies of ‘assimilation’ and it normalises the ideology of Aboriginal containment and enslavement by settlers. Furthermore, this collection of signifiers constructs the settler Australian home as a ‘civilised’ space, recognised by the wearing of clothing and the fact that its inhabitants are literate, in which English is the only or dominant language. This space might include amusing, friendly willing servants, who assist the settlers by doing the work that the settlers do not wish to do, but overall, and most basically, the settler Australian home and homeland belongs entirely to the Australian settler – it is not shared.

I have discussed instances of the ‘black-boy,’ tracker and native police. Even though there is a certain implied approval of many of the ‘non-wild’ Aboriginal characters in the novels under review, most of the references to them contain elements of textual violence. The urban Aborigine is another ‘non-wild’ figure whose depiction is associated with violence. An early scene in Kiddle’s *West of Sunset* depicts the two young female protagonists arriving from England to work as a domestic and a governess on an outback sheep station. As they are leaving Sydney they notice some Aboriginal people. They describe these urban “blacks” as “tattered and dirty” figures, who

“squatting by the roadside or slouched against the walls of building” (32). The narrator draws an explicit connection between black and dirt in this description, a connection that has a long history in Australia. Conor writes, in her 2016 book *Skin Deep: Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women*, that in 1841 *The Colonial Magazine* described the skin-colour of Aboriginal peoples as “dirty-brown” (162) and that the botanist Joseph Banks in his 1896 journal claimed to have tried to remove the dirt that was “stuck to ... [the] hides” of Aboriginal people (162). The idea that Aborigines are dirty functions to polarise them from settlers whose whiteness therefore stands out as representing a state of purity, Christianity and civilisation.

Kiddle’s description of the urban Aborigines also draws upon the social discourse that presumes Aboriginal people do not work, which relates to the argument that Australian settlers had a right to take the land because they were making it productive, something that – it was wrongly argued – Aboriginal peoples did not do. Representing urban Aborigines as squatting by the side of the road or as slouching against buildings suggests that these people are homeless. As I discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the notion that only white settlers settle or have homes is the basis of the settler law that claims exclusive possession of Australia and of discourses that support the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples from their lands.

In a similar way in which Hillel argues that the vilification and othering of German figures provides the basis for the parallel formation of the figure of the patriotic Australian, these depictions of urban Aboriginal figures provide the basis for the construction of the argument that settlers had a right and responsibility to settle Australia. However, there are important differences of degree with this comparison. The patriotic Australian receives many different positive characteristics when he or she is compared with the German character. The settler, on the other hand, receives an entire ontological argument which bears on his or her presumed right to occupy Australia

when compared with the figure of the urban Aborigine as depicted in these novels. Much more is at stake in these representations, for the settler and for the Aborigine. This glancing observation by Jane and Harriet, the protagonists in *West of Sunset*, is intrinsically connected to these important premises of settler law that the Australian homeland belongs to the settler. Violence towards Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal Country is introduced by these broader discourses, which are reflected and reproduced in the observation by these characters within the narrative.

Donald Macdonald also describes the figure of the urban Aborigine in *The Warrigals' Well*. The narrator proposes that “most Australians” do not know “the wild black as he is” (86). This statement constructs the “wild black” figure as an essentialist one: mythical, and without individual subjectivity. Chinese and Japanese characters often appear in Australian literature in a multiple form while white Australian characters are depicted as individuals. Donald Macdonald’s single “wild” Aboriginal figure is not an individual: he is abstracted, like a scientific specimen. In this act of abstraction, the homeland of the “wild black” is also abstracted – it is not an urban environment but a mythologised “wild” one. This abstraction is violent as actual Aboriginal peoples live and lived in more or less remote regions of Australia. By abstracting the “wild black” figure along with his homeland those actual Aboriginal people and their homelands are mythologised and their reality is erased.

As well as possessing knowledge about “wild blacks” the narrator of *The Warrigals' Well* believes that he possesses knowledge about the urban Aborigine, whom he describes as the “drink-soddened, begrimed remnants of the coastal tribes that hang about the ports cadging drink and ‘tucker” (86). The Aboriginal figure is here degraded while simultaneously being erased as an authority on his own life in an act of epistemic violence. Members of the exploration party in the narrative are in the midst of witnessing a massacre of the mythical “wild blacks” as this didactic observation occurs

in the text and have claimed impunity with regard to this violence. In the role of a neutral observer – a role that is as mythical and impossible as the abstracted Aborigine – the narrator compares the “wild black” with those others with whom “most Australians” are apparently more familiar with. Donald Macdonald’s reference to these figures as “remnants” demonstrates another type of knowledge that he holds: that many people of the “coastal tribes” have already been killed by settlers in the process of colonisation. The word “remnants” supports the incorrect and violent notion of a ‘dying race’: the view that Aborigines would disappear altogether. This notion is violent in itself and was also used to deny land rights, right up until 1992, when the High Court overturned the legal doctrine of *terra nullius* in the landmark case of *Mabo v Queensland (No 2)*. The violence in this novel in which Aboriginal figures are degraded is, therefore, very closely connected to violence beyond the text: to the fact that the eradication, or semi-destruction of many Aboriginal “tribes” was intentional and persistent and connected to land. The narrator belittles the urban Aborigines for “cadging” or begging, as drunk on alcohol, and as a homeless, degraded people. The narrator constructs them as supplicants, as unsettled and intoxicated and then belittles them for being this way.

Donald Macdonald’s narrator argues that the ordinary white Australian has seen, “the black boy in subjection only where, should he seek to shirk work with the plea ‘Mine habbit peber’ (fever), his master cures him, not with quinine but a stirrup-leather” (86). Macdonald again uses the derogatory American term “black boy”, and argues that this mythical Aborigine is lazy, trying to avoid work by saying that he is sick. He suggests that the Aborigine is sick, not with a physical illness, but from a lack of discipline, which the white “master” provides him with, in an act of physical violence. The author produces an image, which is in itself violent as it describes physical assault. However, this claim is complex, because Macdonald is saying that this subjected figure is a poor example and is inferior to what he terms the “wild black.” Aboriginal people

cannot win in this novel, or in many others like it.

I previously presented scenes of settlers taking credit for the skills and knowledge of Aboriginal characters. In this instance, Aboriginal figures are depicted in such a way that they are made to take all the blame and shame for how they are depicted by settlers. The premise of this novel provides a clear summation of settler law: in the Australian homeland, settlers are always superior to Aboriginal Australians; settlers are productive and deserving; Aborigines are not. This is also an example of what I referred to in the introduction to this chapter: this is a depiction of a fictional historical scene of violence, but it is also a scene of violence that occurs at the time of writing and of reading.

While the Chinese, Japanese, and German characters discussed in previous chapters are mostly depicted as inferior others, for Norm Sheehan, in his 2008 unpublished essay “Clothing the Lesser Self”, Aborigines are not represented as the other but as the “non-other” – a position characterised by negation, non-recognition, symbolic elimination and total disregard (cited in Strakosch & Macoun 42). Veracini also describes a position, in his model of settler colonial social structures, of “Object Others” who are segregated, experience restraints on their mobility and are disconnected from land and communities (27-8). This is how many of the Aboriginal characters are depicted in the novels I have discussed.

PART TWO, WILD PLACES

Ann McGrath, in her 1987 *Born in the Cattle: Aborigines in Cattle Country* based on oral histories of Aboriginal people involved in the pastoral industry, suggests that there were at least five explanations presented by white Australians to explain why Aborigines killed cattle and sheep. First, because they were hungry; next, as a way of restoring confidence and pride by damaging an intruder; as retaliation for being driven

away from or being otherwise unable to access waterholes; fourth, they were a logical food source, and being on their land were thought to be their own property; finally, cattle-spearing might have been used as a protest, if station managers refused to negotiate, acted unjustly or “hunted [Aboriginal people] ... away” (15).

The cattle-spearing and associated murder of settlers by Aboriginal people in *West of Sunset*, are not associated with access to water-holes and there is no conflict between the Aboriginal people and the white owners of the homestead. Kiddle does not provide a theory to explain these violent events, except that these are Aboriginal people from other regions. All of the Aboriginal people who work and live at the Mirrabooka sheep station have gone on a “walkabout”, apart from Betsey who is caring for a white baby at the neighbouring cattle property, Bywong. Tim, an experienced white stockman at Mirrabooka, believes that there is “something strange about this walkabout” (174). He observes that some “wild western blacks were moving inwards towards the settled districts and frightening the station tribes away” (174). Jem, the station manager, returning from a ride, adds that there must be something happening “among the wild tribes” as he has noticed the presence of “blacks from the Darling ... [who] don’t often come so far into the settled district” (174). The owners of Mirrabooka respond to Tim and Jem’s anxieties by instructing everyone to prepare “firearms and bayonets” (145-46). This is presented as an everyday precaution rather than preparation for war.

The young protagonists, Jane and Harriet, are alone at the homestead when Harriet notices some “shadowy figures” approaching the house. Although she is an English girl who has only been in Australia for a few months she recognises that they are not “station blacks”: “These men were taller, stronger and fiercer looking than the Mirrabooka blacks. They carried spears and clubs, with shields upon their arms, and their naked bodies were painted in strange patterns” (171). Each of these signifiers declares them as “non-Station blacks” and as “wild”: their height; their apparent

strength; a fierce look; their weapons, which are Aboriginal weapons, rather than guns; their nudity, and body paint. They are almost the figures of nightmares: frightening and potentially violent, given their weapons. The men enter the house as Harriet calls for her older sister, Jane. The man they identify as the “leader” steps forward and raises his spear, and Jane responds by shouting at him: “‘Shoo,’ shouted Jane, as if the blacks were a flock of fowls. ‘Shoo, shoo, go away, you horrible things. Get out, shoo!’” In response to Jane’s shooing, the men: “turned and silently slipped past the kitchen and away towards the creek” (172). Soon after they leave, another character comments admiringly: “Jane, they were *wild* blacks, *really* wild blacks, and they just ran away!” (172-73). Once again, the kitchen is mentioned, in a scene where a threat is present. The threat is averted, but the men walk past the kitchen – here a symbol of comfort, safety and home - as they depart. From the young settlers’ perspective, the “wild blacks” have breached the boundary of their home – they have entered the home, which settler law decrees only servant-, station- or ‘non-wild blacks’ are permitted to enter, and only when invited. The strangeness of these ‘wild blacks’ is indicated by the signifiers noted above, and also by the fact they do not speak to the young characters in English.

It is significant that the “Mirrabooka blacks” are said to have been themselves threatened by these “wild blacks” and that three elements are subsumed into a region named “the settled districts” (145). These elements consist of the geographic region that the station occupies: the population group known as the “Mirrabooka blacks” and the population group known as the whites who run the stations. The word “settled” here appears to have several meanings, indicating white homes, sheep, cattle, and horses, but also the absence of conflict and importantly the absence of “blacks from the Darling” or “wild blacks.” All of these signifiers are drawn together here, in an act of symbolic home-making, and so the arrival of the “wild blacks” threatens the home in a broader sense than just the house that Jane defends. However, Jane’s defence of the house

provides yet another example of others working as a foil for the character development of a settler – although Jane is not (yet) a settler. She is nonetheless standing in for the settler family in their absence, claiming the right of ownership of the property. She is highlighted as courageous and admirable as a result of her brush with the men, and this is acknowledged by another character who praises her admiringly.

While the “wild blacks” are visiting Mirrabooka, other Aboriginal people have arrived at neighbouring Bywong. They have speared the managers, Elizabeth and Jim Conlon, as well as one of their cows. Harriet asks Mrs. Browning why this has happened, given that “Elizabeth and Jim didn’t hurt the blacks”. Mrs. Browning responds by saying:

“... Some of the Bywong men shot some of the wild blacks, so they took their revenge upon ... [them] ... in their law, to kill one of the enemy tribe is enough. It doesn’t matter if it is the one who has hurt them, or if it is someone who has not hurt them, as long as it is one of the tribe.” (178-9)

This response involves some nuance, as it involves the possibility of alternative ways of thinking about one’s social place, beyond the singular view of the individual settler subject. It remains unclear whether it was the settlers or the “station blacks” from Bywong who shot the “wild blacks”. However, this scene clearly articulates the notion that there are two kinds of Aboriginal people, those associated with the station and those who live beyond it. Those who live beyond the station setting are dangerous because they are unknown; however, Mrs. Browning acknowledges that Aboriginal people have their own law – one of the very few times this is acknowledged in the novels that I have examined. This is not acknowledged in an admiring way but to highlight the unreasonableness of the Aborigines who are said to be prepared to kill a person for no good reason. Although they have their own law, they remain threatening: as one of the characters at Mirrabooka says, “I’ve heard there are many wild tribes, and there might

be many wandering these lonely plains with none to know of them” (176). This statement defines “wild blacks” as those who live on their own terms beyond settler knowledge and control.

There are exceptions to this pattern of depicting “wild blacks” as threatening to settlers. Power refers to an apparently mutually friendly relationship between a settler and an Aboriginal character in her 1961 novel *Sabotage in the Snowy Mountains*. Rachel Clarke, the protagonist, describes the life of her great grandfather – one of the first settlers in the Monaro region of southern New South Wales. The narrator describes how he and his family lived in tents until he built a stone hut. He made friends with the “blacks” and did not have any trouble with them, as the narrator puts it, “apart from an occasional beast speared” (34). Cattle spearing is an example of Aboriginal peoples not conforming to settler law. However, in this passage from *Sabotage in the Snowy Mountains* no retribution results from people having broken this unwritten law. Rather, the narrator explains that even though some cattle were speared Rachel’s grandfather maintained friendly relations with the Aborigines. In this scene, it seems sensible to assume that Rachel’s grandfather believed that the Aboriginal people were spearing cattle as a food source, a reason that McGrath writes was commonly described as a motivation by Aboriginal people. This exceptional example does not undermine my argument that the novels are tools of violence; it simply acknowledges that very occasional alternative depictions of relationships between settlers and Aborigines did occur, and therefore alternative perspectives were possible: authors were not always completely restrained by the conventions of their historical time.

In the novel *We of the Never Never* Aborigines who live in ‘the wild’ are known as “outside blacks” and as “wild blackfellow[s]” (58). When the Maluka [Master] leaves the Missus alone at the homestead for a few days, the Aboriginal character who is insultingly called “Goggle-Eye” by Gunn and “three other old blackfellows ...

expressed great fear lest the homestead should be attacked by ‘outside’ blacks” (58). They offer to sleep nearby, to allay the Missus’s fear and giggle nervously in agreement when Goggle-Eye confesses that he himself is frightened. The Missus notices them observing her but she pretends to have no concerns. The existence of “outside blacks” and the unknown nature of their potential threat is introduced, corroborating the idea that there is a potential threat from those Aboriginal characters outside the imagined boundaries of white administration.

Donald Barr’s 1946 novel *Warrigal Joe* provides a fitting metaphor for the settler trope of “wild blacks”. The narrator describes a region known as “myall territory”, recognised as such because “Niggers [are] bad around here” (23). When a fire ignites the narrator explains that it has been started by “myalls” who have “fired the grass”: either that, or they allowed the camp-fire to become too big, so that it was “swept up by the wind” (26). Quite aside from possibly referencing Aboriginal land management systems, this works well as a metaphor. “Wild” people might easily be able to start a fire, one way or another: a “fire” being something out of control, dangerous and a force of nature, beyond the control of settlers.

In the same year that Barr’s novel was published, Harry Watt’s film *The Overlanders* was released. After a team of drovers have been on the move with their cattle for two months they are travelling across a plain when one of the men looks up towards some high cliffs. “Look Helen” one of the drovers says to another, “Myalls: wild blacks!” (24.22). These “Myalls” wear very little clothing and hold spears but they return a casual friendly wave and the drovers continue on. In this case, the drovers, a mixed group of whites and Aborigines, are shown to be on friendly terms with the “Myalls”. However, they are still defined as “wild blacks”, as if this were a real category that pertained to Aboriginal peoples, rather than one that spoke of anxiety regarding the reach of settler law within the Australian settler homeland.

Power, in her 1959 novel *Nursing in the Outback*, also uses the term “real Myalls” (147) to describe some Aboriginal people whom the young female protagonists follow when they are lost. Their “wildness” is indicated by the fact that they “camp” in “rough shelters” and sleep on “a bed of leaves” (143), do not speak English (143-4), use sign language (145), participate in “inter-tribal fights” in which one man was attacked with “a fish spear” (144), cook yams (145), “loaf ... around camp” (146) and have had little contact with whites (147). Hannah observes that there are “not many [real Myalls] left” (147). Just as in the film *The Overlanders* these characters are not depicted as dangerous; however, they are described as beyond the settler gaze, and more ominously in this scene, as almost eliminated. Aboriginal people are described as being almost historical, again referencing violent discourses concerning the idea that Aboriginal culture and peoples were almost extinct. This idea is also raised in Mercer’s historical novel *Cows Can’t Eat Cedar* but from a different perspective. When Sue contracts the measles, she worries about being contagious, especially for sake of the “few remaining blacks in the district ... for to them it was a serious disease and often fatal” (69). She demonstrates her concern for Aboriginal characters who live in her community and she acknowledges that survival is important for those who remain. This is in contrast to the description in Power’s novel, which provides no context for the statement that there are “not many left” or what the consequences of this might be. For Sue, these characters are part of her community, for the two nurses in Power’s novel, they are a means to their own survival, and they are “wild”.

I have not encountered any scholarly attention to the use of the word “myall” in Australian Young Adult or other novels, although it is relatively widespread. McGrath defines the word as meaning “wild blacks” (10) but does not discuss its origins. Gunn uses the word in *Little Black Princess* to denote wildness. She writes: “Bittertwine was a wild little nigger boy or ‘myall’” (227). The word myall, also used to denote an acacia

tree, is used to mean “wild blacks” in 1923 by Bowes in *The Jackaroos* (137); in 1927 by Fleming in *The Hunted Piccaninnies* (128); by Barr in *Warrigal Joe* in 1946 (23), and in Power’s 1959 *Nursing in the Outback* (147) across a time span of at least thirty years.

As discussed in Chapter Two the Myall wattle (and all of its species) was considered by white settlers as a common and relatively useless tree. This association indicates something plentiful, common and without much value. This might apply to wattle, but it might also apply metaphorically to Aboriginal peoples, from the perspective of some settlers. In Meillon’s 1947 novel, *Adventure Down Under*, the word “myall” might be used to refer to wattle, as the young American boy, Warren, who is visiting a sheep station, is told to “bring the sheep in from the myall paddock” (42). The wattle flower, along with the eucalypt, was appropriated, domesticated and tamed at the point when they were taken up as Australian national symbols. In the early twentieth century, Holmes explains in her 2011 article “Growing Australian landscapes”, Wattle Day became a popular national day and wattle symbolised the wealth and richness of settler Australian life (122). This suggests an association with the notion of assimilation of Aboriginal people by settlers.

The other meaning that was already associated with wattle might, more ominously, also be associated with Aboriginal people, especially to the settler invented category of “wild black”. This concerns the violent associations with the Myall Creek Pastoral Station, central New South Wales, which was the scene of the Myall Creek Massacre of Aboriginal people in 1838. The Australian Government Department of Environment website on the Myall Creek Massacre and Memorial site and the National Library of Australia lists of primary and secondary sources related to the massacre both provide important material relating to this massacre. Australian and international responses to the Myall Creek Massacre and the resulting court case were divided.

According to Jane Lydon, in her 2017 article “Anti-slavery in Australia: Picturing the 1838 Myall Creek Massacre”, fourteen Australian humanitarians met within one week of the reports of the massacre to form a branch of the Aborigines Protection Society (7). Some Australians, including those in positions of power, argued that humanitarian responses were unjust to settlers following the conviction of seven white men. Responses to the massacre subsequently contributed to a culture of secrecy, according to Lydon, where such violent acts were later kept hidden from public view and therefore from potential legal action (8). In this context, it is not unlikely that the use of the term “myall” in the novels under review is part of the interdiscourse that refers to the perpetuation of the attitude that violence against Aboriginal peoples is justified from the perspective of some settlers, as part of the process of settling Australia.

If this is an accurate interpretation, the word “myall” would function as a type of secret code, communicating support for those settlers who were convicted of massacring Aboriginal people at Myall Creek. This is interesting in terms of Benjamin’s theory of violence. What arises for me here, in this recurrence of violence between ninety and one-hundred and twenty years after the Myall Creek Massacre and court case, is that the ongoing linguistic violence transmitted by this word, ‘myall’, is violence that opposes law, just as much as it seeks to maintain law. The law that it opposes is British law: the legal judgement that found seven white men guilty, and executed them (“Domestic Intelligence” 2), for burning, butchering and murdering at least twenty-seven Aboriginal people at Myall Creek (“Law” 3). In Benjamin’s theory of violence, he allows for what he calls “hostile counter-violence” to law-making (“Critique” 300). The administration of laws that Benjamin sometimes calls “law-preserving violence” often works to suppress such violent responses. How well a society manages these swells of “counter-violence” contributes to what Benjamin describes as the “dialectical rising and falling in the law-making and law-preserving

formations of violence” (“Critique” 300). In this case, the use of the code-word “myall”, functions to consolidate a network of those settlers who opposed the British legal judgement and supported settler law. The appearance of this word in these novels suggests that this legal and ideological position was taken up and distributed by ‘the people’, in opposition to, and beyond the reach of ‘the authorities’.

In Lydon’s analysis of reactions to the Myall Creek Massacre it can be seen that, on one hand the legal finding – a new kind of law-making for Australia at that time – had an educative effect in the formation of the Aborigines Protection Society, with international support. On the other hand, the judgement had the effect of highlighting an unwritten settler law, one that many Australian settlers wished to maintain. That is, that settlers could not be found guilty of clearing the land and settling even when that meant killing Aboriginal people, because this was the definition and task of settling and also perhaps, because these murdered Aborigines were “myalls”, not men, women and children. Simultaneously, this clarified another point: that white Australia was not British. As discussed in Chapter One, Australia had to be made British, by planting gardens, describing it as populated by Britons, rather than others, and by all sorts of other symbolic manoeuvres. Australian settlers demonstrated that they were not British by resisting some inheritances – such as the outcome of the legal finding of the Myall Creek case – while maintaining others.

The remnants of the “counter-violence” that I have identified in the novels discussed in this chapter in the form of the word “myall” are products of acute conflict between three legal systems, one of which was traditional (British law), one that had been emergent (settler law) and one that was disregarded (Aboriginal law of whatever Aboriginal Country might be being discussed). The fact that this violence persists into the mid-twentieth century – by which time Australian laws and legal systems had been formalised – suggests that processes of settler home-making in Australia are saturated

with multiple forms of law-related violence, which had not been resolved by the time that these novels were published.

The other term used in the novels to designate some Aboriginal characters as “wild” is the word “warrigal”. In Bowes’ 1923 novel *The Jackaroos*, both terms – “myall” and “warrigal” – are used. The character “Paddy the Ram” tells the young men, Aleck and Jim, the story of when he was speared by an Aboriginal man on an earlier overlanding trip. He does not seem to know what to call the men who spear him: “the wild blackfellers”, he says, “I mean niggers – blackfellows – warrigals – call ’em any name ye like” (44-45). Although Paddy is apparently unclear about which word to use, he knows just what action to take. He chases them, shooting, and “peppered” some of them with shot (45). Paddy wants to stop them before they reach the ridge because, he says, “scrub warrigals can make themselves invisible with a ’andful of grass” (46). Paddy and Nosey soon arrive at a water-hole but lose sight of the Aboriginal men. Paddy sees a snake swimming in the water. As he shoots the snake “to smithereens”, the Aboriginal men jump out of the water where they are hiding (48).

Paddy promotes the idea that Aboriginal peoples have special powers of hiding in the bush, just as they have special powers at tracking those who are trying to hide. This is another reference to the idea that Aborigines are like animals and are part of the landscape. In this passage, the association is also made between Aboriginal people and the concept of “scrub” and the lack of value that settlers placed on this type of vegetation. Paddy provides many names for the Aboriginal men, (including names previously discussed). Each of them is insulting. Finally, he negates the names he has provided, casting them as “non-others” in Sheehan’s sense, (cited in Strakosch & Macoun 42). Paddy communicates the message that any name is as good as any other, as there is no particular subjectivity to these characters that might warrant a proper name. This case of linguistic violence takes away the basic right of a character to exist.

Without a name, one cannot speak, be spoken of, or addressed and so one ceases to exist in discourse and as a political subject. I have previously discussed this form of violence in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

However, there is a difference here, as Paddy positions these men on the outside of discourse, in a figuratively “wild”, scrub-filled place, and, apparently in an act of retaliation. He chases and shoots them with small pellets of shot, rather than bullets and so the word “peppered” is used, rather than “shot”. This is likely to be an example of overlanders using euphemisms for violence towards Aboriginal peoples. Although the snake is shot “to smithereens” the narrator does not disclose what happens to the Aboriginal men after they are scared out of their hiding place. This literary sleight of hand produces an ominous void in place of the conclusion of Paddy’s story. The narrator does not say whether the Aboriginal men escape, attack, are injured, or are killed. This silence is arguably the most violent part of the scene. The lack of concern for proper naming in this scene can also be distinguished from the lack of proper naming in previous chapters for two reasons. One, because it is associated with the probable shooting of the improperly named Aboriginal figures, and secondly, because the depiction of this violent attack, whether retaliatory or not, is authorised by a prolific author and a respected publisher.

Significantly, *The Jackaroos* is predominantly set between the town of Roma and the Upper Dawson River in Queensland (197) an area Ross Gibson describes, in his 2002 book *Seven Versions of an Australian Badland*, as “an immense historical crime scene” in response to the plethora of reports of violent atrocities that were carried out in the process of dispossessing Aboriginal peoples in this region (84). On the interactive University of Newcastle map of confirmed massacre sites,¹⁹ four massacre sites all

¹⁹ Many Massacre maps exist. This one was developed by the Centre for 21st Century Humanities and the Centre for the History of Violence at the University of Newcastle as part of an ARC grant investigating Violence on the Colonial Frontier 1788-1960. It is the first of its type in the world as it collates and includes disparate sources of

located in the Maranoa Pastoral District surround the town of Roma (Muckaddila Creek, 1848; Grafton Range, 1849; Ukabilla Station, 1852; Yamboucal, 1852). Two of these list stockmen as attackers and two list native police as the attackers. Of these four massacres, which occurred between seventy-one and seventy-two years prior to the publication of *The Jackaroos* in 1923, one massacre occurred on a named cattle station and the other locations might also have been stations. Of the thirty sites recorded in Queensland overall, at the time of writing (the record is still being compiled), eleven are recorded as being perpetrated by stockmen, either alone or in the company of settlers or Government officials. The link between Aboriginal people, violence and stock has strong historical evidence, and, as can be seen here, is also depicted in Young Adult novels. These scenes of violence towards Aboriginal figures in *The Jackaroos* and the suggestion of murder of Aboriginal figures, especially in the context of reprisal, and by a character who is an overlander, has direct links to actual violence beyond the text. These scenes promote practices of settler law, in which violence towards Aboriginal people might be referred to indirectly, justified and kept secret. The term “scrub warrigal” is a fabricated term, possibly a neologism, but Paddy presents it with authority as if it were a technical term. This appropriation of authority in the novel is integral to one of the ways in which this character makes himself at home in the narrative while he simultaneously dispossesses the six Aboriginal men of their homeland, and possibly also of their lives.

Fred Cahir and Ian Clark, in their 2013 article “The Historic Importance of the Dingo in Aboriginal Society in Victoria (Australia)”, write that the word “warrigul” (sic) refers to a dingo in the Dharuk language of the Port Jackson region near Sydney (186). It is used in this sense by author Warrigal Anderson in his book, *Warrigal's Way*

corroborative evidence including, but not limited to settler diaries; missionary correspondence; newspaper reports; Native Title submissions; oral and visual Aboriginal accounts, and Government records.

(front matter), and in the novel *Warrigal Joe* by Barr (75). The word, spelt “Waragal” was also used to refer to a wild dog in Wesson’s 2002 unpublished thesis, *The Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and Far South-Eastern New South Wales, 1830 to 1910: An Historical Geography* (114). The word is recorded as being used in 1846 by C.J. Tyers, the Commissioner of Lands for Gippsland, Victoria, to refer to “wild blacks – aborigines [sic]” (Wesson 245). The earliest recording of the word appears in the 1790-1791 William Dawes notebooks of the Dharuk language where ‘Tein_go Wor_re_gal refers to a dog (16).²⁰ Linguist Jakelin Troy includes the words “Warrigal” and “Warigal” in a list of words borrowed by Australian English from the Sydney Aboriginal language to mean dog, dingo and wild in the 1992 article “The Sydney Language Notebooks and responses to language contact in early colonial NSW” (np).²¹

The dingo was used as a metaphor for wilderness, for an enemy and as a symbol of a dying race. According to Amanda Stuart in her 2013 unpublished thesis “The dingo in the colonial imagination.”: “...the dingo was marginalised and aligned with other undesirable minorities – Aboriginal people, criminals, wilderness – in an effort to justify its attempted eradication. Such attitudes ... influence popular social opinions towards it” (2). Exactly the same can be said of popular social opinions towards Aboriginal peoples.

Bowes in *The Jackaroos* compares Aboriginal peoples to dingoes when one of his characters boasts that he could “pot a black” (shoot an Aboriginal person) (127). If an Aboriginal person was found near a herd of cattle or a “sheepfold”, he writes, this was “justification enough for some of the hardy pioneers to treat him as they treated the prowling dingo” (127). The use of the word “pot” in combination of the words warrigal

²⁰ Book C may have been written by Governor Arthur Phillip, David Collins and John Hunter, rather than Dawes, based on the handwriting, according to Jakelin Troy (sec. 3, np).

²¹ Although there is a distinct word for dingo in the Sydney language (‘dingu’) which was also borrowed into Australian English as dingo (sec. 6 np). It therefore remains unclear why the word Warrigal was adopted by European Australians to refer to some Aboriginal people. Presumably the word travelled to Gippsland and other areas of Australia by European Australians, given that the Sydney language was the earliest contact language (Troy sec 6 np).

and “scrub: further reinforces the idea that settlers are reacting to a minor pest – one that does not belong in the settler homeland. Just as Joe, the narrator in the film *Jedda*, (discussed on the next page), confirms at the start of the film that cattle belong to his country; Bowes’s proposition is that the cattle belong, but that “wild” things do not.

Barr describes a remote landscape as “real Never Never country” (74): a “wild” place, “avoided by drovers”, where the “warrigal roams” and “old blackfellows” undertook “strange ceremonies, and enjoyed cannibal feasts” (75). In the terrain of Barr’s literary homeland, the dingo and the Aborigine are brought together as equally wild. The implication that “wild” Aborigines practice cannibalism adds to the wildness, danger and supposed violence of “Never Never country”. Donald Macdonald does not make the comparison between Aborigines and dingoes explicit, but it can be inferred when the narrator of *The Warrigals’ Well* claims that “the Territory blacks, the warrigals, won’t attack openly” (66). The implied connection is with the dingo that is known to attack surreptitiously. These are the figures of his imagination that Macdonald has named in his title: *The Warrigals’ Well*. He depicts these people as “wild”, compares them to an animal that is itself stigmatised and also – as some Australians did with the dingo – attempts to justify the “eradication” of Aboriginal people based on the myth he constructs about them. If people do not “attack openly”, how can one know whom to attack in return? Any one of those people might be a target. Therefore, this myth provides justification for attacking or killing any of those whom Donald Macdonald calls the “Territory blacks” or “warrigals”.

What Bowes writes about “wild blacks” might actually be – in a process of projection – truer of settlers, than of Aboriginal peoples:

The myalls had no particular grudge against the present occupiers, but, in common with all primitive peoples, they did not discriminate between individuals. Enough for them that white-pfeller had assaulted them, and maimed

or killed some of them. Their code of retaliation embraced the whole race.

White-pfeller must render an eye for an eye, a life for a life. (116-7)

It is significant that Bowes, Donald Macdonald and other authors who use the term “warrigal” use a word that is not English to name a group – to mark their own known and unknown Aboriginal people – in an attempt to make their unknown classifiable, as if they are making up ‘tribes’. They use a word that they might or might not have known the meaning of, but one that for them signified a “wild” Aboriginality and a state of being ‘of this place’.²²

PART THREE, ASSIMILATION

The Australian Government Bureau of Census and Statistics was established by the 1905 Act of the same name. Aboriginal peoples were not mentioned in the Act. The Attorney General announced, in relation to the first Australian census in 1911, that “half-castes are not Aboriginal within the meaning of section 127 of the Australian Constitution and should therefore be included” (AIATSIS np). Other Aboriginal people were not being counted. This is a demonstration of how mobility – the capacity to move from one social category to another – within a settler society is controlled by settlers, as Veracini argues, as only those who are stated to be countable citizens, are formally counted. However, the Attorney General did not provide any definition of what constituted a “half-caste”: this was left up to the census workers to decide (AIATSIS np). This is, therefore, both an example of written law and an example of unwritten settler law. People must be clearly part of the “Indigenous Others” group, or not. Dual identification is not acceptable. One reason for this is because the settler needs the

²² The word persists in the name ‘Warrigal Greens’ for a wild growing Australian spinach-like plant, also known as Botany Bay Greens, New Zealand Spinach, Native Spinach and *Tetragonia teragonioides*; one of the first native Australian foods to become popular with Europeans, the word Warrigal here presumably referring to the fact that it is a ‘wild’ or ‘Native’ plant (Mirosch np).

figure and category of the “Indigenous Other” to prove their own right of belonging.

The 1955 Australian film *Jedda* by Charles Chauvel portrays the Northern Territory cattle station as an exemplary site for the conversion or assimilation of a potentially “wild black” into an almost “white” “station black.” According to the title notes, the story of an Aboriginal girl brought up by the wife of a white cattle station owner following the death of her own baby is founded on fact. Much has been written about this film, but the cattle station setting has been relatively ignored. This film has links with Gunn’s 1905 novel, *The Little Black Princess*, as I will discuss.

The opening lines of *Jedda*, are spoken by the head stockman and narrator, Joe, who is described in the opening shots as the trusted “half-caste son of an Afghan teamster and an Australian Aborigine woman.” Joe says that the land, shown in the opening shots, is his land, “and the land of Jedda the girl I love ... a land of buffalo and wild pig and great cattle herds and lonely homesteads”. Joe describes how “a native Pintari child is born in the dusted cattle tracks, its mother dies and the cattle trudge on. That was Jedda’s birthplace: the dust of the cattle track” (5.26). It is significant that all the animals that Joe describes as belonging to his country are introduced by settlers. His description of the land and Jedda’s birthplace in particular is already, from the time of her birth, dominated by the signifiers of the settler. The cattle station setting is already established and is ahistoric – as if, in the idealised settler origin story, it has always been part of the country.

The settler debate about assimilation is played out between Mr. and Mrs. McMann, the station managers. Mr. McMann argues that Jedda should be with her own people as she will not adapt to white culture: “They don’t tame” (17.43) he says, as if she is a pet. Mrs. McMann insists that Jedda will choose what she considers the better life and provides her with fashionable frocks to encourage this choice. These settler characters, although disagreeing, are claiming the right to decide who is and who is not

an assimilated Aborigine. This is reminiscent of how, fifty years previously, the narrator in Gunn's 1905 *The Little Black Princess* "had a merry time choosing colours, sewing dresses" for Bett-Bett (168), in a manner that one might also adopt to approach a pet or a doll. Mrs. McMann provides Jedda with piano lessons, and restricts her movements so that she does not learn to speak her own language: "I want you to go on living like a white girl, like my own daughter", she tells Jedda (22.53). This is the depiction of a violent cultural theft as I discuss in the following section on language.

The opposite of this version of 'assimilation' was occurring during the actual filming of *Jedda*. One of the directors constructed the public persona of the actress who played the part of Jedda to appear *less* like a part of settler society. According to Karen Fox in her 2009 article "Rosalie Kunoth-Monks and the making of *Jedda*", the writers changed the actor's name to make it sound more like the name of a "genuine aborigine"—that is, the imagined white audience's idea of what the name of a "genuine aborigine" might sound like (80)²³. The actor's skin was also darkened with make-up for the same reason. Two elements that the film is predicated upon – the fact that the land was cattle country (it was not) and that Jedda had a "genuine" Aboriginal name and skin-colour – were questionable, although the film was promoted as being documentary-like, and as showing the "real lives" of the people it portrayed (80). This parallels the illocutionary process of producing the other in the novels discussed in this thesis. It mirrors the process by which all of the othered characters that I have discussed are depictions of elements of the authors' minds and social worlds, constructed as subject to violence, hate-speech and stereotyping.

The character Jedda participates in the everyday life of the cattle station, caring for the goats and going out to the buffalo camp, but she is prohibited from going on

²³ Actor Rosalie Kunoth-Monk's name was changed to Ngarla after Elsa Chauvel told her that Rosalie was not an Aboriginal name (80).

“walkabout” with “the people of her race” (21.35). When a stranger arrives back from “walkabout” with the Aborigines who work and live at the station he is called a “wildfella” by one of the station Aborigines (25.17). Similar to the “wild” Aborigines in *West of Sunset*, he is almost naked, has ceremonial scars on his body and a confident attitude. The white station owner tells him to put some trousers on and to camp away from the families. These are the first signs of settler control that are directed at him in an attempt to assimilate him into the group of station Aborigines, while keeping him separate from the “families” – that is, from women and children. The settler-controlled station camp is once again seen to be characterised by these signifiers of ‘civilisation’ – clothing, willingness to follow settler orders, willingness to be segregated, willingness to provide free labour. However, in this scene another element is added: willingness to give up control and protection of Aboriginal women and children to settlers. This is consistent with the policies of managed reserves, previously mentioned earlier in this chapter. Managed reserves were established by the Aboriginal Protection Board from 1883 and had the right to control the movements of Aboriginal people and also held legal guardianship of children (AIATSIS np). This interaction is therefore another example of violence beyond the text.

Jedda is interested in the stranger. Perhaps denying “all the longing in the heart of little Jedda for the freedom of her tribal life” (14.12) was bound to backfire for Mrs. McMann. Again, there is a similarity here between Jedda and the character Bett-Bett, who was also said to have become “bush-hungry” and to suffer a painful longing for her own people and for “the bush talks and the camps, and the long, long wanderings from place to place, for the fear of Debbil-debbils, for anything that would make her a little bush nigger once more” (237). These are depictions of the “wild” instinct, which according to the settler narrative, remains alive within Aboriginal characters – as Mr. McMann describes it: “the little wild goose” within Jedda (12.45). They are also

convenient excuses for the settler women who attempt to assimilate these characters, who are able to blame the girls' 'instincts' when the women tire of them or are themselves ready to move on. There is a clear line drawn between the Aborigines who live on the cattle station and the "wildfella", a line that is shown to exist in a fuzzier state within the internal lives of the characters of Jedda and Bett-Bett themselves, one that no amount of clothing or education is able to quash. Although the discourses of the 'wild' and the 'non-wild' can be read as racist, it is important to note that *Jedda* was an extremely popular film with Aboriginal audiences. Actor Rosalie Kunoth-Monks later supported what she called the anti-assimilation stance that the film took, because for her, the important story that the film told was that taking a person from their culture is harmful (Fox 87).

In the novel *We of the Never Never*, it is the Missus herself who is said to require some "education" (by Dan the stockman) before she is deemed able to live on the outback cattle station (58). She also describes a group of Aboriginal women – whom she considers her possessions: "my own lubras" – as her "teachers" (182). Both of these types of teaching and learning are different. In the first, the narrator is learning settler law, including the hierarchies and risks of outback life, from the perspective of a white stockman. In the second type of education, the women who work for her are demonstrating something of their lives and culture to her: how to find eggs, what kind of bird or reptile made the nest and how to identify human tracks. Although the narrator describes this as interesting and says that she "tried ...[her] very best" she reports that she "failed dismally" (182). She explains this by positing that she and the women are fundamentally unlike one another. She summarises this difference as the "blackfellow's sight for tiny differences" (182). This is evocative of the anti-assimilation argument presented by some Australian settlers – a very different argument to that articulated by Kunoth-Monks – that Aboriginal and white people should be kept apart, because the

two groups are fundamentally different and cannot live side-by-side as equals. It is important to note the presence of this debate in the novels under review as it is central to the notion of who belongs and how the homeland is structured.

Gunn suggests the knowledge shared by her “lubras”, although exotic, is not really useful. It is something akin to playing, which she allows the “black lubras” to do after the work is done (183). In this extract from *We of the Never Never*, Aboriginal women are stereotyped as child-like, non-productive and unable to work without being directed by settlers. This feeds into the discourse, previously discussed, concerning the idea that settlers had a right and responsibility to invade and colonise Australia, because Aboriginal peoples – in this case, Aboriginal women – did not make use of the land.

PART FOUR, ABORIGINAL WOMEN

Violence towards women is important in the context of this research, because, as I have previously demonstrated, some settlers consider the home to be women’s domain.

Violence towards women, therefore, can sometimes articulate something about the home in Australia. Acts of literary violence towards Aboriginal women which occur in some of these novels carry a double significance because Aboriginal women are central to the notion of home – the very home that settler law directs settlers to steal from Aboriginal peoples.

Aboriginal women are described as “gins” in several of the novels, for example in Donald Macdonald’s 1901 *The Warrigals’ Well* (89); Sagon’s 1902 novel *Dick Dashwood* (116); Bowes 1925 *The Fur Hunters in Australian Wilds* (140); Bowes 1923 *The Jackaroos*, (71) and Clark’s 1954 *Boomer: The Life of a Kangaroo* (47). Conor writes that the use of this word, along with another commonly used word “lubra”, were ways of constructing the Aboriginal woman as anonymous, taking away her name, her individuality and her particular context. This practice of name-calling also ignored

whatever names the Aboriginal woman might have used to describe settlers (9-10).

This linguistic violence is consistent with Rancière's theory of the *ochlos*, as I discussed in Chapter Five. When her name is removed the Aboriginal female character also loses her right to be part of the *demos*: to assemble and be heard (32). The use of the word "gin" to describe her in these novels is therefore an act of excising her from the group of potential citizens of Australia. This act of violence serves to support the 1905 Census and Statistics Act, in that she is not counted as part of the Australian home. This link between violence and written law is a further example of Benjamin's theory of how mythical violence functions to maintain law.

These anonymous female figures were allocated a set of characteristics that were reiterated in various discourses. In the novels I examined, I found that Aboriginal women were portrayed as ugly, stupid, dirty, oppressed, animal-like and also as bad mothers. These descriptors suggest that Aboriginal women are unfit to manage a home, in a similar way to which male Aborigines were depicted by settlers as being unable to manage land. This suggests that a similar discourse might be occurring: if a woman cannot manage a home, she has no right to that home. These constructions appear strategic, intended to justify settler occupation of Aboriginal homelands, but also justify child removal practices related to Stolen Generations.

The two Aboriginal characters, Boojari and "Squashnose"—a name that is frightening, insulting and demeaning—in Clark's 1954 novel *Boomer the Life of a Kangaroo*, both have unnamed wives. The narrator describes the women as "excessively ugly, dejected and dirty, with long matted hair and greasy old fragments of kangaroo hide round their waists" (47). This is an insulting way to describe women whose homeland the narrator occupies. Later, he describes one of these "ginns" (sic) as a "black ogress" (50). The term "ogress" would be sufficient to communicate both the extremity of distaste which the narrator experiences and the relevance of gender. The

author feels it necessary to add the adjective “black”, however, providing an insight into the importance of race in the context of this slur. Conor argues that the physical descriptions of Aboriginal peoples are an integral part of colonial discourse as they combine the apparently scientific focus of ethnology with the construction of exotic otherness. The assessment of beauty, or its lack, is clearly not of scientific interest, yet Conor finds that such attention is a regular feature in settlers’ records of Aboriginal women (160-62). Focusing particularly on older women in one section of her book, Conor describes many of these accounts as “graphic” and “vicious” recurrent acts of discursive violence against Aboriginal women in colonial print (168-69). Clark’s description of Boojari’s and Squashnose’s wives is part of this discursive violence, still being enacted in the mid-twentieth century.

Earlier in the century Slade’s narrator creates an impression of Aboriginal women not quite as graphic as Clark’s, but demeaning nonetheless. In Slade’s 1925 *The Pearlers of Lorne*, pearlers Billy and Peter steer their boat into an inlet and are greeted by a group of Aborigines. The men are described as “tall, slender-limbed men, with great mops of frizzy hair, clad in loincloths, and carrying long spears” (117). The pearlers consider them “wild”, due to their lack of clothing and their possession of non-settler weapons, both signifiers that stand in contrast to those that characterise the settler home as I have previously discussed, but the description in itself is not especially demeaning.

The women, on the other hand, are said to “flit ... among the bushes”, a certain distance behind “their lords”. They are described as “unkempt” in their “soiled red petticoats” (117). They are represented as congregating in a group, all wearing similar clothing, so they are shown as being just as anonymous as if they were called “gins”. The word “unkempt” has the added meaning of someone who does not care for oneself. They are also described as dirty, so they are depicted as not having the self-hygiene

practices assumed of settler women. In this account, there is also an element of sexualisation of the women, who “flit”, like butterflies or socialites, and wear red-coloured underwear, as if soliciting sex.

This was a common depiction of Aboriginal women by some settlers, who demeaned, humiliated and paid sexual attention to Aboriginal women as part of settler discourse. Anne Summers, in her book *Damned Whores and God’s Police* noted that white men in Australia have traditionally treated Aboriginal women as women to have sex with, rather than marry (234). Bradford also comments on the presence of this theme in the first text for children produced in Australia in 1841, *A Mother’s Offering to her Children*, where Australian boys are warned to be alert to the promiscuity of Aboriginal women (*Reading* 83).

Only ten years after the publication of the novel *The Pearlers of Lorne* a series of newspaper articles appeared in the Australian press, Conor reports, claiming that there was widespread prostitution between Aboriginal women and Japanese pearlers (141-42). Slade’s scene might be part of this broader discourse, which positioned Aboriginal women as prostitutes. As Conor argues, settler reaction to the allegations was extreme, suggesting that Australian settlers were marking their sexual territory by their investigations. The character Peter is a white man working in the traditionally Japanese pearling industry, so he is possibly providing an early account of this supposed phenomenon.

The Aboriginal women in this scene are presented as subservient to their own men, as they remain in the background. But the men are also depicted as disregarding the needs of the women, as evident in this scene:

Peter opened a tin of meat and tossed it to the native, who began to eat rapidly, distributing small portions to the two males. The empty tin was flung over his shoulder to the women, who hurled themselves upon it,

extracting the last morsels of nutriment with their fingers ... (117)

By having cans of meat thrown at them and by eating from the cans in the way they do, the Aboriginal characters are again equated with dogs. Peter and Billy comment on the way in which the men take first serves of the canned meat, describing it ironically as “chivalry” on the part of the men (118). Billy observes that if these were white women, or more specifically if they were white suffragettes, they would be angrily standing up for themselves (118). It is unlikely that Billy supports suffragettes, due to the way he speaks about them; however, he is happy to use them as a point of comparison to paint a picture of the Aboriginal women as submissive – a characteristic which also potentially serves the settler men’s interest in terms of the sexualisation of Aboriginal women. In *The Jackaroos* Bowes also depicts Aboriginal women as exploited by Aboriginal men, while simultaneously animalising and insulting Aboriginal men: “A gin in the eyes of the blackfellow is nothing less nor more than a beast of burden ... the bucks are born to laze and the women to slave” (71).

Aboriginal women are depicted as bad mothers in some of the novels, a deeply insulting claim. In Bowes’s 1925 novel *Fur Hunters in Australian Wilds*, Bill, one of the young protagonists, is woken in the night by the sound of a child crying. He wonders if the sound might be “a gin’s baby in a dilly-bag, hangin’ on a branch” (140). This apparently simple, possibly even idyllic image on first reading has, however, a more problematic subtext. If the baby is crying, hanging on a tree, where is the mother? This depiction enacts violence as it is part of the discourse of child removal policies and the Stolen Generations, and establishes and promotes the idea that Aboriginal women are unfit home-makers, and perversely justifies colonisation of the land, of Aboriginal homes and families and the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women. This is a trope which Elder concludes strategically lays the blame for the Stolen Generations in the empty hands of Aboriginal women themselves (138).

Donald Macdonald depicts Aboriginal women during a “raid” on a group of “myalls” (77) in *The Warrigals’ Well*. An Aboriginal man is shot and in response, a group of Aboriginal women, referred to as “black gins”, run away and “lay screaming, with their faces in the sand, all huddled together” (89). Again, the women are depicted in a group with no individuality. The fact that many of their people have just been shot and that they might be scared, angry, hurt or stunned does not appear to occur to the author. He simply records their outward behaviour. Their gesture of hiding their faces in the sand suggests that they are like children who believe that if they cannot see the source of the violence it cannot see them. This is the way in which Macdonald describes them as silly and infantile; however, to a modern, adult reader he reveals much more about his own lack of empathy.

Similarly, in Sagon’s 1902 *Dick Dashwood*, the author demonstrates his cruelty with his description of an older Aboriginal woman who is unwell. The young protagonists discover her and decide to take her with them on their journey, claiming that they are better than the Aboriginal men who, they imagine, have left her to die. However, they describe her like an animal, and call her a “cow” (116). The only value she holds for them is that she has a handkerchief that belonged to Dick’s father and so she provides a clue as to his whereabouts. Dick does not express any concern for her when she is hungry or sick, but only for himself in relation to her, as she is a burden that he has (literally) to carry.

The themes and tropes that appear in these novels published between 1901 and 1954 recur in many other forms, and, as Conor demonstrates, also in broader colonial discourse, where Indigenous women from other countries were also degraded and disrespected in print and elsewhere. In the context of this thesis, women’s relationships with the literal and metaphoric notions of home and homeland is of particular relevance. The cruelty and derision that is directed at Aboriginal women can be interpreted as

recognition that they represent the stolen homeland at a foundational level and must be silenced and de-authorised so that settler law can be implemented and maintained. The individual words printed on the page have a violent effect whenever they are read. The words “ogress”, “cow” or “flitting” silly things, ridicule Aboriginal women and present them as inhuman just as the words “myall” and “warrigal” present Aboriginal men as inhuman, wild and dangerous.

PART FIVE, LANGUAGE

Bradford notes that mission staff communicated only in English, and prevented Aboriginal children from speaking their first, second or third languages. As Bradford observes this was a common colonial strategy intended to eradicate local languages (*Reading* 140). For Brantlinger, in his 2015 article “Australian Colonial Literature and ‘the Great Silence’” Aborigines were literally silenced in the process of occupation as there were virtually no attempts made by settlers to learn the local languages (136-37).

In the novels examined for this study Aboriginal characters are often depicted as using sign language, considered a very simple form of communication. In some novels they are also shown to use smoke signals. In Gunn’s *We of the Never Never* the stockman and manager do not tell the “station blacks” that they are planning a raid on an area known as the “Red Lilies”, in case the “station blacks” sent a smoke signal to warn the people at the Red Lilies that stockmen are on their way (118-19). Although it is described as ingenious to be able to communicate over a considerable distance it is nonetheless depicted as a form of secret code and as a primitive, rather than a complex language. In Gunn’s earlier novel *The Little Black Princess* she describes the “smoke language” as not quite as accurate as the “sign language” (210). In the 1946 film *The Overlanders* the team sees a plume of smoke on the horizon and one of the riders interprets this to mean that the “blacks know we’re coming”. (34.15). The smoke signal

therefore, also implies threat, as it is an announcement and a type of surveillance, which is outside settler control and might obstruct their movement across the land. However, the smoke signals also suggest a primitive communication method, and one which sometimes implies, from a settler perspective, a lack of intelligence or education.

The idea that a lack of education in the English language equates to a lack of intelligence is made apparent in some of the novels under review. For example, earlier in this chapter I discussed how Donald Macdonald in *The Warrigals' Well*, ridiculed an Aboriginal character by describing him as speaking a Pidgin English apparently so poorly that it required translation by the narrator (86). Earlier in that same novel the narrator expounds: “a black always speaks or is spoken to in that strange jargon of pigeon English, which is ‘good blackfellows talk’ from the Gulf right down to the Australian Bight” (60). The narrator does not wonder why this is so, or question whether this might not be the dialect of colonial dispossession rather than of Aboriginal peoples, all of whom have their unique and distinctive languages. This comment demonstrates how colonial discourse, transmitted by many of these novels, obscured the diversity and differences of Aboriginal cultures and languages, making of them a generic simplified object which is ridiculed.

Returning to Gunn’s novel *A Little Black Princess*, Bett-Bett announces “Me plenty savey Engliss” (164). The Missus is surprised and asks her where she learnt English, “for she looked such a wild little girl”. Bett-Bett explains that she “Longa you boys”, meaning, the narrator explains, that “she had picked it up from our homestead boys” (164). The narrator intervenes and translates in a way that suggests the settler needs to control all sorts of mobility, including semantic. The Missus assumes that Bett-Bett is “wild” and makes the next assumption that because she is wild she is not intelligent. Each of these assumptions is based upon the premise that English is associated with civilisation, progress and learning.

An additional act of violence against Aboriginal peoples and demonstration of a lack of understanding of their cultures is found in the depiction of Aboriginal characters as being innumerate as well as illiterate. In Bowes's novel *The Jackaroos* the narrator and one of the landowners claim that Aborigines cannot count (75), or that they cannot count past two: "Some tribes have no numeral beyond two, save the word signifying a mob. The mob may be half-a-dozen or a hundred" (138). The imagined lack of numeracy skills is shown to be associated with a lack of vocabulary.

Bowes references missions as places where Aboriginal peoples were confined, in *Fur Hunters in Australian Wilds*. His protagonist, Bill, is riding in unfamiliar country when he is surprised to come across a "blacks' camp". He says that did not know that there "were any blacks in these parts" – he believed that "they'd been all yarded into the mission reservation" (134). Bill establishes himself in this narration as an authority on the location of Aboriginal peoples, even in country, which by his own admission, he is unfamiliar with. This suggests that Bill is a microcosm of settler colonialist surveillance and knowledge. His depiction of the "mission" as a place of confinement, one in which people are "yarded up" like cattle, articulates the further purpose of a "mission education", suggesting that his understanding of the mission as a place where things other than the learning of English and counting occurs.

However, the space of the mission is a complex one, as some Aboriginal people consider it a place where new Aboriginal identities were produced in spite of the cultural theft and trauma that also occurred. Writer and Project Officer working with the Arrernte people, Ashleigh Steel quotes Ngandi man, Grant Thompson, in her 2018 article "How to Speak Australian": "When the invaders came to our region, they gathered my people and told them not to speak the languages" (50). He explains how at Roper River Mission, established in 1908, "Aboriginal children from different language groups ... were forced into dormitories together and could barely

communicate with each other.” If they were caught speaking traditional languages they were forced to eat soap, as if their own languages were dirty. However, they did have a common language – the pidgin English developed between Aboriginal groups and the first colonisers. From this, the children developed Kriol, combining English words with the sounds and semantics of Aboriginal languages (50-51). According to linguist Greg Dickson (cited in Steel), being a Kriol speaker today can provide a valued identity, especially for an Aboriginal person who can feel proud that English is not their only language (54). This demonstrates how something that can be used as an act of violence by settlers can be revived and come to signify pride and survival for some Aboriginal peoples.

There are very few exceptions in the novels reviewed for this research where Aboriginal languages are acknowledged or Aboriginal words are recorded. The scarcity of these examples serves to highlight the fact that the novels reviewed for the purposes of this thesis ignore Aboriginal languages, and by doing this, silence Aboriginal voices and culture. Ottley provides a depiction of Aboriginal voices in his 1966 novel *The Roan Colt of Yamboorah*. The protagonist, known only as “the boy” (24) asks two Aboriginal girls who live on the station where he also lives if he can help them retrieve wild honey. The girls, Alici and Maheena, at first decline, but then agree, and instruct him to keep the fire, that they have lit at the base of a tree, smoking. The girls tell the boy to “douse ’im smoke” so that the bees become drowsy and quiet (24-25). The girls climb the tree and the boy hears them speaking to each other in “pure Aboriginal” language, rather than the “pidgin” English they speak, when they speak with him (26).

Their use of their own language signifies that they are at home in their own culture; possibly in their own country, since their skill in retrieving the honey suggests their knowledge of their country. They climb the tree with bare feet, finding toe-holes in

the smooth bark that the boy cannot see (25) suggesting that he is the outsider here.

After they retrieve two buckets of honey they race away, but on their way Alici “fished out a slab of dripping honeycomb and passed it to the boy”, saying “Here ... you eat 'im some. 'im he good too much” (27). In doing this the girls are depicted as sharing Country with the boy. This is an extremely rare depiction of Aboriginal language, particularly as young girls, rather than old people are speaking it, and so, it is depicted as a living language rather than a dying one. Next, the use of the word “pure” to describe the language, suggests something precious, and important, quite unlike the other depictions of Aboriginal peoples that I have discussed in this chapter. As I said, these exceptions serve – unfortunately – to emphasise how scarce this type of depiction is, and likewise how common the pattern of violence is, in these novels. Even in this example the author implies that there is only one “pure Aboriginal” language, which is a form of violence to Aboriginal culture.

In this chapter I have discussed ways in which many of the authors of the twenty-one novels under review presented settlers and Aboriginal peoples as segregated. Both groups were subject to violence, although those defined as “wild” were more likely to be attacked or killed in the novels. I discussed the violence inherent in comparing Aboriginal characters to dogs and to unvalued plants. I demonstrated that the use of the word “myall” was connected to several other themes – such as the violent myth of *terra nullius* and the violent discourse that opposes land rights, by arguing that Aboriginal people were not productive – and also to massacres of Aboriginal peoples. I explored the use of the word “warrigal” and found that it was used to compare Aboriginal peoples to dingoes and the wattle plant, and therefore to depict them as without value and as pests that settlers needed to clear from the land. I examined the depiction of Aboriginal women and found that the linguistic violence and violent sexualised discourses surrounding their depiction is common and depraved. Finally, I

found that there was a pattern of non-recognition of the existence of Aboriginal languages, and that English was valued and associated with a Mission 'education'. This chapter contains descriptions of some of the most extreme violence. All of the settler violence that I have discussed in this chapter functions to deny that the specific nations and Countries which became known as Australia after British occupation was – and still is – the homeland of Aboriginal peoples.

CONCLUSION

Violence, as it arises in the seventy-eight Australian Young Adult novels that I have examined here, is complex, because it raises the question of how words can wound. It also raises questions about the relationships between writing, culture, people and place. The violence that occurs in these Australian Young Adult novels is instrumental in the formation of notions of the Australian home and homeland. It is clear that these novels, published between 1896 and 1968, actively participate in significant contemporaneous discourses that involve violence to people and place. As such, they are important cultural texts. The novels are part of Australian discourses of settler colonialism, land-management, industry and economics, race, nationalism, immigration, ethics, the East, war, land rights, sovereignty, dispossession and power, and they have a bearing on the contemporary iterations of each of these discourses. This research has confirmed the importance of Young Adult literature as a cultural, historical and social source and has highlighted the importance of the Nolan Historical Children's Literature Collection as a significant Australian collection.

Each of my chapters identifies multiple types and dimensions of violence. Settlers are shown to 'belong' in Australia, while also having another homeland. This is characteristic of the settler colonial, who, rather than emigrating, or arriving from elsewhere, is depicted as arriving home. The violence involved in this home-making is connected to the White Australian Policy and all those who were hurt by this policy.

In Chapter One I explored the trope of the new arrival to Australia and argued that Britain and Australia are discursively bound together in the novels by the recursive scenes of arrival and that this trope emphasises the constructed fiction that Australia is a white colonial homeland. Symbolic settling is one of the ways in which settlers are constituted as "indigenous" to Australia, to deploy Veracini's technical term. These tropes of arrival and settling run in the background to the overt narrative and this is part

of their power: the supposed knowledge is assumed, rather than stated. Such tropes also articulate what I argue is one of the primary unwritten settler laws: that settlers have the primary right to settle Australia and that there is no room for others within this literary home-space. Colonial gardens were depicted as valuable, 'native' plants were shown to lack aesthetic value or to be dangerous, while trees and the bush environment were represented as obstacles or as objects of profit. The depiction of tree clearing was normalised and these narratives were shown to support the correctness of the Victorian Land Acts of 1869 and 1928. I argued that the depictions of arrival, gardens, trees and landscape transmitted an ideology about value and promoted slow violence to the environment as integral to the constitution of the imaginary Australian home and homeland.

Chapter Two demonstrated some of the ways that violence was related to home-making in depictions of land clearing and 'improvement'. Depictions of dust and soil erosion, fencing and paddock-making, together with the devaluation of native flora, all deepened the connection between violence and homeland by demonstrating an uncritical representation and acceptance of many forms of environmental violence arising from the introduction of cattle and sheep. The novels discussed in this chapter forcefully represented cattle and sheep as critical to Australia, the land and landscape as constituting a commodity and short-term benefit as more important than sustainability. I argued that the form of literary violence displayed in the novels discussed in this chapter paralleled what the pastoral industry enacted upon the Australian land and Country, that is, displaced alternative narratives and references to other animals, plants, inhabitants, economies and practices. While some of the novels acknowledged that Aboriginal peoples existed alongside sheep and cattle, the authors usually represented them at the periphery of the landscape, or compared them to wild and valueless plants or animals. This chapter highlighted the unwritten settler laws that state that the land

belongs to settlers and that cattle and sheep belong to the land, and demonstrated that violence towards the land was supportive of the Victorian Land Acts of 1869 and 1928, and the 1928 Victorian *Fences Act*.

Chapters One and Two focused on land and landscape and demonstrated that Young Adult novels can provide fruitful research material for the study of the environment. The novels I examined contained material on climate, rivers, pollution, feral animals, resource management, extinction, habitat destruction, endangered trees and more. This is important for many fields. For the literary field, the concurrent focus on the environment and the violence towards some parts of the environment articulates the significance of the environment for literary expression, and how, when landscape and animals become endangered, human expression of intangible and perhaps otherwise impossible-to-express atmospheres and sentiments may likewise become endangered.

In Chapter Three I argued that the Australian attitude of the “fair go” was very rarely depicted towards others in the novels in this Collection. Rather, Chinese characters were stereotyped in terms of their personal and cultural characteristics, job-roles and cultural values. Examples of racist violence in the language used about the Chinese were accompanied by scenes in which Chinese characters were taunted or abused in ways that are also documented in the historical record. In this chapter, much of the violence was introduced in the form of direct authorial narration and in the individualised speech of characters. The expression of the particular stereotypical characteristics was always demeaning, insulting or otherwise wounding. However, violence also arose as a result of the interaction with other discourses, particularly that of social history. Chinese characters were depicted as *homo sacer*, dirty, criminal, and unwelcome in the kitchen or in other contexts where settlers ate together. I theorise the depictions as incidents of linguistic racist violence that participate in, and thereby support and maintain, the 1901 Australian *Immigration Restriction Act*.

In Chapter Four I demonstrated the construction of the immigrant as radically different to the settler, solidifying the special category of the settler as “indigenous” in Veracini’s sense – that is, as a current part of the social structure that belongs and that are constructed as having always belonged (46). The novels discussed in this chapter introduced violence towards Japanese people overtly, in direct speech, in several descriptions of violence depicted as perpetrated by Japanese characters, and one depiction of violent sexual assault. I also discussed violence introduced into the novels as a result of the impact of other discourses upon them, notably colonial discourses of rape, discourses about rape in wartime and literary and extra-literary discourses concerning ‘Asian invasion’ and ‘yellow skin’. I explored the trope of the lascivious Japanese man. I placed this construct within the context of historical discourses about rape in Australia and argued that this trope by depicting the Japanese as uncivilised, as instanced by their being perpetrators of sexual violence, inflicts harm on them as a group. I also argued that by positioning Japanese men as sexual predators, Australian men are elided as potential perpetrators of the colonial construct of ‘real rape.’ This demonstrated the usefulness, for settlers, of the tripartite social structure of indigenous, immigrant and settler, as it demonstrates the ways in which immigrant minorities might be utilised to disguise settler crimes. This chapter also showed how many of the novels supported the 1901 Australian *Immigration Restriction Act*.

Non-Asian migrants are also constituted as exogenous to settler social structures in the selected novels, as I demonstrated in Chapter Five. The depiction of Germans bears closely on the question of who is a part of the home or nation and who is not, that is, who is other to it. I explored the concepts of the Motherland and Fatherland, demonstrating the ways in which violence in these novels is connected with extra-literary discourses, such as wartime attitudes towards Germans. Such attitudes demonstrated how the power involved in unwritten law-making is violent because it

threatens violence to the guilty – in this case German characters living in Australia during World War One – in an overarching abstract sense, not simply in an individual, case-by-case sense. I showed that violence was utilised to construct an image of the enemy and to promote national types and to arouse fear and patriotic feelings.

Chapters Three to Five combined to demonstrate that the depiction of stereotypes is a common form of violence. These chapters presented the multiple ways that immigrant groups are construed as other in these novels. Rancière's concept of the *ochlos* became useful to describe the way in which norms are sometimes violently constituted, the other is excluded from the Australian home, unheard in the *assembly* and also unprotected by law.

I examined the tropes of the 'Black Tracker', the 'Native Policeman' and the 'Urban Aborigine' within the broader theme of 'non-wild' or 'assimilated' Aborigines, and I also explored the theme of 'wild' Aborigines, as this dichotomy emerges in many of the novels reviewed in Chapter Six and works to map the edges of what is defined as settler-space or homeland and to gesture towards what is beyond this homeland. I explored the importance of the pastoral station to these categories and I argued that these categories were used by settlers to justify different forms of violence towards Aboriginal characters, with 'wild' blacks being depicted as more violent and more likely to be murdered, while 'non-wild' Aborigines were depicted as more likely to be enslaved. I argued that these novels clearly articulate the settler-law that claims that settlers have a right to 'defend' themselves against the fictional category of 'wild blacks' as part of the fictional act of settling. In this chapter I argued that this representation of settler-law persisted in the twentieth century and was promoted in some of the novels under review. In particular, a prominent unwritten settler-law insisted that, even when Aborigines and settlers occupied the same land-area or worked together, they did not share a fire, a meal or a home. This is a law that supports

segregation and the superiority of settlers and which claims that Australia is not the home or homeland of Aboriginal peoples – if it were, Aboriginal characters would be depicted in their homes. I theorised that the use of “code words” appeared in some novels and made reference to massacres of Aborigines, speaking to the existence of clearly extra-legal settler discourse and an arguably widespread violent attitude towards Aboriginal peoples. I argued that depictions of the sexualisation and degradation of Aboriginal women are part of settler-law, as Aboriginal women are considered the possessions of settlers, along with land, flora, fauna and Aboriginal men. Finally, I argued the existence of an unspoken but apparent settler-law that says that English is the only Australian language and that the confiscation of Aboriginal names, people and places was part of removing entitlement to land and belonging.

The violence in the novels discussed in Chapter Six was introduced by the individual speech of characters, in the narrations and by the effect of various forms of extra-literary discourses on the novels, such as moral, scientific, assimilationist, evolutionist and racial discourses. In addition to the multiple, unwritten settler laws that I have mentioned, the novels discussed in this chapter also contained violence that supported and maintained written laws, specifically the 1905 *Census and Statistics Act*, which attempted to categorise Aboriginal people as full Aborigines or as “half-caste”, in a similar way to that which occurred in the novels in the division between ‘wild’ and ‘non-wild’ Aboriginal characters. This Act introduced a formalised method of adding or subtracting particular human and legal rights to people in these constructed categories. The other written law that was shown to be maintained by the literary violence appearing in some of the novels examined in this chapter was the 1909-1936 *Aborigines Protection Act* and associated state policies of assimilation, as well as the church and government-controlled institutions of missions and managed reserves that are shown to be supported by several of the novels, and which are strongly connected to extra-literary

violence, particularly concerning the Stolen Generations.

Settler laws define the contours of the Australian home and homeland and are repeatedly and violently inscribed and defended by the novels reviewed in this thesis. I found that violence towards Aboriginal peoples and Country is extensive in the novels of the early-to-mid-twentieth century and underpins much of the violence identified in the other chapters of this thesis. Many of the novels omit the presence of Aboriginal peoples or euphemise the ways in which the colonisation of Aboriginal Country is depicted. In Chapter One I demonstrated that many of the novels examined constituted the relationship between Britain and Australia as the only important relationship, which had the concomitant effect of monopolising the concept of national relationships and erasing potential relationships between settlers and Aboriginal peoples. Tree cutting supported the *Land Act*, but effects on Aboriginal Country were not acknowledged. In Chapter Two, I worked with Nixon's theory of slow violence to demonstrate how the impacts caused by sheep and cattle are not immediate but emerge slowly over time. These effects were noticed by Aboriginal peoples; however, settler authors did not incorporate their perspectives, thereby indicating that Aboriginal knowledge was unimportant. In Chapters Three and Four, Benjamin's theory of the function of mythical violence in relation to law enabled me to identify connections between the *Immigration Restriction Act*, and the Western Australia *Pearling Act* with the expression of violence towards Japanese and Chinese characters and groups. Violence towards Aboriginal peoples also underpins this finding, as settlers consolidated their right of belonging to what was stolen Aboriginal land, by legally limiting who could migrate to Australia and what rights were held by each category of migrant or Aboriginal people. I identified themes of Asian invasion in a number of novels that I read and argued that the presence of this theme was more consistent with the violence of a psychotic delusion than that of the unconscious, and that it arose in this manner as a result of the disavowal of the

British invasion of Aboriginal lands.

The patterns of violence apparent in the novels that I have examined damage or discriminate against particular places and people because they discursively provoke, establish and bring into play unwritten and written laws which bear on human rights and environmental justice. I argue that these findings have been enabled primarily because of the richness of the source material and the interdisciplinary nature of the Collection and its contexts. The entire project has demonstrated the fruitfulness of the literary method of close reading, as it allowed an explication of terms and words such as ‘opening up’, ‘yellow-skin’, ‘warrigal’, and ‘myall’, each of which led to a productive understanding of violence conveyed by the texts.

The novels discussed in this thesis enact violence by using words and images in ways that produce harm and injury and are thereby tools of violence as Arendt argues. The theoretical perspectives that I have put into practice in the course of this research have demonstrated that it is important to focus upon the structural elements of violence such as the patterns, tools, practices, contexts, themes and effects when studying depictions of violence. This is sometimes difficult as violent scenes and the normalisation of violence can provoke emotions that obstruct analytic processes. The violence in many of the novels that I have discussed relies on an association with pre-existing or other discourses to provide the force of the violent effect. Many of the novels forcefully communicate, without describing or critiquing, the structural underpinnings of colonial power, erasing Aboriginal peoples from the white Australian homeland while belittling and marginalising ‘coloured’ others. Arendt argues that power, force and violence are closely related and often occur in tandem in the actual (extra-literary) world. She insists, however, that it is important to distinguish between them in order to understand violence (*Violence* 46-7). Her theorisation has allowed me to demonstrate in this research how Young Adult novels are part of a network of factors

which influence attitudes towards the rights of white pastoralists, including the perceived 'correct' use of the Australian countryside, to Aboriginal land rights and to people defined as 'other.' These insights allow me to argue that a reorientation of our understanding of literary violence is necessary, so that it is viewed as part of a network that also contains the actual cultural violence that the literary violence often refers to, cites or participates in, from which it draws some of its force, and to which it also contributes. Therefore, this research has destabilised the notion that literary violence and 'actual' (extra-literary) violence are separate categories, instead positing that each of these forms of violence exist on a continuum.

The application of Benjamin's theorisation of the ways in which violence and law are entangled has been immensely useful as it enabled me to consider the social and structural rather than only the emotional or imaginary effects of violence. The novels discussed in this thesis support Benjamin's theory of violence, as many of them depict, enact and serve to maintain written laws such as the *Immigration Restriction Act*, the Victorian *Land Act*, the Victorian *Fences Act 1928*, the *Aborigines Protection Act* and the *Census and Statistics Act*. By analysing scenes of violence within the novels, other, unwritten laws were revealed, which I termed settler laws, decreeing that settlers are white, the Australian land belongs to white settlers, cattle and sheep belong to the Australian land and that short-term profitability is more valuable than the natural land and landscape and those living creatures that inhabit it. Scenes of violence and violent language in the novels discussed in this thesis function to support and maintain these written and unwritten laws as Benjamin proposed.

Literature contributes to producing notions of home and homeland in the context of that literature. The novels discussed in this thesis overwhelmingly share the contemporary white Australian assumption to which Gelder refers: that home and settlement has to do with the settler and to no-one else and that the act of settlement is

undertaken by the settler, not by Aboriginal peoples or by immigrant others. This concept of the settler home is written with force and violence. It is important to acknowledge the other stories of home and home-making that are prominently absent from the novels. In many ways, these missing narratives of home drove my research.

Remnants of these alternative stories do emerge in the novels: for example, the attention given to the plant murnong in several of the novels discussed in Chapter Two, although its name is changed to “yam”. This plant that is at home in Australia in complicated ways. It becomes a point of intersection between Aboriginal cultures and settlers, while also maintaining a place for itself in suspension between cultures. Other kind of homes and home-making are also illuminated in the scenes of “Japtown” appearing in various novels discussed in Chapter Four. “Japtown” emerges as a sophisticated, vital town within a town, one from which Japanese characters are shown to set out and from which they organise their world in a variety of ways, according to Morris’s definition of home. Although the Daunt family in the novel *John of Daunt* is depicted as supervising the spatial and social limits of Gertrud’s life, moments emerge in which she is shown to make herself at home by the way in which she adjusts the temporal rhythms of everyday life to her own preferred pattern.

The novels discussed in this thesis speak about home at different levels, including place, land, nation, state, region, town, house, garden, language and sense of belonging. Violence is associated with each of these dimensions and towards inhabitants of each of these categories of home, particularly towards immigrant peoples, such as the Chinese, the Japanese, Germans, and Aboriginal peoples. In each of these cases the settler is constituted as the normative, superior party, and it is s/he who has the authorial narrative position. In a structural sense, therefore, my research supports the work of Veracini on settler colonialism.

In a literary sense, these social structures are reflected and perpetuated by

depictions of nets of inclusion and exclusion. Each of these groups of immigrant and Aboriginal peoples is constructed as falling more or less outside the concept of the Australian home as it is developed through these novels. When a figure is shown to be part of the broader sense of home, that is, when an Aboriginal character lives on a station, for example, s/he remains clearly distanced from the heart of the settler home, by being described as living in a shed, or as having a separate fire and as never eating alongside settlers. Alternatively, a Chinese, Japanese or German character might be revealed to be a spy, living amongst settlers, but holding different – threatening – loyalties. Such characters are therefore rigorously and continuously marked as other and evicted from the Australian settler home and homeland.

As well as supporting Veracini's theorisation of the structure of settler societies, my research also broadens it by taking account of the role that the environment, and associated discourses, plays in structuring settler colonial society. As I examined the literary depiction of settling and home-making I discovered that the land and landscape was not only an important feature in many of these novels but was itself subject to violence. I argued, therefore, that the symbolic transformation of the land and landscape from being Aboriginal land that is, land that existed from earliest times before colonists arrived and also land belonging to Aboriginal peoples – to being the possession and homeland of settlers is a vital part of the literary depictions of the settler-colonial social structures in Australian Young Adult Literature. This is an integral part of the process by which settlers symbolically become 'indigenous', are depicted as 'settled' and normative, and are therefore constituted as belonging.

I have demonstrated that the violence in the selection of novels that I have examined is layered: this effect is apparent in the chapters that are concerned with violence towards people and in those concerned with violence towards place. In Chapters One, Two and Six I have elucidated this layering by analysing the violence

associated with depictions of land clearing and examining the subsequent patterns of literary normalisation of the introduction of cattle and sheep into this cleared land. This introduces other layers of violence, such as practices of overlander violence to Aboriginal peoples, and particular ideologies of land use. I then consider the micro-effects of these various practices as they appear in small details within the novels and these contiguous layers of violence towards the landscape potentiate one another. Similarly, when I examine the settler construction of the binary ‘wild’ and ‘non-wild’ Aborigines, I introduce the violence implicit in the devaluation of plants, animals and land that is associated with the ‘wild’ Aborigine. Further layers of violence are introduced by consideration of contextual extra-literary violence such as massacres of Aboriginal peoples, policies and practices of assimilation and the Stolen Generations. In Chapters Three to Six the layering of violence is evident in the way in which violence to Aboriginal peoples, culture and Country underlies violence towards others. Layers of violence are also exposed in these chapters when I document the many incidents of apparently incidental violence – such as stereotyping. The cumulative effects of these patterns of linguistic violence are shown to support a written law, such as the *Immigration Restriction Act* and the novel being examined becomes viewable as a tool of violence.

The persistent and regular presence of violent othering in the novels examined strongly suggests that this violence is purposive, not coincidental. Surprisingly, I found that the tropes continued with minor variations despite the historical context such as the changing relationship of Australia to Britain and two world wars. The consistent appearance of these tropes supports my argument that the intention of violent othering was to construct the Australian home symbolically as belonging to the settler. I demonstrated, following Benjamin, that this violence simultaneously enforced the still-vital settler law that posits that Australia belongs to settlers and not to Aboriginal

peoples, symbolically enforcing the law formalised in the *Immigration Restriction Act*, which decrees that Australia is a country of and for white people.

APPENDIX

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