A Bibliography of Australian Literary Responses to 'Asia'

compiled by

Lyn Jacobs and Rick Hosking

Cover illustration:

Pobasso, a Malay chief
William Westall, 1781-1850
Pencil; 27.7 x 17.6 cm
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Refer to the Appendix B for details

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About the authors

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Introduction

This bibliography records Australian literary responses to Asia in poetry, short-stories, novels and plays, from the beginnings of the colony to 1995, and forms the basis for an on-going bibliographic study. Oral and visual narratives depicting indigenous pre-1788 perceptions of Asia are beyond the province of this investigation, however the work of contemporary Aboriginal writers is included. Entries are restricted to writings in English. Translations from languages other than English and writing in other generic modes (like diaries, biography, life-writing, travel narratives, ethnographies and criticism) represent further research potential.

The data has been gathered from many sources but the AustLit data base from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Library [INFORMIT] in association with the Australian Defence Forces Academy Library and Alison Broinowski's seminal study of Australian artistic impressions of Asia, The Yellow Lady, were particularly useful. Beyond these resources, entries were gathered from journals, poetry anthologies and short story collections held in private and library collections.

The material is itemised by country or attributed to appropriate geographic areas. We have used five inclusive designations: Asia, North East Asia, South East Asia, South Asia and Papua New Guinea, but we acknowledge the arbitrary nature of such ordering. Our listings of distinctive cultures, within the region collectively referred to as 'Asia', have been made with the understanding that 'Asia' is not a single entity, except in the eyes of single-minded observers. Australian writing has not always reflected this discrimination but the bibliography indicates increasing authorial sensitivity to these issues. Occasionally, texts are cross-listed when protagonists 'will not stay in place' or when authors employ
comparative techniques. In two instances there is a separate category for commemorative anthologies.

In consideration of the size of this publication, we have not reproduced full publishing details of every entry, as this is the province of other bibliographic sources and as the significance of recurrent publications varies between poetry and prose (for example, Bruce Dawe's much anthologised poem 'Homecoming' would appear under multiple listings while Malouf's novel The Great World would be singly listed). However, the extent of interest in particular regions at particular times can be gauged from the bibliography and to offer access to this information, and indicate the ways in which statistical evidence may be illuminating, we have included tables as appendices.

It is noticeable that the distribution between the genres is not equal, but this may reflect publication priorities. For example, the short story and verse were favoured forms in the weekly Bulletin whereas novels flourished in a different economic and artistic climate and were often published well after events (war novels). Similarly, questions about gendered responses to specific regions and the reasons why more men than women have written about Asian experience, are raised by this research. Again, this is likely to be related to publishing practice, in that until recently men had greater access to publication than women. It is not until that 1980s that there is a more balanced representation. This may also indicate the nature of Australian access and agency in the Asian regions, as writing often reflects the position of the observer in the 'contact zone' as journalist, reporter, visiting technical expert, trader, diplomat, military tourist, traveller, etc.

The recording of responses to Papua New Guinea, more usually designated as Oceania, is included because it was in this region that Australian reorientation took place. During the period of British imperial paramountcy from 1870 to 1920, Australians were eager to demonstrate their status as partners in the colonial enterprise. In becoming colonisers, they were forced to reconsider emerging national priorities and, by 1942, their relationship with
British imperatives. The tensions, ambiguities and increasing sense of dual allegiance inherent in this process is a feature of Australian writing about Papua New Guinea. In the last fifty years, the realities of involvement have changed the nature of literary responses to experience in and of the region. This is particularly evident in the war fictions of the 1950s, where international political realities predetermined the nature of the experience, but also in changing priorities as writers reviewed their analyses of the 'other' in exotic settings and more closely scrutinised their own performance as outsiders or power-brokers within indigenous communities.

The material demonstrates an evolving Australian consciousness of the Asian geopolitical region and records shifts in cultural attitudes as writers struggled to shed the legacies of a colonial heritage and to engage more immediately with the countries of the near north rather than the 'Far East'. The 'Far East Fallacy' prevailed while an Australian society considered its physical location in terms of exile and banishment and its national role in terms of 'civilising' and pioneering duty in the region - the 'white man's burden'. Genuine interaction with immediate neighbours, at home and in the Asian region, was not a feature of the day. The generally negative 1890s responses to both Aboriginal people and to imported immigrant labour testifies to the powerful racist forces at work in Australia. The repetition of titles like 'If the Hives of China Swarm', 'Shadow of Asia' or 'The Hordes Descend' indicates the extent to which fear was engendered in a small community resident on the edges of an intimidatingly large land. Ironically:

in 1861 almost a tenth of immigrants to Australia were from outside the United Kingdom and the two main groups in the nineteenth century were the Chinese and the Germans ... by the end of the 1850's there were about 40,000 Chinese in Australia accounting for 20% of the male population of Victoria in 1859.²

By the 1890s a sense of an homogenous community was
deliberately fostered and discriminatory immigration practices were used to inhibit non-British arrivals. There are, undoubtedly, alternative stories still to be told about formative Australian experiences, as Brian Castro's novel *Birds of Passage* indicates.

Editorial practices and policies guiding the compilation of collections of short stories and poetry (the tendency to gather thematic material or invite responses to particularly Australian features) have also predetermined or shaped literary outcomes. It is noticeable that older collections of Australian writing frequently address Australian uniqueness or difference from European models and therefore writers were actively encouraged to look inwards rather than outwards. The desire to engage a European readership (or English publishers) provided incentives to endlessly confirm Antipodean stereotypes. There are expressions of defiant nationalism pre-federation, but it is not until the 1970s that writers confidently persuade a home audience of the significance and status of their own national and regional identity.

The bibliography confirms that racism and xenophobia born out of invasion fears prevailed for many decades, but also that Australian writers have increasingly challenged and interrogated these attitudes. In contemporary work there are often ironic continuities: Eric Willmot's *Below the Line* dramatically enacts current critical interest in spatiality. North of the Tropic of Capricorn is owned by an unidentified 'Asian' (read Indonesian) government, the Aboriginal people inhabit and patrol a buffer zone between cultures while Australia, as we know it, is 'below the line', having been sold out (not invaded) by effectively crooked corporate systems. The difficulties of cross-cultural relations and inherited prejudices, of financial take-overs and racial suspicion, are acknowledged and articulated in plays like John Romeril's *The Floating World* and Jill Shearer's *Shimada*. but these works scrutinise the issues. A succinct and wry observation in Laurie Duggan's 1990 poem from *Blue Notes* implies a great deal, and summarises these tensions:

The woman in the Japanese car ad says:
'All our lives we've wanted to see
the sun go down over the twelve apostles'.

It is a paradox that we often only come to 'know' something of our neighbours when their region of the world becomes a 'hot spot' or trouble zone. The bibliography offers clear evidence that there have been 'flurries' of literary activity as writers respond to events in 'Asia' of particular relevance to Australian life the large number of entries about Vietnam demonstrates this point. Similarly, the crises of East Timor and Tienanmen have provoked active political protest and fostered international literary involvement, creating an opening for fellow writers to speak out for those silenced in their own countries. We have listed Timor and Tibet separately for this reason.

Multicultural policies have also encouraged a wider audience for more diverse voices, especially those with the authority of dual experience (Asian/Australian) and some of the most exciting writing of recent years expresses the human dilemmas of migration from vastly different cultural homelands and resettlement in (sometimes) hostile environments. It is also apparent that, for European Australians, there is a considerable distance between writing about an imagined place, conventionally serving as an exotic setting, and the actual experience of visiting that country. It is often the shock of such encounters that causes the observer/visitor to question the parameters of their own cultural assumptions. Recently, travel and expanded global communications have altered the ways in which writers engage with the Asian region, reflecting the changing nature of Australian tourism, business and diplomacy since 1970. Travel writing nicely illustrates these changing historical allegiances.

This change is matched by a developing fascination with the art, culture and philosophies of the region, based initially on Orientalist perceptions and moderating as a consequence of increased understanding of diversity and recognition of cultural relativism. Whereas earlier texts noted and celebrated difference, more recent writers consider the patronising, invasive and often
ill-informed nature of the tourist gaze. Robin Gerster's *Hotel Asia* is informative in this respect.\(^4\) The pilgrimage to Asia to participate in and acquire the ancient wisdoms of the 'East' is a feature of the works by the 1960s generation travelling primarily in search of self. A generation of writers seeking spiritual enlightenment (or practical expertise in martial arts, like the satirist, David Foster) have deliberately sought to discover, and then cross, cultural boundaries. Some of them, like Beverley Farmer or Randolph Stow, speak of significant formative experience well beyond the conventional spiritual adventures of the generation which saw the passage to India the European tour re-routed as mandatory.

Alison Broinowski's research on impressions of Asia across 'the arts' suggested that, in the past, it was the 'eccentric outsider' who wrote about Asia, not the typical or representative writer. This focus upon literary representation suggests an on-going engagement which may well begin with John Lang - the first Australian-born novelist and travel writer - writing about India in the 1840s. Since then there has been a steady literary interest in the Asian region (the 1920s and 1930s seem aberrant, but this bears witness to the down-turn in Australian publishing activity). It might now be asserted that Australian literary responses to the Asian and Pacific regions have been marginalised in favour of expressions of Eurocentric cultural politics. In a world context, an increased interest in post-colonial writing is redressing this imbalance and perhaps now, what was once read as *eccentric* might be re-read as persistent but consistently undervalued literary activity. Writing which celebrated other than mainstream opinion often remained unpublished or critically neglected, and it is possible that a body of 'alternative' work, like the art of women writers, may be in need of disinterment.

When we compare responses to regions we are left with a series of questions. Why have so many Australian writers written about China, when the country is, after all so remote? Why have so few Australian writers written about Indonesia? Similarly, why should
India have commanded such sustained attention from Australian writers? Are there consistent preoccupations over the decades, despite the radical changes which have challenged Australian perceptions about regional belonging? What does the rise in interest in Japan suggest about Australian/Japan relations? It may be useful for readers to compare colonial and post-colonial writing within and across regions in order to respond to this evidence. This bibliography provides essential data for further analyses and a foundation for on-going research.

Since European settlement, Australian writers have used their art to identify difference, to discover similarities and to better evaluate their own positions in relation to other cultures. This writing provides a venue for exploration of the value and shortcomings of cross-cultural understanding which must surely be seen as a vital priority in an increasingly intimate world. When Oodgeroo visited China with Manning Clarke in 1984 on a cultural exchange she observed in a poem entitled 'Reed Flute Cave' that:

I shall return home
And I'm glad I came.
Tell me, My Rainbow Spirit
Was there just one of you?
Perhaps, now I have time to think,
Perhaps, you are one of many guardians
Of earth's peoples
My Rainbow Serpent
Spirit of mother Earth\(^5\)

But not all Australian writers are this generous or optimistic. A decade later, David Chan, who was born in New Zealand but now lives and works in Melbourne, writes wisely and well of the need
to belong to self, then country (first to 'inhabit the small country within') and testifies to a crucial human dilemma in the last verse of his poem 'Tribal':

In our tepid democracy (itself a short-lived accident) we want to believe that peoples are randomly compatible and by ology wholly explicable. We celebrate the impermanence of walls and curtains.

But we're surprised by news of old wars then tire quickly of their images on television. We hate to be reminded - that deep down we know ourselves, not by who we are, but who we're not.6

Others, like John Bennett in his poem 'Edo Errata: The Royal Academy (found poem)' accidentally discover that it is only language that divides:

for Okamura read Okumura
for on silk read on paper
for evening read morning
for boxes wood, painted, lacquered and decorated read boxes wood, painted and decorated
for woven twisted paper decorated in ochre read woven twisted paper on wood decorated in ochre
for middle Edo period read second half of the 17th C
for written in ink read written in gold
for eyeballs red read eyes red with gilt-bronze balls
for dark purple silk read black hemp
for spear pines read spear plums7

In a nation preoccupied with economic relationships with the Asian region, cross-cultural communication is essential, but such exchanges need to be constantly interrogated and literature provides a valuable venue for an exchange of ideas about mores and expectations in a rapidly changing world. Even debate arising
from perceived misrepresentation may prove fruitful in contributing to a more complete picture of other ways of seeing, beyond the reductive assumptions of a collective view of difference. While Said has argued persuasively about such dangers, others have observed the curious ambivalence of colonial relations:

...as the British contemplated India, an enduring tension between two ideals, one of similarity and the other of difference which in turn shaped the differing strategies of governance for the Raj. At no time was the British vision of India ever informed by a single coherent set of ideas. To the contrary, the ideals sustaining the imperial enterprise in India were always shot through with contradiction and inconsistency. At some time, and for some purposes the British conceived of the Indians as people like themselves, or as people who could be transformed into something resembling a facsimile of themselves; while at other times they emphasised what they believed to be enduring qualities of Indian difference.  

Add to this orientalist view of the 'other', the experience of Australian history, the multiple perspectives of an increasingly diverse people, and an emergent local culture innovatively making sense of its legacies and forging new directions and it seems reasonable that it should have taken a while (a short time by world standards) for local writers to more fully appreciate the cultural wealth of the geopolitical region. Australian writers now write for different reasons, for a different audience and are actively exercising their liberation. While invasion is now a less overt concern, the needs of arriving 'boat people' still represent a threat and the dangers of misunderstanding or not being sufficiently interested in cross-cultural 'signs' remains.

In Jill Shearer's play, *Shimada*, a Japanese purchaser of an Australian bicycle factory speaks of the outcomes of mistaken perception. In the interests of a larger cause, Shearer risks linguistic appropriation as she has Toshio draw on his traditions,
the heritage of *Noh* theatre, to illustrate the ways in which we might learn from the narratives of the past:

*Toshio:*

Story of Kiyotsuma. In battle as his ship prepare to land, he sees what he thinks are the enemy. White pennants ... many ... among trees, surrounding. He thinks battle lost. In despair, he jump in sea. Drown.

*Sharyn: [shaking her head]*

Sorry, I don't understand.

*Toshio:*

Ah, but point of Noh. It was after all only heron. White herons standing on branches of tree. [*Delicately*] It is a delicate story? No need suicide. What feared had not happened. Mistook sign.²

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Footnotes


3 Duggan, Laurie (1990) 'Imperial' *Blue Notes* Sydney, NSW: Picador, p. 57


6 Chan, David (1994) 'Tribal' *Picador New Writing* Sydney, NSW: Picador p.199


8 Metcalfe, Thomas 'Ideologies of the Raj' *The New Cambridge History of India* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [preface]

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'Pages from a Lost Journal'
'Rats'
'Armenian Songs'
'Virgin'
'Arigato'
'One Fine Sunday Afternoon'
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- Poetry
- Short Story
- Novel
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*M = Male, F = Female, U = Unknown, T = Total*
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M = Male, F = Female, U = Unknown, T = Total

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M = Male, F = Female, U = Unknown, T = Total
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M = Male, F = Female, U = Unknown, T = Total
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M = Male, F = Female, U = Unknown, T = Total
At this time the weather became squally with much rain; but after numberless tacks, made under double-reefed top sails and courses in the narrow passage, with soundings from 10 to 18 fathoms, we cleared it at two o'clock, and stretched south-westward as the main coast was found to trend; and thus was the examination of the Gulph of Carpentaria finished, after employing one hundred and five days in coasting along its shores and exploring its bays and islands. The extent of the Gulph in longitude, from Endeavour's Strait to Cape Wilberforce, is 51° 2' s and in latitude 7°; and the circuit, excluding the numerous islands and the openings, is little less than four hundred leagues. It will be remarked that the form of it, given in the old charts, is not very erroneous, which proves it to have been the result of a real examination; but as no particulars were known of the discovery of the south and western parts, not even the name of the author, though opinion ascribed it with reason to Tasman, so the chart was considered as little better than a representation of fairy land, and did not obtain the credit which it was now proved to have merited. Henceforward, the Gulph of Carpentaria will take its station amongst the conspicuous parts of the globe in a decided character.

After clearing the narrow passage between Cape Wilberforce and Bromby's Isles, we followed the main coast to the S. W.; having on the starboard hand some high and large islands, which closed in towards the coast ahead so as to make it doubtful whether there were any passage between them. Under the nearest island was perceived a canoe full of men; and in a sort of roadsted, at the south end of the same island, there were six vessels covered over like hulks, as if laid up for the bad season. Our conjectures were various as to who those people could be, and what their business here; but we had little doubt of their being the same, whose traces had been found so abundantly in the Gulph. I had inclined to the opinion that these traces had been left by Chinese, and the report of the natives in Caledon Bay that they had fire arms, strengthened the supposition; and combining this with the appearance of the vessels, I set them down for piratical Ladrones who secreted themselves here from pursuit, and issued out as the season permitted, or prey invited them. Impressed with this idea, we tacked to work up for the road; and our pendant and ensign being hoisted, each of them hung out a small white flag. On approaching, I sent lieutenant Flinders in an armed boat, to learn who they were; and soon afterward we came to an anchor in 12 fathoms, within musket shot; having a spring on the cable, and all hands at quarters.

Every motion in the whale boat, and in the vessel along-side which she was lying, was closely watched with our glasses, but all seemed to pass quietly; and on the return of lieutenant Flinders, we learned that they were prows from Macassar, and the six Malay commanders shortly afterwards came on board in a canoe. It happened fortunately that my cook was a Malay, and through his means I was able to communicate with them. The chief of the six prows was a short, elderly man, named Pobassoo; he said there were upon the coast, in different divisions, sixty prows, and that Salloo was the commander in chief. These people were Mahometans, and on looking into the launch, expressed great horror to see
hogs there; nevertheless they had no objection to port wine, and even requested a bottle to carry away with them at sunset.

The weather continued squally all night, with frequent heavy rain, and the wind blew strong; but coming off the islands, the ship rode easily. In the morning, I went on board Pobassoo's vessel, with two of the gentlemen and my interpreter, to make further inquiries; and afterwards the six chiefs came to the Investigator, and several canoes were alongside for the purpose of barter. Before noon, five other prows steered into the road from the S. W., anchoring near the former six; and we had more people about the ship than I chose to admit on board, for each of them wore a short dagger or cress by his side. My people were under arms, and the guns were exercised and a shot fired at the request of the chiefs; in the evening they all retired quietly, but our guns were kept ready and half the people at quarters all night. The weather was very rainy; and towards morning, much noise was heard amongst the prows. At daylight they got under sail, and steered through the narrow passage between Cape Wilberforce and Bromby's Isles, by which we had come; and afterwards directed their course south-eastward into the Gulph of Carpentaria.

My desire to learn every thing concerning these people, and the strict look-out which it had been necessary to keep upon them, prevented me attending to any other business during their stay. According to Pobassoo, from whom my information was principally obtained, sixty prows belonging to the Rajah of Boni, and carrying one thousand men, had left Macassar with the north-west monsoon, two months before, upon an expedition to this coast; and the fleet was then lying in different places to the westward, five or six together, Pobassoo's division being the foremost. These prows seemed to be about twenty-five tons, and to have twenty or twenty-five men in each; that of Pobassoo carried two small brass guns, obtained from the Dutch, but the others had only muskets; besides which, every Malay wears a cress or dagger, either secretly or openly. I inquired after bows and arrows, and theippo poison, but they had none of them; and it was with difficulty they could understand what was meant by theippo.

The object of their expedition was a certain marine animal, called trepang. Of this they gave me two dried specimens; and it proved to be the beche-de-mer, or sea cucumber which we had first seen on the reefs of the East Coast, and had afterwards hauled on shore so plentifully with the seine, especially in Caledon Bay. They get the trepang by diving, in from 6 to 8 fathoms water; and where it is abundant, a man will bring up eight or ten at a time. The mode of preserving it is this: the animal is split down one side, boiled, and pressed with a weight of stones; then stretched open by slips of bamboo, dried in the sun, and afterwards in smoke, when it is fit to be put away in bags, but requires frequent exposure to the sun. A thousand trepang make a picol, of about 125 Dutch pounds; and one hundred picols are a cargo for a prow. It is carried to Timor, and sold to the Chinese, who meet them there; and when all the prows are assembled, the fleet returns to Macassar. By Timor, seemed to be meant Timor-laoet; for when I inquired concerning the English, Dutch, and Portuguese there, Pobassoo knew nothing of them: he had heard of Coepang, a Dutch settlement, but said it was upon another island.

There are two kinds of trepang. The black, called baatoo, is sold to the Chinese for forty dollars the picol; the white, or grey, called koro, is worth no more than twenty. Thebaatoo seems to be what we found upon the coral reefs near the Northumberland Islands; and were a colony established in Broad Sound or Shoalwater Bay, it might perhaps derive considerable advantage from the trepang. In the Gulph of Carpentaria, we did not observe any other than thekoro, or grey slug.

Pobassoo had made six or seven voyages from Macassar to this coast, within the preceding twenty years, and he was one of the first who came; but had never seen any ship here before. This road was the first rendezvous for his division, to take in water previously to going into the Gulph. One of their prows had been lost the year before, and much inquiry was made concerning the pieces of wreck we had seen; and a canoe's rudder being produced, it was recognised as having belonged to her. They sometimes had skirmishes with the native inhabitants of the coast; Pobassoo himself had been formerly speared in the knee, and a man had been slightly wounded since their arrival in this road: they cautioned us much to beware of the natives.

They had no knowledge of any European settlement in this country; and on learning the name Port Jackson, the son of Pobassoo made a memorandum of it ... writing from left to right. Until this time, that
some nutmegs were shown to them, they did not know of their being produced here; nor had they ever met with cocoa nuts, bananas, or other edible fruits or vegetables; fish, and sometimes turtle, being all they procured. I inquired if they knew of any rivers or openings leading far inland, if they made charts of what they saw, or used any charts? To all which Pobassoo answered in the negative. There was a river at Timor, into which the ship could go; and he informed me of two turtle islands, one of them not far to the north-west of our situation in the road; the other would be seen from the mast head as we sailed along the shore.

I could find no other nautical instrument amongst them than a very small pocket compass, apparently of Dutch manufacture; by this their course is directed at sea, without the aid of any chart or astronomical observation. They carry a month's water, in joints of bamboo; and their food is rice, cocoa nuts, and dried fish, with a few fowls for the chiefs. The black gummotoo rope, of which we had found pieces at Sir Edward Pellew's Group, was in use on board the prows; and they said it was made from the same palm whence the sweet sirup, called gulah, is obtained.

My numberless questions were answered patiently, and with apparent sincerity; Pobassoo even stopped one day longer at my desire, than he had intended, for the north-west monsoon, he said, would not blow quite a month longer, and he was rather late. I rewarded his trouble and that of his companions with several presents, principally iron tools, which they seemed anxious to possess; and he begged of me an English jack, which he afterwards carried at the head of his squadron. He also expressed a desire for a letter, to show to any other ship he might meet; and I accordingly wrote him a note to captain Baudin, whom it seemed probable he might encounter in the Gulph, either going or returning.