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Australian literature and the postcolonial mind

Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra

ALLEN & UNWIN

authors or characters say). And finally we assume that meaning is always actively negotiated and constructed in specific social contexts by specific participants, working over and transforming both the world that they are engaged with and the prior sets of texts and categorisations that converge in that instance. But these shifts and indeterminacies of meaning by no means lead to a paralysis of interpretation. On the contrary, ambiguity and difficulty are always themselves meaningful since they always proceed from the play of social forces, and provide evidence of the most important of meanings: the meanings that constitute the society itself.

In writing this book we have drawn extensively on the work of many historians, but we did not want to weigh the main text down with too many references or too much detail, beyond some uncontroversial statements of fact such as dates and the identity of the participants in any particular event. The historians we have quoted extensively tend not to be consensus thinkers, but ones who made their mark by generating provocative ideas. Among those whom we have found most stimulating have been Humphrey McQueen, Russel Ward, Geoffrey Blainey, Richard White, C. D. Rowley, Henry Reynolds, Miriam Dixson and Anne Summers. These historians have provoked many particular studies that have tested and modified some of their more sweeping generalisations. Our use of their work reflects this situation. We do not draw on them as the speakers of incontestable truths, for we recognise these as 'inventive' histories expressing their own polemical ends. Nonetheless they are producers of something that is rarer and more valuable: exciting and challenging ideas about the formation of Australian society that deserve to be known and debated in Australian society at large, beyond the confines of the academic discipline of history.

Our collaboration on a book on Australian literature began in 1979 when we worked briefly on a microfilm copy of Charles Harpur's *Discourse on Poetry* (Mitchell Library, C386). Our annotations remain incomplete to this day as pressure of work and the educational needs of a new university took us to other areas of research. We also collaborated on a course on Epic which provided a useful opportunity to explore a range of relevant frames. The core of the book developed in two sets of courses. One was on 'Australian literature' coordinated by Vijay Mishra, which worked increasingly uneasily within a framework of 'Commonwealth literature'. Many of the chapters of the present book are critical revisions of lectures originally devised for that course and that framework. We have also drawn on work that emerged in Murdoch University's courses on contemporary and traditional Aboriginal literature. For years Murdoch was the only university which offered these courses, set up by Bob Hodge with a decisive input from the Aboriginal writers Jack Davis and Mudrooroo Narogin (Colin Johnson), whose influence on the present book we acknowledge with profound gratitude.

The issues that we discuss have also been developed in a course on popular culture co-ordinated by Bob Hodge, which fed into work in collaboration with Graeme Turner and John Fiske that was published in 1987 as *Myths of Oz*. Amongst other colleagues whose ideas have been a valuable part of the context in which we worked, special mention should be made of Hugh Webb, Peter Jeffery, Kateryna Longley, Horst Ruthrof, John Frow, Pam Cox, Rae Frances, Bruce Scates, Lenore Layman, and the members of the Centre for Critical and Cultural Theory, University of Wales College of Cardiff. In addition we would like to thank our teachers, John Barnes, Thea Astley, Brian Kiernan, Elizabeth Webby, Leonie Kramer among them, who introduced us to Australian literature so many years ago.

Beyond this immediate teaching context, the book is a natural extension of work we have produced independently of each other over the past fifteen years. We arrived at a similar position after two years of intense debate, re-writing, disagreements and further reading. Our theoretical enterprise was sharpened by a strong sense of absence in Australian culture of its repressed side, marked most dramatically by the massive silence surrounding Aboriginal history and culture. In this way we hope that the book will make a contribution to debates about Australian literary culture and the ways in which its history might be told.

We would like to thank Elizabeth Horne for typing parts of the manuscript and Tom O'Regan for an exceptionally rigorous and informed commentary on the text. We regret that, in the final analysis, we have not been able to do full justice to the many points to which our attention was drawn. Pam and Nalini gave us enormous encouragement and support throughout, especially during periods when we were working under considerable stress. For any error in judgment, and omissions, we alone are responsible.

between the roles that women were socialised into that underlay the polarisation into madonna/whore. Praed's novel has the merit that it explores this opposition from the point of view of a woman's experience, instead of seeing it as purely a construct of male attitudes. It is the corresponding split in male identity that is projected in the characterisation in her work. And here the image of the bushranger lay ready to hand, ambivalent and yoked to his double the lawmaker, allowing her to externalise and express her own sense of self-division and ambivalence as woman.

By the 1890s, then, the myth of the bushranger was no longer an active part of the social and political struggle of a distinct group of oppressed people. No longer anchored in that struggle, it was available as a metaphoric resource, to express a contradictory relationship to contradictions of power throughout society. In plays such as Stewart's *Ned Kelly* of 1943, in paintings such as Nolan's famous Kelly series, in films dealing with Ned Kelly or in successful TV series such as *Ben Hall*, the bushranger myth poses general problems of justice and the role of the individual caught up in an unjust society. The specific themes that can be thought through this figure are various: Nolan's concerns are very different from Rosa Praed's. But there is one dimension that is almost always necessarily lacking from later uses of the myth: the political dimension that in many obvious and less obvious forms was always part of the early traditional use. There is only one exception to this, but a significant one. The Aboriginal oral tradition celebrated its trickster figures, its unsuccessful heroes of resistance, in similar ways and with similar strategies to the Irish bards, and that resistance was a fact of experience within recent memory. Colin Johnson/Mudrooroo Narogin's *Long Live Sandawara* of 1978 engaged in a task similar to that faced by Harpur over 100 years before, coming to terms with the oral culture and political struggles of his people using the dominant literary modes of the day.

THE USES OF DEVIANCY

Historians dispute the value of the convict heritage, and the extent to which it has come down to the present. Russel Ward (1958) is at one extreme, with his influential claim that the convict experience contributed its brand of anti-authoritarianism to the Australian ethos, what he called 'The Australian Legend'. Humphrey McQueen (1970) at the other extreme is contemptuous of actual convicts and unimpressed by claims that they have any continuing influence. Robert Hughes, in his massive study of the convict era, is seemingly more confused in his assessment. On the one hand he talks of 'the defensive, static, levelling, two-class hatred that came out of convictry', but he also doubts the influence of the 'convict past' today. 'Thus, it made Australians cynical about Authority; or else it made them conformists.' Then he has further thoughts: 'Perhaps there are roots of social conduct that wind obscurely back to the convict era, and the familiar Australian habit of cursing authority behind the hand while truckling to its face may well be one of them' (Hughes 1987:596). There is only one legacy that he is sure of: that the stain of convictism helped Australians to forget the past and replace it with images of 'grand guignol', epitomised by the work of Marcus Clarke.

Hughes's uncertainty in fact reflects the contradictions in the nature of convictism and its representation over time, better than either of the extreme positions on its own. The continuing relevance of the image of the convict/criminal comes from the issues of carcerality as outlined by Foucault as they play on the present. In Foucault's account, the disciplinary system has not only triumphed in the restricted realm of the penal system, it has now become ubiquitous. 'Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?' he asks (1979:228). Secondly he suggests that the apparent failure of the prison system to eliminate crime in fact should be seen as a systemic success, producing 'delinquency . . . . a politically or economically less dangerous—and, on occasion, usable—form of illegality . . . . producing the delinquent as a pathologised subject' (1979:277). David Ireland in *The Unknown Industrial Prisoner* of 1971 portrayed Australia in these terms, as a single continuous penal colony, an Australian dystopia in the tradition of Orwell's *1984*.

This is a system which could produce docile delinquency in all Australians, viewed as the inhabitants now of an open prison that covers the whole continent. We can see why Hughes very properly doubts whether the characteristic Australian double-think towards authority should be blamed entirely on the convict past. But the continuity also allows the forms from that past to function powerfully into the present, both as the instruments of control and as the focus of resistance. And part of the tradition is an effective strategy for appropriating history, replacing the surveillance of the past by various spectacles, a kind of screen memory to use the Freudian term. But none of these devices is new, or irresistible. Throughout its history the construction of deviance has always been contested, and this history of effective resistance has also left its traces on the tradition.

The double messages of this open prison produce the classic symptoms of paranoia as described by Gregory Bateson (1973). In a lighter vein, the first chapter in *How to Survive in Australia*, a popular satire of the Australian character by Robert Treborlang, is entitled 'For a Start . . . Don't Ask Questions'. Treborlang illustrates his proposition, that 'asking questions is the one thing a true Australian never does', with the following anecdote:

> Let's say you are having lunch with some new friends at the factory cafeteria

of that desire as an image of its deferral. We can go further (further certainly than Blainey would wish) to see the sense of distance as having class affiliations: the subjective expression of Australian capitalism's difficult relationship to the European market. Emphasis on distance, then, will mark the expatriate, a member of the possessing class in exile, inscribing the absence of Europe on the visible landscape. The extreme contrast is with Aboriginal representations of the landscape in their art, where as we have seen they typically represent its plenitude, the fullness of places linked to other places without the remorselessly linear directionality that creates distance. European art of the 19th century typically depicted mountains and forests, barriers (solid impediments to travel which could be overcome by effort—and real estate which could be owned and exploited) rather than distances as such. It is only in the 20th century that distance has really come into its own, so that the dominant iconography has now become the desert, not only as the negation of the real but also as the image of absolute distance: the journey without a destination, the distance to a nonexistent point, motionless and objectless desire.

Paul Carter in *The Road to Botany Bay* (1987) has developed a useful distinction that helps to refine the meanings clustered around distance. At the founding moment of the colony he distinguishes between the habits of mind of the explorer Cook and the scientist Banks. The two men, contemporaries and companions, are usually treated as indistinguishable. Carter makes the point that Cook saw the landscape in terms of his own travels in it, whereas Banks assimilated its features to a pre-existing scheme. So in the terms that we have been developing, Cook can construct distance precisely, by reference to the grid of the world (his ability as a map-maker was enhanced by his use of new methods to estimate longitude accurately as well as latitude, Blainey points out). Banks's concern with classification, on the other hand, relentlessly absorbed the complete physical landscape into his expansive but unitary scheme, and in the process eliminated distance as irrelevant to his taxonomies.

Blainey's work allows us to locate distance as a meaning: Carter's work encourages us to try to specify some of its stylistic correlates. The first broad distinction is between the syntax of journeys and the syntax of classification. A syntax that was organised like Cook's journeys would consist of a series of elements loosely chained together in a linear progression, anchored by a beginning and an end but having its bulk in the gap between the two. But Cook was an explorer. Explorers were a significant type of traveller in the construction of Australia but not the only one. However, if we were to eliminate the anchoring end-point it would then proceed in linear sequence to no destination: what we can term nomadic syntax. Below we will argue that nomadic syntax is a quintessentially Australian form. For the moment we will point out that

it also describes a kind of plot that is associated with modernism: the narrative that has no destination outside itself.

The antitype to nomadic syntax we can call expatriate syntax, where the end and the beginning are as far apart as Australia from Britain, and the writer crosses huge mountains and dangerous seas in the strenuous quest to reach the longed-for goal. But expatriate syntax is also characterised by relentless accumulation of detail, organised by classification schemes that assimilate and carry off the land, transporting it back, in discourse at least, to the imperial centre. The archetypal figures in Australian mythology corresponding to these kinds of organisation are the explorer, the swagman and the expatriate. We will look at instances of each, to see the play of language, plot and character that weaves around these central meanings.

Historically these types have a specific order: explorer, imperialist and swagman, but in practice they are all available as part of the cultural repertoire, combined in different ways by succeeding writers and artists. We will begin, then, with the most distinctively 'Australian' of these types, the swagman, as it was given its definitive form by Henry Lawson in the pivotal decade of the 1890s. In a relatively late essay-story entitled 'The Romance of the Swag', Lawson expatiates on the meaning of the swagman:

> The Australian swag was born of Australia and no other land—of the Great Lone Land of magnificent distances and bright heat; the land of Self-reliance, and Never-give-in, and Help-your-mate. The grave of many of the world's tragedies and comedies—royal and otherwise. The land where a man out of employment might shoulder his swag in Adelaide and take the track, and years later walk into a hut on the Gulf, or never be heard of any more, or a body be found in the Bush and buried by the mounted police, or never found and never buried—what does it matter? (Lawson 1972a:500)

This passage encapsulates the dominant features of Lawson's style. The first sentence includes an aggressively truncated version of the ideology of the bush and the myth of mateship: the kind of rhetoric that allowed him to be so easily appropriated by the nationalist ideologues of the 1890s. We note that in this part of the text Lawson is using a version of scientific syntax, classifying Australia many times over, accumulating attributes in the same manner as an expatriate. Humphrey McQueen has criticised Lawson, as a representative of the radical nationalist Australian, of simply incorporating a populist version of the ideology of imperialism (McQueen 1970:104). We can see that on occasions such as this, and they are not untypical, Lawson shows the form as well as the content of imperialist thought. But the tone of strident patriotism, as so often in his work, immediately changes totally, in what is technically a single sentence, with each clause loosely tacked onto its predecessor like a journey without itinerary. The image of Australia, in this writer who

8 The Australian legend

Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend*, first published in 1958 in the heyday of the Menzies era, has proved to be the most provocative history of Australia of this century. It did not attempt to be comprehensive, and does not compete with monumental histories such as those of Hancock or Manning Clark or most recently the *Oxford History of Australia*. In a sense it was not even original, since the ideas it was working with have been commonplaces in Australian society for at least 100 years, as Ward himself insisted. Ward's originality and provocation was simply to take this body of ideas very seriously, as a version of history which had its own history. The object of his analysis is an undeniable fact of the present: that there is a concept of the 'typical Australian' which has very widespread currency in contemporary Australia, and this myth projects a shadowy history which itself has an unacknowledged potency.

To indicate the reach of Ward's thesis as well as the flaws in his treatment of it, we will refer to the work of two later historians, both of them highly critical of Ward yet in many respects making fertile use of his work. Humphrey McQueen's *A New Britannia* of 1970 was a new Left polemic for its time, attacking the radical nationalism that McQueen associated especially with Ward. McQueen was not opposed to radicalism, nor even (in some respects) to nationalism or at least a real autonomy. What he objected to was Ward's location of it in the past, as a 'heritage' that was a nostalgic compensation for the absence of radicalism in the present (for McQueen the early 1970s, which seemed more hopeful than Ward's 1950s). And when he turned to the past, to find evidence of the reality of this myth, he found its opposite: a self-seeking, servile and class-ridden society whose radicalism was always compromised and whose nationalism was simply an epiphenomenon of Australia's role in world capitalism. So chapter after chapter of McQueen takes a fragment of Ward's legend and mercilessly confronts it with social reality.

One aspect of Ward's enterprise invited this assault. He did claim that legends like this 'spring largely from a people's past experiences' (1958:1). McQueen shows sufficiently conclusively that there was never a stage of reality that conformed to the myth, but the single-minded energy of his assault suggests that he still thinks that it might have done. Richard White in *Inventing Australia* (1981) adopts the more sophisticated position which is the minimal basis for addressing the second part of Ward's project. He insists that Australia and Australians of the legend have never existed in pure materiality, but have always been constructed by specific ideologues at specific times for specific purposes. That process of 'inventing Australia' has its history which White tries to trace. It is this history that we ourselves try to contribute to, in the present chapter. What we will stress, in contrast to White and McQueen, is the contradictions that were present in this ideological complex from the very outset.

The Australian legend was never the Australian reality, as Ward sometimes supposed, but nor was it simply bad history, as McQueen thought, nor a pernicious ideological trick, as White saw it. In different ways it has been all three, at various times, but it has also been more. It has been the vehicle for the transmission of ideological primes, but it has also been used continuously as an instrument of critique, specifically of what seem to be its own first premises. In order to show how this has happened we need to go back to the same category of texts as Ward drew on more than any other historian, texts from literature and popular culture. But we need to subject such texts to a far more critical reading than Ward employed: one that is alert to the shifts and contradictions that are typical of an ideological complex.

A GENDERED LAND

One of McQueen's targets in his critique of the Australian legend is the extreme sexism that is part of the definition. This criticism was forcefully articulated by Miriam Dixson (1976) and Anne Summers (1975), and developed by many other feminist historians. We can see Ward's complicity with this sexism in his opening description of the type: 'According to the myth the "typical Australian" is a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others. He is a great improviser, ever willing "to have a go" at anything, but willing too to be content with a task done in a way that is "near enough" ', (Ward 1958:1–2).

The use of the gendered pronoun here is no accident. The 'typical

them a kind of fascination that provoked later writers to work over them again, recasting their themes, sometimes literally rewriting the texts themselves. In the process the closure of the classic was continually challenged, and though the rewritings were not intended merely to release the plenitude of the original, that was one thing that they inevitably did.

We will illustrate the process by looking at one such classic, Henry Lawson's short story 'The Drover's Wife' and a number of versions which in some way or another took this as a precursor text. Lawson's story was written in 1892. In 1896 Barbara Baynton wrote a story which was published in the *Bulletin* as 'The Tramp', subsequently published in 1900 as 'The Chosen Vessel'. While not referring directly to Lawson's famous story, Baynton's text takes up a number of its themes and concerns from a woman's point of view. We will also look at two later works: Murray Bail's metafiction 'The Drover's Wife', apparently based on Russell Drysdale's painting of that title, and Barbara Jefferis's 'The Drover's Wife', a commentary by the wife herself on the various males who have tried to represent her in their art.

Neither Lawson nor this story is an entirely arbitrary choice. Here is Vance Palmer, an authoritative voice on the 'Legend of the Nineties': 'It is hard to realise now the excitement caused by such ballads as Paterson's "Clancy of the Overflow" or such stories as Lawson's "The Drover's Wife"; but to the people who read them they seemed to open new vistas' (in Ward 1958:223). Palmer here records the inexplicable significance of these texts as seen from a later period, the 1950s, when he was writing: but their exemplary status is not in doubt. So it is interesting to note that the historians who have been most fascinated with the construction of the legend of the 1890s, Ward, McQueen and White, do not discuss 'The Drover's Wife' at all. The absence is perhaps most obvious in McQueen because he devotes thirteen pages exclusively to Lawson, but these pages assemble polemical quotations from his poetry to illustrate McQueen's case about Lawson's reactionary attitudes. The meanings coded in narrative texts are left alone.

The most immediately striking property of Lawson's text in fact is its unsuitability to carry the core message of the Australian legend. The gender of its subject is the first disqualifying attribute—the Drover's wife as its centre, rather than one of the male types who make up the Australian legend. The drover himself is introduced briefly, but only to announce that he is 'away with sheep'. Later we learn that he has been away this time for six months, and his absence contributes to her sense of anxiety. But he is neither incompetent nor feckless. He does provide a cheque reasonably reliably and is not without goodwill, but is hardly an emotional necessity to the woman, nor she to him.

In his absence he does not show any of the virtues of the Australian legend. It is his wife who does that. In the course of the short narrative

we learn that she has coped with fire and flood (the dangers of 'the wide brown land' of MacKellar's poem), showing the uncomplaining loyalty, ingenuity and perseverance that are core virtues in the legend. But she is a woman, and women in the legend do not exist, much less show the core virtues. Even worse, the text is full of males, real and transformed, who together add up to something like the repertoire of the legend, and almost all are vicious or contemptible. We have mentioned the drover of the title. There is also brief mention of a 'gallows-faced swagman' with malign intentions, and a 'stray blackfellow' who cheats her. Then there are the transformed males. The story itself concerns an incident with a snake, a black snake that enters the house itself. The threat is finally overcome with the assistance of Alligator, her dog, who protects her from vicious swagmen or snakes but once attacked her by mistake, when she was wearing trousers after fighting a fire. The only positive male is Tommy, her eldest son, who professes loyalty to her but also has a tendency to violence equal to Alligator's.

So it is not the case that she is a woman who happens to have the virtues of a man, because no man has these virtues in the world of the story. Nor is this swingeing critique of the masculine form of the legend unparalleled in Lawson's other stories. On the contrary, time after time his male characters show cruelty and superficiality, only partly held in check by the intermittent operations of the 'ethic of the Bush'. Lawson's style, speaking through the persona of a bushman and withholding comment and evaluation, leaves the brief anecdotes morally ambiguous. But it is normally impossible, as here, to interpret the stories as celebrations of the virtues of the legend. And this, accepted at the time as a classic of the genre, clearly works by decentring the materials of the myth, and specifically the gender-assumptions at its core.

The woman herself is only described briefly at the start, as a 'gaunt, sun-browned bushwoman'. Otherwise she appears through her actions, as the preserver of her family and property in this harsh environment. As a mother she is undemonstrative: 'She loves her children, but has no time to show it. She seems harsh to them. Her surroundings are not favourable to the development of the "womanly" or sentimental side of nature' (1972b:50). This is the harsh mother-figure again, but as a social reality not a metaphor. And her harshness is given an explanation, with the opposing virtues relativised by apostrophes, so that the dominant construction of 'woman' is made to seem fake in this more authentic situation. But the absence of expressions of love is not seen as a new virtue: only something that has its reasons, and is less pernicious than it seems.

Henry Lawson's mother was a strong-willed and articulate woman with feminist views, and she undoubtedly influenced her son. Even so, it was he and not his mother who wrote this story, and though he constructed this his most famous story around a female character and point of view, it remains a male construction. Barbara Baynton's 'The Chosen

that is insisted on in its readers and in the subject matter, along with the strangeness that these readers are encouraged to expect. The commodity that the book is selling, to Australians, is a course in how to be Australians. Or more precisely, how to insert small fragments of this kind of Australianness into the appropriate social contexts. The book and the advertisement foreground Australianness, but against a background of a taken-for-granted urban life-style within Australia. The book, then, is a kind of metatext, reflecting on the social and discursive processes that make for competence within Australian society. Its main ideological message is the unsaid text of normality that must be activated if the 'Australian' text is to be understood or used.

In this instance, Australianness is quaint but charming, and the complicity is more prominent than the critique. In the following joke, the balance is different:

Q. What's the Australian definition of foreplay?
A. 'You awake?'

This joke was written on the wall of a woman's toilet at an Australian university, set among a series of lesbian jokes. The context underlies the meaning of the joke. Its point is the totally rudimentary understanding of women and sexuality of the typical Australian male, who is of course the legend once again. The two word utterance is understood as gendered: of course it must be a 'he' to be so crass and inarticulate. The writer of this joke is accepting the legend's definition of 'Australian' as itself gendered, so that women are not Australian and therefore not included in this critique. Yet the result of this, in this context, is clearly not a loss of identity but the affirmation of identity: a gendered identity which is not only female but articulate, ('definition' is not the kind of word that fits into the legend's vocabulary) and also sexually knowledgeable, and adventurous. So at the same time as it savagely critiques this 'typical Australian' it also projects a very different pattern of sexuality as an ideal. The sexism of the stereotype is put to good use, and its stereotypic status allows the message to be immediately generalised. The legend thus enables a strategy of resistance and critique, precisely because it is so profoundly inadequate and is labelled as such. McQueen is more right than Ward, that the values coded into the legend are not radical or admirable, but that only makes the legend more readily available for radicals to use as a target.

Versions of the legend that abound in 'high' culture, in art and literature, range between the two poles of complicity and contempt, but since the 1940s contempt is the dominant note. The Heidelberg School in the 1890s not only constructed positive images of the country, they constructed a positive vantage point from which to view them, an 'Australian' viewing position which was persuasive precisely because it was itself invisible, outside the picture. The sunlit landscapes of Hans

Heysen continued the position, and Heysen prints still sell well today. But Heysen has no followers among modern artists. Sydney Nolan's Ned Kelly, a human being reduced to a metallic frame, is a descendant of the legend. The most powerful images of the legend as a failure in human terms come in the work of Albert Tucker, whose archetypal Australian is shrivelled to a two-dimensional shape, devoid of feeling or the capacity for feeling, isolated in a devastated landscape that is barely distinguishable from the man.

The status of the legend allows writers and artists to take it for granted that he is radically inadequate, but also that the attack on his inadequacy will carry momentous meanings for their society—even if that attack has been repeated many times before, and in a sense is built into the legend itself. Ray Lawler's *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*, for instance, was regarded as a major event in Australian drama when it was first produced in 1955. It dramatised the crisis in the life of Roo, a cane-cutter and representative of the legend, and his relationship with Olive. For seventeen years Roo had been cutting cane in Queensland, as the top man in his team, returning to Olive's house in Melbourne for the five month lay-off, bringing back enough money to last till the next season. Each year he gives her a cheap doll to mark the occasion: hence the title. The crisis this year occurs because Roo has lost his position as top man to a younger rival and cannot cope. He tries to adapt to a new style of life, seeking regular employment and normal domestic life with Olive, but by the end of the play it is clear that neither she nor he can adapt in this way.

Overtly the tragedy of the play comes from the death of the legend: Roo's way of life is now obsolete. But the legend was already dead when it was first born, half a century before, and obsolescence is built into it. There had to be more to the play than this belated obituary, for it to have had the effect it had on contemporary audiences. In fact it addressed a similar problematic to White's *Voss*, which was written in the same decade. Like *Voss* Lawler's play was concerned with the crisis in the Australian family, complicated by problems between the public and the private as they impinged on alienated sex roles. Like the drover/shearer husband in Lawson and Baynton, Roo is totally split into a public and a private self. The seven month absence each year is like a hyperbolic metaphor for the split: just as Voss's long absence and huge distance is a metaphor for his relationship to his 'wife'. Within the play, Roo is not constructed as an instance of the legend. He is not insensitive or irresponsible. On the contrary, he has total loyalty to Olive and shows himself to be loving and sensitive, a good companion. Even the inarticulacy which Lawler's stage directions insist on is no greater than that of any middle class male in the audience if his career had reached the same mid-life crisis. The double construction of Roo's character is signalled by his name. It is assumed by everyone (the audience included) that it is a

that such fragments lack the cultural diversity of the centre. However, the Hartzian unity is simply an artefact of the colonial eye, which fails to recognise the self-division of fragments or the existence of indigenous cultures. In Australia's case the founding fragment consisted of a microcosm of British imperialism. The colonial power arrived accompanied by people from England's first colony, the Irish, who formed a decisive element among the first convicts. The colonial relation back in Britain affected the supposed unity of the 'Anglo-Celt' majority throughout the 19th century, which saw fresh waves of immigrants coming for a variety of reasons, with the Irish making up the second largest group within the colony. This is not a static picture, with a single fragment working out its destiny undisturbed by any further external incursions. Each wave of immigrants can be seen as the insertion of a new set of fragments into a structure that was not a monolith but itself an ordered series of fragments, whose history laid down patterns that functioned to organise and make sense of each new wave.

The xenophobic nationalism espoused by Ruxton is frankly racist, and this racism runs deep in the construction of Australian identity. Australian racism has an impeccable genealogy stretching back to the initial confrontation with Aboriginal people. In this way the conditions of the founding moment laid down tracks that have continued to influence later structures. McQueen has argued trenchantly that 'racism is the most important single component of Australian nationalism' (1970:42). He and others have documented the role of virulent racist attitudes in the construction of the Commonwealth, as exemplified by the central place of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, the cornerstone of the infamous White Australia policy.

Racism is a stark and exemplary form of ethnocentrism. Both racism and ethnocentrism have a common set of properties which come together in a syndrome that Adorno (1950) labelled the 'authoritarian personality', a set of traits that he associated with fascist sympathies and racist prejudice. The 'authoritarian personality' shows two characteristics that are logically and psychologically indispensable to ethnic prejudice: an obsession with notions of purity and unity within the group, and a need for strong category boundaries around it.

Racism and ethnocentrism of the kind that Adorno studied are found amongst non-dominant as well as dominant groups. Every group which believes that its existence is threatened by hostile outsiders develops strategies to exclude others and maintain its own homogeneity. These strategies take two forms, in Australia as elsewhere. One is through patterns of marriage, with marriage within the group (endogamy) both signifying and maintaining strong boundaries around the group. The other is through forms of language and culture which have the same function, to sustain group identity and exclude outsiders: forms of

antilanguage and anticulture designed to protect what perceives itself as an antigroup.

Different immigrant fragments have different marriage patterns, and these patterns change significantly over time, reflecting the relation of the group to the dominant society, in particular its sense of vulnerability and opposition. Greek immigrants to Australia, for instance, have been relatively endogamous, and marrying outside the community is rarer than for Dutch immigrants (Price 1985). But the pattern for each such group changes with the length of time it has been in Australia. Southern European migrants are now in a second-phase relationship to the dominant society, with Asian migrants the largest group in the first phase.

In general the more secure a fragment is in its place in the overall structure, the less it needs and values high boundaries and strict boundary-maintenance. In order to negotiate a new place in the dominant structure, a fragment needs strategies to lower and renegotiate its boundaries, without necessarily removing them. These strategies bear on the crucial dilemma of all such groups, the contradiction between cultural maintenance and forms of accommodation. First generation migrants tend to emphasise cultural maintenance, while the second generation moves closer towards assimilation, thus creating a major fissure within the group across generations. But the split is in some respects a way of managing the fundamental contradiction, since the children are assigned the task of making links with the new on behalf of the group, while being required to maintain their allegiance to the old. The second generation has to live with a basic double message, to renounce purity while remaining true to the group.

We use 'multiculturalism' to refer to a kind of cultural map which acknowledges diversity without losing sight of the specific histories of the multicultural project. 19th century multiculturalism was differently constructed and had different effects—the metaphor of multiculturalism cannot be utilised sweepingly. It is also a strategy for coping with this diversity that characteristically lowers boundaries, allowing but not forcing cultural exogamy. The same attitudes applied to the international scene will value lower boundaries and reposition the nation more flexibly in relation to other nations and groups. The nationalist tradition understated the actual diversity of Australian society, and constructed an external world that seemed equally uniform, and overwhelmingly threatening. A multicultural perspective constructs a more complex but less hostile external world, with new allies to be invoked against the imperial centre and a more confident scepticism about its oppressive claims to universal truth. For many reasons it gives a special value to migrant writing, not simply for particular communities but also for the Australian community, which still attends insufficiently to these newly emerging cultural forms.

HIDDEN COUNTRIES

If the notion of Australia as a confident, fissureless monoculture has always been an illusion, an ideological stratagem, then we need to go back to moments when the illusion seemed at its most serene, to show how diversity was contained and elided from the cultural record. The most obvious such moment is the period around the turn of the century, when trenchant nationalism in literature and art coincided so precisely with the foundation of Australia. McQueen (1970) has criticised the racist paranoia in Henry Lawson and the *Bulletin* tradition, attitudes which were inscribed in the law and reinforced by major institutions in the state, including the trade union movement. These show the hysterical will to unity of the authoritarian personality as it existed amongst popular radicals, as the reflex of their nationalism. But there was always another strand in this movement, seemingly in contradiction with it. Richard White (1981) has noted that the small group of artists who were most responsible for the nationalist construction of Australian identity were middle-class 'bohemians', whose revolutionary nationalism drew polemical legitimacy from their appeal to the latest French models.

We can see this clearly in the first radical movement in Australian art, the Heidelberg School, who militantly invoked the French Impressionists in their battle against the then-dominant Anglophile and conservative art establishment. Apart from the famous 'Impressions' exhibition of 1890, where members of the group exhibited small scale loosely painted 'impressions' of various scenes, polemically repudiating the establishment's requirement that paintings should be carefully finished and polished, this group's most typical work showed a realist technique deployed on strongly Australian scenes and topics. Their ideology was considerably more nationalist than avant-garde, but their strategy of invoking a European tradition against the conservative British mainstream was highly effective and not at all unAustralian. Later artists were able to follow the same route, with artists like Nolan, Drysdale, Tucker and Dobell incorporating Australian themes in a modernist style that is now the orthodoxy.

In literature the exemplary instance is the poetry of Christopher Brennan. In histories of Australian literature Brennan's work is treated as an anomaly, a sport. During the two decades around the turn of the 20th century he proclaimed the French symbolist poets as models for his metaphysical, obscure and unAustralian verse, much of which was however published in the *Bulletin*, the bible of the nationalists (whose editor, J. F. Archibald was almost obsessive about his French cosmopolitanism). Since the 1970s his work has been revalued (Lawson 1983), as an ancestor of the modernist and cosmopolitan traditions that are now dominant, but this revaluation misses his ambiguous but by no means negligible reputation in his own time.

In our revaluation of the revaluation we want to draw attention to a crucial quality which linked Brennan to the nationalist tradition. In spite of the cosmopolitan erudition for which he was admired by his contemporaries, Brennan was also conscious of his Irish origins. 'While writing as an Australian, I cannot forget that I am Irish in blood and bone' he wrote in 1917, significantly at the point in his life when he was closest to repudiating that Irishness, briefly overwhelmed by the pro-British rhetoric of the first world war (McQueen 1970:43). Brennan became an associate professor of Comparative Literature at Sydney University in the early 1920s, but his father was an Irish publican, and his mother came from Cashel, in County Tipperary, perhaps the birthplace of Frank the Poet. He was an upwardly mobile second generation Irishman (though Sydney University interrupted that upwards trajectory abruptly in 1925 by sacking him for 'misconduct', i.e. for leaving his wife of 23 years and living openly with Another Woman, Mrs Violet Singer). In a suitably masked form, his poetry explored his dissident responses to his own personal but typical situation, expressing rebellion in a way that was still not quite covert enough for him to have got away with it.

In form his poetry was complex, allusive and difficult, but its subject matter was highly personal: essentially a 20 year meditation on the difficulties of his marriage, veiled in allegory as a universal myth of the human condition. Though there was much that was unique in detail in his marital woes, there was also much that was a common response to the problems of migrant exogamy. In 1897 in Australia he married Elisabeth Werth, a German woman to whom he had become engaged in Germany in 1893. The marriage started in difficult circumstances, against the opposition of both families. Frau Werth, Elisabeth's mother, disapproved of the match between the impecunious Irishman and her almost aristocratic daughter. Mrs Brennan disapproved of her beloved son's marriage outside the faith, to a Protestant. So Brennan had to wait for four years in Australia before his fiancé came out to marry him, and then another 23 years before he was able to unmarry her. For this scion of a working-class Irish family the marriage was exogamous in three dimensions, going across the boundaries of class, nationality and religion. In this respect it was therefore an ideal union for a second generation migrant with an unconscious mission to transgress the boundaries that enclosed his ethnic identity.

Brennan's unhappy marriage formed the provocation for the first two movements of his major work, *Poems* of 1913. The second section, the core of the book, was entitled 'The Forest of the Night'. The title recalls Blake not the French symbolists, and the strategy is greatly influenced by Blake. The section is organised through the figure of Lilith, who in Hebrew mythology was Adam's first lover, who 'did unite/ herself with Adam in unblest delight'. Adam, 'uncapacious of that dreadful love',

Notes: sources and contexts

Chapter 1

As a general narrative history of Australia, Manning Clark's epic (1962–87) is still good value. The obsession with the founding moment was especially evident during the Bicentenary year (1988) when publishers vied with one another to get yet another version of Australia's past published. Some notable histories which were written in the shadow of the Bicentenary include Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore* (1987), *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia* by John Molony (1987) and the *Oxford History of Australia* under the general editorship of Geoffrey Bolton (1986–90). On the 'manufacture of Australian history' see Rob Pascoe's book with that title (1979) and Paul Carter's more recent critique of the imperial theme in Australian historiography (1987). For further discussion of other radical historians of Australia such as Humphrey McQueen, Richard White, Miriam Dixson and Anne Summers see especially chapters 8 and 10 of this volume, and notes thereon; for a fuller discussion of Bateson's theories, see especially chapter 10.

Hartz's *The Founding of New Societies* (1964) arose out of a symposium organised and influenced by his ideas. The idea of a partial and somewhat distorted duplication of the European 'ideological complex' (the 'fragment') was first developed some ten years before in his *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955). For later critiques, see Bolton 'Louis Hartz' (1973) and J. Hirst 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: the Hartz thesis revisited' (1984). On the nationalist tradition in both history and literature, see especially chapter 8 and notes.

Tiffin (1984) argued for a postcolonial perspective for the study of Australian literature, and Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989) is an important and helpful introduction to this approach.

A useful review article on Australian war studies is Robson (1988). On Australia's responses to the Vietnam war see Renouf (1976). For a good general account of literary responses see Peter Pierce, 'The Australian Literature of the Vietnam War' (1980). Alan Seymour's *The One Day of the Year* (1962) focused

on emerging fissures in the Anzac legend. David Williamson's *Don's Party* (1973) captured the polyphonic essence of the instant cynicism that followed the Whitlam era. Outside literature, the film *The Odd Angry Shot* directed by Tom Jeffrey (1979) dealt with the Vietnam theme in a typically Australian laid-back style which contrasts with the more powerful treatment found in mainstream American cinema. Kennedy-Miller produced the highly acclaimed TV series *Vietnam* in 1987. In popular music, Redgum exploited the laconic, understated mode of the Australian accent in their highly charged anti-war ballad 'I was only 19'.

The first authoritative literary history was H.M. Green's *A History of Australian Literature* (1961), subsequently revised by Dorothy Green (1985). Its early, shorter, prototype (1930) laid down a critical methodology which condemned the vast bulk of Australian texts to mediocrity. Australian literature lacked, wrote Green, 'a directness . . . . sophistication . . . . intellectual content' when compared with 'work of a smilar level overseas' (p. 15). A.D. Hope's monograph (1963) was offered as a continuation of Green's *History*. Hope emphasised the continuity of Australian literature but the monograph is best known for its trenchant criticism of what Hope called Patrick White's 'pretentious poetic style' and his 'sometimes illiterate syntax' (p. 13). Geoffrey Dutton (ed) *The Literature of Australia* (1964) was an important contribution to the study of Australian literature as an object of inquiry in universities, especially since many of its contributors (Brian Elliott, Harry Heseltine, Leonie Kramer, James McAuley, Vincent Buckley, G.A. Wilkes, John Barnes, Chris Wallace-Crabbe and Judith Wright) were to influence a whole generation of critics. Two recent surveys are Goodwin (1986) and Hergenhan (1988). The latter, as the general editor comments in the Introduction, is not an exercise in pluralism but 'aims for flexibility rather than strict orderliness of organisation' (p. xv). In the process it loses its centre and becomes, as the cover suggests, another celebratory document to mark the Bicentennial, though some fine essays, notably those by Bruce Bennett and Peter Pierce, certainly stand out. For a feminist perspective, see Ferrier 1985. Graeme Turner's *National Fictions* (1986) adopts a cultural studies approach, comparing literary and filmic narrative traditions in a pioneering study. A provocative critique of both Kramer and the Australian critical establishment is John Docker's *In a Critical Condition* (1984). Docker divides *OHAL* into two distinct texts, *OHAL I* and *OHAL II* on the grounds that *OHAL I* offers a literary perspective (of Kramer, Mitchell and Smith) which is at odds with that of *OHAL II* (Terry Sturm's section). *OHAL* elicited some 20 major reviews in its first four years of publication, many largely hostile but often from a rather similar theoretical position.

In an exciting appropriation of Hayden White's theory of tropes (*Metahistory* 1973), Peter Pierce (1983) used the tropes of Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche and Irony to categorise periods and/or tendencies in Australian literary studies. The *OHAL* is metaphorical in that it proposes to relate Xs (literary texts) to Ys (a certain implicit definition of reality) in respect of Z (some version of fictional mimesis). Case studies such as a study of the literature of the Depression which imply that they are 'symptomatic' of or a stand-in for the literature of other periods are metonymic. When the studies are 'integrative', 'regulative' or 'intrinsic' such as Phillips' *The Australian Tradition* (1958) and Ward's *The Australian Legend* (1958) and demonstrate how a particular characteristic (mateship, the

J. Hirst *Convict Society and its Enemies* (1983) is a useful study of the phenomenon. Humphrey McQueen makes a fierce case against romanticising convicts (1970). Paul Wilson and J. Braithwaite *Two Faces of Deviance* (1978) contains some important essays on the construction of criminality in Australia. Elizabeth Egglestone *Fear, Favour and Affection* (1976) is an authoritative study of the treatment of Aborigines in the legal system.

Foucault makes a very effective use of Bentham's Panopticon in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). 'Panopticism', for Foucault, was the mode of dissociating the seer from the seen. In the design of the Panopticon, which is formed around a central tower overlooking a semi-circle with cubicles which extend the whole breadth of the building, Foucault discovers an architectural form capable of sustaining domination and power by its mere design. Given such a design, he writes, 'in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the control tower, one sees everything without ever being seen' (p. 202).

Marcus Clarke's *His Natural Life* was first published in serial form in the *Australian Journal* between March 1870 and June 1872. The novel 'version' was published in 1874, having lost about one third of the original. For detailed examination of the two versions see Joan Poole, 'Maurice Frere's Wife: Marcus Clarke's Revision of *His Natural Life*' (1970). The title by which the novel is best known, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, was introduced in 1884, three years after the author's death. The complete serial version was not reissued until 1970 when Stephen Murray-Smith edited it for Penguin Books. See Michael Wilding, *Marcus Clarke* (1977), for a lucid essay on Marcus Clarke. In Marcus Clarke there is considerable equivocation between the laws of genre (romance) and social realism (the portrayal of the establishment of a penal colony). For an account of the literary uses of history in Clarke see L.L. Robson, 'The Historical Basis of *For the Term of His Natural Life*' (1963).

A more considerable equivocation with a correspondingly greater textual 'chaos' is to be found in James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* (1845/1952), which is something of a literary curiosity. The manuscript surfaced in 1920 and appears to have been in the possession of the family of Mrs Margaret Baxter née Burnett. A garbled version of *Ralph Rashleigh* or *The Life of an Exile, by Giacomo de Rosenberg* appeared in 1929 as a literary memoir. Though historically it is not possible to give *Ralph Rashleigh* a 'precursor' status, nevertheless, Tucker's hero traversed the three major ingredients of early fiction: convictism, bushranging and Aboriginalism. Two more recent works should also be mentioned. The first is Thomas Keneally's *Bring Larks and Heroes* (1967) which reads the brutal history of convictism through a metaphysical mix of Melville's *Billy Budd* and Patrick White's *Voss*. The second is David Ireland's *The Unknown Industrial Prisoner* (1971) which is basically an allegorical rendition of industrial capitalism through the generic constraints of the Australian convict novel.

Rolf Boldrewood/Thomas Alexander Browne's *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) was originally published as a serial in the *Sydney Mail*, 1882–83. Earlier the bushranging theme had entered Henry Kingsley's *The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn* (1859) through the character of George Hawker who turns bushranger. The 'genteel' pretensions of Kingsley's style and his colonial preferences (he spent no more than four years in Australia) are parodied in Joseph Furphy/Tom Collins's *Such is Life* (1903).

In art Sydney Nolan's *Ned Kelly* series established a dominant iconography of the Bushranger. He also painted a number of 'escaped convict' paintings. Convictism has proved a reliable staple in both film (e.g. *For the Term of His Natural Life* in 1927 (Dawn)) and TV (e.g. the televised version of *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1983) and the historical series *Against the Wind* (1983)). In the popular but controversial TV series *Prisoner* (1979–1986) prison functioned as a complex metaphor which viewers used to explore the role of institutions (including school and the work place) in everyday life; see Hodge & Tripp (1986). Graeme Turner (1986) analyses the connections between convictism and constructions of the self in Australian society in similar terms to ours, including an excellent discussion of Stephen Wallace's film *Stir* (1980).

Chapter 7

Fiske, Hodge and Turner *Myths of Oz* (1987) uses the basic structuralist opposition between nature and culture as the basis for their analysis of core meanings in Australian popular culture (in housing and urban design, and in sites and practices of everyday life such as tourism and the beach). Graeme Turner (1986) argues that this obsessive opposition is used to express and work out problems and conflicts that are primarily social: a position that we endorse. Geoffrey Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance* (1966) has provoked much debate. Geoffrey Bolton's *Spoils and Spoilers* (1981) is a readable critical history of Australians' attitudes to the environment. Richard White's *Inventing Australia* (1981) describes some of the key moves in the Australian construction of 'the bush'. Humphrey McQueen (1970) points out the importance in Russel Ward's work of the image of 'the frontier' as originally formulated by Frederick Turner for the US: a connection which still awaits a detailed and critical exploration from a postcolonial perspective.

Two notable works which deal with the subject of Australian landscape are Brian Elliott, *The Landscape of Australian Poetry* (1967) and, in a more sprawling fashion, T. Inglis Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature* (1971). G.A. Wilkes (1981) connects the new egalitarianism and democratic leanings arising out of a hitherto hierarchical 'social structure' with a shift in the way in which the landscape is represented. 'The aspects of the landscape which receive most emphasis are those with the least resemblance to English conditions—indeed the harsher features of Australian scenery may now be especially prized', writes Wilkes (p. 33).

The themes of 'the bush', 'the outback', and the role of landscape in both art and literature are too ubiquitous to need particular references here. For film see John Tulloch *Legends on the Screen* (1986) for the earlier period. See also Moran and O'Regan (1986) for a useful collection of readings in Australian cinema. For television, see Moran (1985). A persuasive analysis of the Heidelberg School and its ideological construction of the bush from an urban and class perspective is contained in Ian Burn 'Beating About the Bush' (1980).

Chapter 8

The major theoreticians of the 'radical nationalist' thesis were A.A. Phillips, Russel Ward, Vance Palmer and Geoffrey Serle. Their work exemplifies a basically

historicist search for a distinctively Australian tradition in which values such as democracy, egalitarianism, mateship, and the bush ethos are enshrined. Underlying egalitarianism, democracy and so on is a certain utopianism, a wish to re-create in Australia, through a nationalist, 'postcolonial' ethos, the myth of a lost paradise. In essence it veers towards a folk culture fond of putting the 'industrial' clock back since it sees industrialisation as the sickness of 'advanced' societies. A crucial text here is Phillips' essay 'The Democratic Theme' (1958). The terms and Australian colloquialisms which recur in this essay are 'democratic spirit', 'spirit of mateship', 'scab', 'dinkum' etc. The dominance of these in the literature of the 1890s leads to a certain romantic formulation of literary history: 'Before the nineties there was no such thing as Australian writing, no continuous stream of creative work; there were only occasional books, standing like waterholes in a sandy bed of apathy. From the nineties, the creek has often run feebly, has never swelled to flood-level, but it has never run dry' (1958: 51).

The folk-basis of this utopianism helps Phillips to place the 1890s phenomenon in a 'proletarian' world, as opposed to the middle-class sympathies of the prevailing English fiction of the time. In contradistinction to English fiction, people like Lawson and Furphy, Phillips argued, 'wrote of the people, for the people, and from the people'. However, Phillips lacked both a theory of fiction and a definition of literariness. Consequently he often made the same kinds of comments about 'propitious' periods that Kramer, more subtly, raises in *OHAL*. For instance, Phillips regrets that Brennan's parents 'mated when they did' as in the 'interests of Australian literature, they should have delayed the consummation of their passions for twenty years' (p. 63).

For our critique of the Australian legend in this chapter we have drawn on a variety of sources who have already been listed: notably the work of McQueen, White, Summers and Dixson. For a fuller analysis of the 'Australian accent' that argues for its polysemic nature and its capacity to express a radical consciousness, see Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987). That book emphasises the constitution of the 'accent' from below as always liable to fresh appropriations from above in a continuous dialectic: a model which underlies the present book.

Chapter 9

A useful history of migration in Australia is J. I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence* (1978). See also Lois Foster and David Stockley, *Australian Multiculturalism* (1988) for contemporary patterns and issues. For an account of the diversity of ethnic groups in Australia see S. Clyne, *Multilingual Australia* (1982). For comparative literary studies in other settler societies see William Walsh *Commonwealth Literature* (1973). For a controversial study of Indian culture in similar terms to our account see Mishra (1987): this article argued the 'heresy' (Bailey 1989) that Indian culture is radically de-centred, its binary oppositions continually reconstituted in an open transformational process.

In *Snow on the Saltbush*, Geoffrey Dutton concluded that though the 'Anglo-Saxon snow that kept falling on the Australian saltbush has long since melted . . . it will be a long time before some of the changes can be chronicled' (1985: 293). He added that it will be 'another twenty years before the impact of multiculturalism on the environment can begin to be defined'. Perhaps so, but the 'chronicling' Dutton has in mind belongs to a dated concept of incorporation into what is really a version of the legend: Australian literature as a continuum defined by metaphors of stockyards, croquet lawns, saltbushes, etc. The 1970s and 1980s in fact witnessed a different kind of chronicling, one which emerged from the margins, and this took the form of essays and collections which appeared in magazines such as *Mattoid* or resource materials for courses in universities and colleges of advanced education.

One of the more important collections, *Displacements: migrant story-tellers*, was published by Deakin University in 1982. Edited with an introduction by Sneja Gunew, the collection brought together quite a galaxy of diverse writings by non-Anglo-Celtic Australian migrants. Three years before Gunew's selection Andrew Deszery edited an anthology which included works in 'community languages': *English and other than English Anthology in Community Languages* (1979). Other collections which have appeared since include Ron Holt's *The Strength of Tradition* (1983), Manfred Jurgensen's *Ethnic Australia* (1981), Sneja Gunew and Jan Mahyuddin's *Beyond the Echo* (1988), T. Spilias and S. Messinis' *Reflections: Selected Works from Greek Australian Literature* (1988), Peter Skrzynecki's *Joseph's Coat* (1985). Three collections of women's fiction which have combined the experience of migrant women and their Anglo-Celtic counterparts are Anna Gibbs and Alison Tilson's *Frictions* (1983), Anna Couani and Sneja Gunew's *Telling Ways: Australian Women's Experimental Writing* (1988) and Drusilla Modjeska's *Inner Cities* (1989). For useful, though dated, bibliographies of migrant writing see Lolo Houbein, *Ethnic Writing in English from Australia* (1984) and Peter Lamb and Anne Hazell, *Diversity and Diversion: An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Ethnic Minority Literature* (1983). Lolo Houbein also delivered a paper on ethnic and migrant writing in 1977 which showed the problems faced by a researcher in this area and the inadequacies of a form of classification and cataloguing which made the undertaking of such research in Australian universities and libraries so difficult (Tiffin, 1978).

Sneja Gunew has written the most exciting theoretical accounts of migrant writing. Her 'Migrant Women Writers: Who's on Whose Margins' (1983) was a path-breaking essay. She followed this up with an incisive reading of Rosa Cappiello's *Oh Lucky Country* (1985), as well as an essay on the ways in which migrant writing might be incorporated into a mainstream Australian literature curriculum (*English in Australia* 1987). In this paper she points out that writers such as 'Pi O and Ania Walwicz . . . . parody the various stereotypes attached to the non-English migrant condition' (p. 34). Gunew (1987) uses the writings of Ania Walwicz to connect Walwicz's conscious 'anti-homogenisation' tendencies with postmodernism. Pi O's own compilation of recent Australian writing with some fascinating poems on record published by Penguin in 1985 demonstrates the vitality of writing emerging out of the shadow of the high modern period of Kenneth Slessor, A.D. Hope and Douglas Stewart. On the question of black women's writing see Carole Ferrier's commentary and bibliography in *Hecate* (1987; 1988). Ferrier acknowledges the need for a thorough grasp of the source culture of writings by Black women.

Three varieties of migrant literature which have developed 'literary histories' of their own are Jewish, Greek, and Italian Australian literature. In 1984 L. & R. Kalechofsky edited *Jewish Writing from Down Under* while Nancy Keesing, seven years before, had published *Shalom: Australian Jewish Stories* (1978). Judah Waten's 'Discovering Migrant Literature' (1983) and his autobiographical