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**LAWSON, GUNN AND THE "WHITE CHINAMAN":
A LOOK AT HOW CHINESE ARE MADE WHITE
IN HENRY LAWSON AND
MRS AENEAS GUNN'S WRITINGS**

If the pendulum of Orientalism swung to its negative extreme in the representations of the Chinese in Australian fiction before 1901, it began swinging gradually back to the positive extreme, starting in Henry Lawson and Mrs Aeneas Gunn's fiction, and culminating in Charles Cooper's "China" novels in the late 1930s and early 1940s. An important change took place in the Australian social discourse after the establishment of the "White Australia" policy in 1901. The Japanese had replaced the Chinese as the major source of threat to Australian security; the remaining Chinese in Australia had become assimilated and domesticated; the international political climate had been favourable for China after its overthrow of the Ching Dynasty in 1911; the Sinophile tradition began asserting itself in such works as *Letters from a Chinese Official: being an Eastern View of Western Civilization* (1903),¹ which was quite in vogue at the time.² In Australia, where the Sinophile tradition had not been strong, a much softened attitude towards the Chinese can nevertheless be discerned both in the political arena³ and from the books written during the time, such as Edward W. Foxall's *Colorphobia* (1903), E.W. Cole's *A White Australia Impossible* (1903) and, later, Eldred Pottinger's *Asiatic Problems Affecting Australia* (1928).⁴ In *Colorphobia* Foxall launched a pointed attack on the policy:

The advocacy of a "White Australia", however, is not only absurd to the last degree; it is diabolical. It is an assertion of the right of men of one colour to take a country away from people of another colour, and then to refuse admission, on the grounds of their colour only, to people of the same colour as those who were dispossessed.⁶

True to his Christian ideal of supporting humanity without regard to their colour, E.W. Cole published several books criticizing the "White Australia" policy for the impracticability of its implementation and the unsoundness of its theoretical basis. He argues that a "White Australia" simply "cannot be" with "a total of coloured and mixed people in Australasia of 740,000,"⁶ and that "there is no material difference between the white man and the coloured."⁷ In his *A White Australia Impossible*, E.W. Cole puts forward a daring proposal in direct opposition to the White Australia policy by arguing that:

it is safest, most humane, and best for the interest of Australia and mankind at large, that, under just and proper restrictions and regulations we should receive, and even

invite and assist them [Asians] to settle, as friends, instead of attempting to repel them as undesirables or as enemies.⁸

Although I have argued previously that in the first few decades of this century the stereotyped image of the Chinese as the dirty, diseased, vindictive, lascivious and invading Other was sustained in popular Australian and Anglo-Australian fiction, it nevertheless remains true that in the work of a minority of writers the image of the Chinese was very different. It would sound contradictory but it is not, for when the "White Australia" policy was firmly established, the strong anti-Asian, anti-Chinese attitude softened. The Chinese, particularly "the lower order," were no longer represented as undesirable dregs of the society but as likeable, even grudgingly acceptable inferiors on the lowest rung of the social ladder. It could be that, with the establishment of the "White Australia" policy, the dominant social discourse had changed from exclusionist to assimilationist, aimed at moulding the nature of the few remaining Chinese and other coloured races according to a white Australian pattern. In spite of the uniformly racist political climate in Australia, there had already appeared pockets of intellectual dissent, as shown in the writing of Foxall and Cole and in the anti-racist campaigns launched by the international socialists in Australia through such magazines as *International Socialist Review*.⁹ The establishment of pro-Chinese organizations in the Second World War, such as the Australia-China Co-operation Association in 1938 and later the East-West Committee in 1946, also helped promote mutual understanding and friendship.¹⁰

These intellectual sentiments, however marginalized, indicate a change of attitude, or, perhaps, an altered state of mind, if not in general, at least on the part of certain intellectuals. The change is apparent in a short story by F.R.C. Hopkins. Titled "The Patriot," this carefully constructed story presents a contradictory case in which anti-Asian, patriotic feelings are finally overcome by a love of common humanity that extends to the Chinese. At the end of the story, the "Patriot," who plans to raise funds against a possible Asiatic invasion, rescues a Chinese market-gardener in a flood.¹¹ The message the author intends to convey is clear, that while the patriotic side insists on the anti-Asian feelings, the human side of an Australian won't permit him to see "a man drown like this," regardless of his ethnic background.¹²

Nonetheless, the basic ethnocentric position had not changed. As Cole Turnley found out, E.W. Cole praised the Chinese "for the degree of his emulation of the white man,"¹³ and he made this very clear when he said:

Taking the position which I do on the essential oneness of man, it is sometimes sarcastically asked of me, when perhaps a group of coloured, ragged and, perhaps, dirty people are in sight, as in the densely crowded, poverty-stricken and sweltering

cities of China, etc: "Now are they equal to us?" The same question could be asked of the slum-citizens of the great cities of Christendom. My answer is: "No, at present they are not equal to us, because their environments have been inferior to ours; change these, make them like ours, and they will soon approximate to us."¹⁴

This ethnocentric attitude lies at the basis of much of the writing of the period, in which the Chinese appear as praiseworthy human beings of the lower order because of their loyalty to their white masters, a positive stereotype as opposed to the negative ones. It's arguable whether Henry Lawson was influenced in any way by these sentiments, but one or two "Chinese" stories he had written by 1912 bear witness to a similar change of opinion,¹⁵ as well as a similar ethnocentric position. Never a lover of the Chinese himself, Henry Lawson's early experience had shown a fear, if not hatred, of the race.¹⁶ For example, he talked about his being intimidated into believing that "We were bought from Chinese hawkers — not the vegetable variety, but those who went round with boxes of drapery, fancy goods, cotton, needles, tape, etc., slung to the ends of their poles. I hated and dreaded the sight of a Chinese hawker, for I firmly believed that he hawked babies under the top shelves of his boxes." When he became famous, his affiliation with the *Bulletin* school of writers and his xenophobic racism deepened his anti-Chinese attitude: he regarded them as simply undesirable, saying "I do not object to Chinamen because they are Chinamen, nor because their creed is not the same as mine — I object to them because, as a nation, they are bad citizens and bad colonists"¹⁷ and he assumed the tone of a national poet declaring the danger posed by the "Yellow Peril," and trying to remind Australians that "the tide of Invasion goes West."¹⁸ Few of Lawson's later critics have failed to point out this particular racist attitude towards the Chinese as an utterly undesirable Other.¹⁹ However, most have ignored that change of attitude that came well after 1901 and found expression in several stories, particularly in "Ah Soon."

Lawson's first story that features the Chinese is a roughly hewn sketch called "A Tragic Comedy," about an incident in a North Queensland sheep-station where an Aboriginal shepherd kills a Chinese shepherd by mistake.²⁰ In this story, Lawson's racism and sense of white supremacy are largely expressed by way of bleak humour. The boss's sympathy, if there is any, is extended to his employee, the Chinese shepherd, but it involves no more than giving Billy the Aboriginal "an elementary lesson on the Races of Man before another blew out of China."²¹ The Chinese is an idiotic sort of nameless nonentity with "a wooden face," who responds to the boss's questions invariably with a "Yel" because, as the author explains, "He had no English, but understood the boss as new-chum Chinamen always understand bosses, or as bosses can always make them understand."²² Here, a unionist sentiment creeps into Lawson's disgust with the Chinese because of the association of cheap Chinese labour with capitalism.

This first attempt on Lawson's part to portray the Chinese reveals two things: that of his basic racism and that of his interest in the Chinese labourers as distinguished from their white boss. Lawson's interest in lower class people is a consistent one, shared by many of the *Bulletin* writers, as pointed out by Frank Hardy.²³ However, he seems more willing than most of his contemporaries to come to terms with the reality, a reality in which he finds the Chinese "lower order" an inseparable part of the Australian landscape and concedes that they have to be somehow accepted, on white if not on their own terms. This ethnocentric tendency to judge the Chinese by Australian standards permeates his story "Ah Soon."

Written in 1911, the story is probably Lawson's only attempt to do justice to a much despised and maligned race by consciously creating two positive Chinese characters, Ah Soon and Ah See, as "decent, clean-looking" human beings.²⁴ Nowhere else in Lawson's writing are the Chinese so lavishly praised and so positively delineated. Both Ah Soon and Ah See, as well as Ah Soo, Ah See's cousin, are Chinese street-hawkers. The narrator himself, as he says, is also a poor man, which is the initial basis for their frequent contact.²⁵ As Ah Soon dies soon after an accident, the scene shifts from the bush to the city where Ah See, Ah Soon's son, appears as a vegetable hawker who repays the nameless narrator £6 for his parents' kindness to his father years ago in the bush.

Apart from being a piece of evidence about Chinese gratitude that is sustained for generations, the story does not tell us much about the Chinese. On the contrary, it tells us more about Lawson through the interesting way in which he presents his Chinese characters. The story shows not only Lawson's humanism, as some critics have already noted, but, more importantly, his ethnocentrism as a positive Orientalist.²⁶ On the one hand, the self-conscious, indeed, the half-apologetic, half-explanatory manner in which he presents his material gives one a strong impression that he is writing the story under some sort of moral obligation and political pressure. This is evidenced by the opening paragraph of the story which is worth quoting at some length:

I don't know whether a story about a Chinaman would be popular or acceptable here and now, and, for the matter of that, I don't care. I am anti-Chinese as far as Australia is concerned; in fact, I am all for a white Australia. But one may dislike or even hate a nation, without hating or disliking an individual of that nation. One may be on friendly terms; even pals in a way. I had a good deal of experience with the Chinese in the old years; and I never knew or heard of a Chinaman who neglected to pay his debts, who did a dishonest action, or who forgot a kindness to him or his, or was not charitable when he had the opportunity.²⁷

This is followed by two other similar assertions in both versions of the same story. The need for such an assertion or explanation may appear puzzling at

first sight today, as no other writers before Lawson or after ever worried about it. But the anti-Chinese attitude had been so consistently hostile in the literary representations of the Chinese that to break away from that exclusive, forbidding tradition could be easily regarded as unorthodox, and so some sort of self-defence was naturally felt to be in order. Nisbet, being an outsider, could afford to stay on the margin and maintain a detached attitude. Lawson couldn't, being in the centre of everything and having so closely identified himself with Australia that he came to regard himself as being representative of it.²⁸ It was probably this central position that made him particularly aware of the possible consequences that his praise of Chinese qualities might bring upon himself, and that made it necessary for him to adopt a self-defensive posture.

However, while he takes a kinder stance towards the Chinese in this story, as some critics have pointed out, the basic nature of that attitude remains ethnocentric and patronizing, as in the case of E.W. Cole.²⁹ The chief Chinese qualities that appeal to Lawson can be actually summarized as their servile loyalty to their white masters. Like Ting-Foo, the servant in Dawe's *The Mandarin*, Ah Soon is likeable as a Chinese with a "wi'art" (white heart), a man who conforms to white ethics.³⁰ It is this emphasis on the Chinaman with "a white heart" that betrays Lawson's ethnocentrism for such labels a "The Honorary White" or "the Whitest Chinaman" are often given to those ethnic minority people who are considered fully "assimilated." For example, *Sydney Mail* once described Quong Tart as "the whitest Chinaman we know."³¹ In fact, to be white is quite an honour, as a Lawson poem shows, in which the lines run thus, "he may be brown or black,/Or wrong man there or right man,/The mate that's honest to his mates/They call that man a "white man!"³²

Furthermore, the old comic stereotype plays a role here. Ah Soon is liked not only for his being "white" but also for his funny ignorance. He "used to assure his clients that all his melons were 'wi'art' (white heart)," and "applied the phrase to all his goods to indicate their perfect condition."³³ This ignorant comicality is particularly emphasized by his funny way of speaking pidgin English, such as "Nexty-time-Fliday,"³⁴ and is shown in a description that presents Ah Soon, like Mordaunt's Chinese in Little Bourke Street, as a new stereotype of the Chinese as representing great antiquity, an expressionless, wooden human automation, "a withered, drooping image of the Patience of the Ages":³⁵

He was an old and extremely plain Chinaman, with a very flat and flabby face; or rather, withered, lined and wrinkled like one of his own turnips that had lain out on the roof during a drought — and about the same colour. If he had any expression at all it was one of agonized anxiety — perhaps for fear his old horse should fall down.³⁶

If Ah Woon, whose story takes up only the first part, is treated in a half-humorous, half-condescending way, Ah See, his son, is no less stereotypical in his theatricality. He is represented, again, in the patronizing manner in which Lawson first dismisses him as "a very bright, good-natured, good-humoured, half-childishly shy young fellow," and then concludes in a sweeping remark that the Chinese "generally are" like that.³⁷ As for his other qualities, Ah See speaks the same pidgin English, even worse than his father, pronouncing "writing" for "delightum."³⁸ He is "flat-faced and deeply-wrinkled and anxious-looking and ugly,"³⁹ and is equally funny for his way of street-hawking, "like a very gruff watch-dog."⁴⁰

The similarities of the two images of the father and the son bespeak the presence of an ethnocentrist discourse that at once highlights the likeable Chinese qualities, because of their conformity to the white morality, and reduces them to the stereotypical position of an unchanging Other, due to a deep belief in the unchangeability of the Chinese. In fact, the gaze that patronizingly holds Ah Soon and Ah See in admiration is a colonial and Orientalist one that freezes them in that comic and domesticated stereotype from which they can never hope to escape.

The paternalistic and patronizing attitude can also be seen from the way the narrator treats Ah See when he says this of him in parenthesis, "I always called him 'Asia' to his face and 'Vegerbuls' behind his back,"⁴¹ just as he had done to Ah Soon by nicknaming him "Nexy-time-Fliday."⁴²

In "Ah Dam," a sequel to "Ah Soon" though very different from it and from "A Tragic Comedy," Lawson continues the tradition of writing about the Chinese as criminals that had been so popular with writers like Edward Dyson. Appropriately, it was published in the *Bulletin*, the hot-bed for nationalistic anti-Chinese writing. The story tells of how Ah Dam, a Chinese merchant, is caught red-handed by a Sydney policeman and sent to jail after dealing illegally in the opium business and smoking opium on board a Chinese ship the previous night.⁴³ In his portrayal of Ah Dam as "a respectable and respected Sydney Chinese seed merchant," Lawson reveals his inherent view that the Chinese upper-class have a propensity to crime, predicated on a binary opposition that dichotomizes the Chinese into two categories of the likeable and manipulatable lower-orders and the evil, hateful Chinese merchant, similar to that found in the "China" novels of Carlton Dawe.⁴⁴ The attempt to condemn Ah Dam to criminality echoes the *Bulletin* writers' belief in the city/bush, the poor/rich, evil/virtue dichotomies, although the way of representation is devoid of the old virulent racist overtones prevalent in Dyson's writing, for example.

What Lawson did consciously with Ah Soon in a stereotyped portrait of him as a street-hawker, Mrs Aeneas Gunn did rather unconsciously, even with affection, by presenting Cheon as an admirable Chinese cook at an outback station. *We of the Never Never* (1908) is one of the rare factual accounts of life in the interior that at times reads like fiction because of its lively characterization. An immensely popular book that sold hundreds of thousands of copies, well-liked and widely read by Australian readers, it is noted for its sympathetic depiction of the outback life in the pioneering days, its benevolent treatment of race relations and its compassionate creation of a series of characters of all races, "a strange medley of Whites, Blacks, and Chinese,"⁴⁵ and of Cheon, "the ever-mirthful, ever-helpful, irrepressible Cheon,"⁴⁶ one of the most memorable among them.

Conscious, even deliberate efforts had been made before Gunn to portray Chinese cooks both in Australian literature and folklore. Two most notorious examples are found in Brunton Stephens' "My Chineese Cook" and "My Other Chineese Cook," in which one Chinese cook is a robber at large and the other cooks puppies for food.⁴⁷ A writer in a *Bulletin* story once said that the Chinese cooks must have been sent to Australia by the devil of hell.⁴⁸ "A Lady," as early as 1860, had summarized her perception in a conclusive remark: "They [the Chinese cooks] are generally considered very quarrelsome, are easily offended, and so terribly revengeful and treacherous."⁴⁹

A bush song focuses on the poisonous side of the Chinese cooks in a damning tone:

The Chinese cook with his cross-eyed look
Filled our guts with his corn-beef hashes,
Damned our souls with his halfbaked rolls
That poison snakes with their greasy ashes.⁵⁰

which is echoed by G.H. Gibson in *Ironbark Chips*:

Even now we are overshadowed by a vast army of Chinese cooks, who hold our lives, so to speak, in the hollows of their frying-pan; and that we are not at all poisoned of of hand must be due to the fact that we can drink our own manufactured rum, and are, naturally, not susceptible to meaner influences or milder poisons.⁵¹

These examples are cited to show how deep the prejudice against Chinese cooks must have been, before or around the time when Mrs Aeneas Gunn was writing, although these days they are well presented in television cooking series such as *Yan Can Cook*, *Food Lover's Guide to Australia* and others. Amazingly, Mrs Gunn's book displays very few symptoms of prejudice except at two places, one

where Sam Lee, the first cook, falls out of favour because of his deliberate disobedience by being too obedient,⁵² and the other where the Missus reflects on the behaviour of the Chinese thus: "Until I met Cheon I thought the Chinese incapable of affection; but many lessons are learned out-bush,"⁵³ thus introducing to us one of the minor themes of the book, that of learning from the usually despised people, the Aborigines and the Chinese.⁵⁴

Cheon as a Chinese cook is the first attempt by Mrs Gunn, and the first Australian writer for that matter, at de-stereotyping the Chinese cooks in general. Contrary to the previous misconceptions, Cheon is described as having all the good qualities a cook is supposed to have: he is clean, able to cook excellent meals, enthusiastic, helpful in times of need, and a vegetable gardener into the bargain. As the author says, "There was nothing he could not and did not do for our good."⁵⁵ She likes him so much that she gives vent to a praise hitherto unheard of in Australian literature:

Cook and gardener forsooth! Cheon was Cheon, and only Cheon; and there is no word in the English language to define Cheon or the position he filled, simply because there was never another like Cheon.⁵⁶

Well-meant and well-intentioned as Gunn is, her portrait of Cheon is nevertheless not without problems of its own. To start with, some of the qualities that appeal so much to the Maluka and the Missus are at best those of a slave's or servant's, techniques of survival aimed at winning the bosses's favours for a meagre existence "at twenty-five shillings a week."⁵⁷ These are embodied in a sentence that describes Cheon as "the truest-hearted, most faithful, most loyal old 'josses'."⁵⁸ His loyalty lies in the fact that, as a domestic servant, he knows his place and does his work. More importantly, he tries to keep others in their place, vigorously and unconsciously supporting the idea of racial hierarchy. He is able to maintain a strict distinction between the bosses and the Aborigines by obeying the former and lording over the latter. This is shown by the dual nature of master and servant in him that makes him "delightfully disobedient," so that, "meekly bending to his will, our orders became mere suggestions to be entertained and carried out if approved of by Cheon, or dismissed as 'silly-fellow' with a Podsnappian wave of his arm if they in no way appealed to him."⁵⁹ On the other hand, conditioned by the dual role as master and servant, Cheon is resolutely master-like in dealing with the blacks, quite like Ket in *Capricornia*:

At the slightest neglect of duty, lubras or boys were marshalled and kept relentlessly to their work until he was satisfied; and woe betide the lubras who had neglected to wash hands and pail, and cow, before sitting down to their milking. The very fowls that laid out bush gained nothing by their subtlety. At the faintest sound of a cackle,

a dosing lubra was roused by the point of Cheon's toe, as he shouted excitedly above her: "Fowl sing out! That way! Catch'im egg! Go on!"⁶⁰

Prejudice is also shown in his discriminatory treatment of people of different classes. In his announcement of the meal-time, for example, he uses a teamster's bell to summon the quarters (where the Aboriginal servants live) and "call(s) the gentry to the dinner by word of mouth: 'Dinner! Boss! Missus!' he sang — careful to specify his gentry, for not even reflected glory was to be shed over the quarters."⁶¹

In addition, his loyalty is accompanied by a flattering tongue which he uses to perfection whenever he feels the need. During the construction of the house on the homestead, when a dining-net is set up against flies with the help of Johnny, Dan and others, Cheon pays the compliment, not to them, but to the missus simply because she is the boss:

"My word, boss! Missus plenty savey," he said. (Cheon invariably discussed the missus in her presence.) "Chinaman woman no more savey likee that," ...⁶²

Also, instead of reasoning with the missus to get her three water-melons for Christmas dinner, Cheon uses flattery, perhaps because secretly he knows that she likes it:

Never was white woman like the missus! "Him savey all about," he assured the Maluka. "Him plenty savey gardin." Further, she was a woman in a thousand! A woman all China would bow down to! Worth ninety-one-hundred pounds in any Chinese matrimonial market.⁶³

No wonder, "It was impossible to stand against such flattery" for the Missus.⁶⁴

Sometimes, the flattery takes on a subtler form as when Cheon suggests to the boss that he employ a Chinese girl, one of Cheon's cousins, as a servant, because she is "docile, sweet, and attentive, and ... devoted to the missus," and also because she'll bring in good profits for them.⁶⁵

There are times when Cheon openly criticises the bosses only to apologize later on, which, to me, suggests not that he feels himself wrong but that he fears that such criticism might jeopardize his own secure position there.⁶⁶ Nowhere is this more manifest than at the place where a neighbour sends the missus a cabbage that hurts Cheon's pride so much that he kicks it rolling off to a corner. The sudden burst of wrath is abruptly brought to a stop by an equally sudden burst of mirth, followed by his self-conscious remark: "My word, me plenty cross fellow."⁶⁷ What is implicit here is made evident by the omission of

any mention of the missus's reaction, an eloquent silence that conveys more than words can describe: the sudden awareness of the possible consequences such as outrageous act might result in brings forth the sudden change of demeanour.

Other "lovable," and comic, qualities of Cheon's, like Ah Soon's, include his ignorance, which he exhibits in treasuring the kitchenware while ignoring "Big mob book" that the Maluka set so much store by,⁶⁸ his prejudices against woman in general,⁶⁹ his pidgin English which "generally required paraphrasing,"⁷⁰ and his antics, such as his tendency to sit on an upturned bucket.⁷¹

It should be said in defence of the author that the one great redeeming feature of the book is her humanism which lights up every page and makes it possible for one to look more kindly on her characters, black, yellow and white. And I think this is also partly because she was writing a memoir, a true story of her life recording what she saw and experienced. There was no scope allowed for the kind of fictional fantasy that Lawson and the like indulged in.

Some of the novels written during the first decades of the 20th century revealed the same ethnocentric tendency. In Mary Grant Bruce's fiction for children, the Chinese, along with other coloured races occupy the base of her social and racial structure in which they are not only servants but willing ones at that. In *Billabong Adventures*, one of Bruce's Billabong series, the few Chinese characters often offer themselves as servants whenever they want to express their gratitude to their white masters. Li Ning, to thank Norah for her good care, says, "... Li Ning thanks you — thanks you both. He is your servant — Li Chang is your servant too. Chinese mans never forget."⁷² Likewise, Hilda Bridges' novels are inhabited by Chinese gardeners and domestic servants, whose chief merits lie in their loyal servility to their white masters.⁷³

In conclusion, Henry Lawson and Mrs Aeneas Gunn, though very different writers in taste and nature, are somehow similar in their approach to their Chinese characters. Writing at a time not long after the establishment of the "White Australia" policy, their works show a remarkable sympathy and tolerance towards the Chinese. However, due to their ethnocentrism, or positive Orientalism, they tend to favour low-class Chinese of subservient nature, who are loyal, sometimes obsequious, to their white masters. As positive stereotypes, they are valued, but only for the qualities E.W. Cole praises in his *Better Side of the Chinese Character*.

Endnotes

1. This is Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson's *Letters from a Chinese Official: being an Eastern View of Western Civilization* New York: Page & Company, 1903.
2. Raymond Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967: 209.
3. For example, E.W. Cole quotes 25 Australian federal legislators as disapproving of the "White Australia" policy. See his *A White Australia Impossible*. Melbourne: Cole's Book Arcade, 1903: part 1, flap page.
4. In which the author holds that "of all the foreigners whom I have met the Chinese stand foremost in my estimation." Eldred Pottinger, *Asiatic Problems Affecting Australia* Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, 1928: 83.
5. Edward Foxall, "Gizen-No-Teki," Preface to *Colorphobia: An Exposure of the White Australia Fallacy*. Sydney: R.T. Kelly, 1903: 233.
6. E.W. Cole, *A White Australia Impossible*, title page. He published another pamphlet advocating for a mixed future of mankind, called *The Whole Human Race is Mixing and Must Fix — Even in Australia*. See Cole Turnley, *Cole of the Book Arcade: A Biography of E.W. Cole*. Hawthorn, Vic: Cole Publications, 1974: 137.
7. E.W. Cole, *A White Australia Impossible*, part 1: 2.
8. *Ibid*: 2, Cole's advocacy for a "World Federation" was well known during his day. For example, he was closely associated with the well-known Sydney Chinese merchant Quong Tart. See Cole Turnley, *Cole of the Book Arcade: A Biography of E.W. Cole*: 138.
9. See Verity Burgmann, *Revolutionaries and Racists: Australian Socialism and the Problem of Racism, 1887–1917*. PhD thesis, ANU, 1980, in which she quotes an International Socialist Review article as saying that "White and coloured workers! Your only safety lies in unity ...": 188. There were other anti-racist magazines such as *People* and *International Socialist*. See 213–4 and 219.
10. See Eric Marshall, *It Pays to be White*. Sydney: Alpha Books, 1973: 36 and 39. For a discussion of changes during this period see Chapter 1, footnote 66.
11. F.R.C. Hopkins, "The Patriot," in his *The Opium Runners: Tales of Australia*. Sydney: Websdale, Shoosmith, 1909: 30.
12. *Ibid*: 40.
13. Cole Turnley, *Cole of the Book Arcade*: 141.
14. Quoted in *ibid*: 141.
15. These are "A tragic comedy" or "His Mistake" (1907), "Ah Soon" (1911) and "Ah Dam" (1912).
16. See Leonard Cronin (ed), *A Camp-fire Yarn: Henry Lawson. Complete Works 1885–1900*. Sydney: Lansdowne, 1984: 642–3. Lawson's grandfather also had some anti-Chinese experience for he "had set up in opposition to a local Chinaman as a hawker of fruit and vegetables." See Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson: The Grey Dreamer*. London: Angus and Robertson, 1963: 50.
17. Quoted in Leonard Cronin (ed), *A Camp-fire Yarn*: 107.

18. Henry Lawson, "The old, old story," in Leonard Cronin (ed), *A Fantasy of Man, Henry Lawson Complete Works 1901-1922*. Sydney: Lansdowne, 1984: 564. Similar sentiments are found in his other poems like "The New Religion," "Nationality in Colonisation," "The Cambaroora Star," in which the Chinese are singled out as undesirable or, for their potential of invasion, their power of corruption and their propensity to evils. See Henry Lawson, "The new religion," in Leonard Cronin (ed), *A Camp-fire Yarn*: 112-3; "Nationality in colonisation," in *ibid*: 107; "The Cambaroora Star," in *ibid*: 163-5; and "The old, old story," in Leonard Cronin (ed), *A Fantasy of Man*: 563-4.
19. New Zealand critic W.H. Pearson discusses Lawson's racism towards Chinese and other coloured races. See W.H. Pearson, *Henry Lawson Among Maoris*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968. Frank Hardy comments on the "alien strains of racism" in Lawson's writing. See Frank Hardy, "Environment and ideology in Australian literature. A personal view," in Clement Semmler and Derek Whitelock (eds), *Literary Australia*. Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1966: 72. Brian Castro refers to Lawson as "one who couldn't come to terms with his own racism." See Brian Castro, "Necessary idiocy and the idea of freedom," in Sneja Gunew and Kateryna O. Longley (eds), *Striking Chords: Multicultural Literary Interpretations*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992: 4. Xavier Pons devotes an entire chapter on Lawson entitled as "Chapter 10: The conscience of Australia: racism and xenophobia." See Xavier Pons, *Out of Eden: Henry Lawson's Life and Works — A Psychoanalytic View*. North Ryde, NSW: Sirius Books, 1984.
20. Henry Lawson, "A Tragic Comedy," *The Lone Hand*, May, 1907: 16.
21. *Ibid*: 16.
22. *Ibid*: 16.
23. Frank Hardy, "Environment and ideology in Australian literature": 72.
24. Henry Lawson, "Ah Soon," in Colin Roderick (selected) *Henry Lawson: Illustrated Stories*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1981: 73.
25. *Ibid*: 72.
26. For example, Xavier Pons argues that Lawson's "honesty and humanity kept racism at bay" in 'Ah Soon'." See Xavier Pons, *Out of Eden*: 173. Also, George Johnston cites "Ah Soon" as a good example of Lawson's "deep humanism," and his "passionate spiritual concern for man and his struggles." See George Johnston, "The man on the \$10 note," in Colin Roderick (ed), *Henry Lawson Criticism: 1894-1971*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972: 427.
27. This is from another version, titled "Ah Soon: a Chinese Australian story," which I code Version 2, found in Leonard Cronin (ed) *A Fantasy of Man*: 500; the statement is absent from Version 1 in Colin Roderick's selection, 1981, though it is not certain which version is the earlier one.
28. See Xavier Pons, *Out of Eden*: 181. Lawson himself once claimed in the following words that "I believe that I have done more than any other writer to raise the national spirit and the military spirit in Australia." Quoted in Colin Roderick (ed), *Letters: 1890-1922/Henry Lawson*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970: 239.

29. See, for example, Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson: The Grey Dreamer*: 250, in which he notes that Lawson showed "a more genial attitude to the Chinese than was usual with him in 'Ah Soon'." Also see Xavier Pons and George Jonston's comments, already footnoted.
30. Henry Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 2: 501.
31. Quoted in R. Travers, *Australian Mandarin: The Life and Times of Quong Tart*. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1981: 55.
32. Henry Lawson, "The shearers," in his *Children of the Bush*. London: Methuen, 1902: ix.
33. Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 2: 501.
34. *Ibid*: 501.
35. *Ibid*: 500.
36. *Ibid*: 500.
37. *Ibid*: 501. Also, when Ah See's cousin appears at the end of the story, he is described as being "as bland and childlike a young Chinaman as you'd wish to meet": 503.
38. *Ibid*: 501.
39. Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 1: 73.
40. Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 2: 502.
41. Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 1: 73, which is absent from Version 2.
42. Lawson, "Ah Soon," Version 1: 73.
43. There are, again, two versions of this. Version 1 in Colin Roderick (ed), *Short Stories and Sketches (1888-1992)* by Henry Lawson. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972: 797-800, and Version 2 in L. Cronin (ed), *A Fantasy of Man*: 541-3.
44. Version 2 of "Ah Dam": 542.
45. Mrs Aeneas Gunn, Preface to *We of the Never Never*. London: Hutchinson, 1908: xi.
46. *Ibid*: xi.
47. See Brunton Stephens, "My Chineese cook" and "My other Chineese cook," *The Poetical Works of Brunton Stephens*. Waterloo: Eagle Press, 1925: 7680 and 81-4.
48. "The Bunyip," "Stuffing," *Bulletin* 29 November 1890: 8.
49. Quoted in Bill Wannan, *A Dictionary of Australian Folklore: Lore, Legends, Myths and Traditions*. Ringwood, Vic: Viking O'Neil, 1987 [1970]: 150.
50. Anonymous, "The canecutter's lament," in Bill Scott (compiled and annotated), *Complete Book of Australian Folk Lore*. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1976: 124.
51. G.H. Gibson, *Ironbark Chips and Stockwhip Cracks*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1893: 7.
52. See Mrs Aeneas Gunn, *We of the Never Never*: 74, in which he prepares the breakfast too early for everyone simply because the Missus "had hinted that the breakfast should be a little earlier."
53. *Ibid*: 195.
54. For example, when the homestead is built up, the Missus often goes to the black camp to learn their language, much to their delight. *Ibid*: 75.
55. *Ibid*: 132.

56. *Ibid*: 328.
57. *Ibid*: 132.
58. *Ibid*: 131.
59. *Ibid*: 132–3.
60. *Ibid*: 134.
61. *Ibid*: 326. Compare this with Sam Lee, the former cook, who summons everyone for meals with a teamster's bell without discrimination, "thus placing the gentry on a level with the quarters," which eventually puts him out of favour with the boss (136).
62. *Ibid*: 161.
63. *Ibid*: 318.
64. *Ibid*: 318.
65. *Ibid*: 138.
66. See *ibid* 136, in which "Her methods with lubras were openly disapproved, and her gardening ridiculed to all corners: "White woman no good, savey gard'n," he reiterated; but was fated to apologize handsomely in that direction later on," and page 142, in which he apologizes for blaming the Maluka for not providing his wife with sufficient clothing.
67. *Ibid*: 258.
68. See *ibid*: 164–6.
69. For example, he judges a lady friend of the missus' in one of the photographs by Chinese standards, saying "My word! That one good-looking. Him close up sixty pound longa China," *Ibid*: 164.
70. *Ibid*: 143.
71. See *ibid*: 256.
72. Mary Grant Bruce, *Billabong Adventures*. London: Ward, Lock, 1927: 145.
73. See, for example, Hilda Bridges, *The House of Make Believe*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928.