"Patterns of Conquest": Australian Fiction through the Occupation of Japan

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1 Introduction

Soon after the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and the two fatal atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki early in August 1945, Japan announced its surrender and the Pacific War of almost three and a half years was over. Japan was now under Allied occupation. The first American forces started to arrive in September 1945; then the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF) came in February 1946 and were assigned to take charge of the western part of Japan. Contingents from the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) were part of the BCOF and were garrisoned mainly in Kure, Hiroshima Prefecture. The experiences of occupation from 1946 to 1956, which was prolonged because of the Korean War, provided some Australian writers who were members of the Army of Occupation with a unique opportunity to live in Japan and have direct contact with Japanese people and their culture.

After so many atrocities committed during the war, and with race hatred a very strong potential motive on both sides, one might have expected a cruel and violent occupation in Japan, with the Western conquerors' vengeance being wreaked over the conquered. Macmahon Ball, the representative of the British Commonwealth on the Allied Council, points out that Australian policy toward Japan in the period of early occupation was shaped by "the emotional aftermath of the war years, by fear and bitterness". ²⁾ Prior to the occupation in Japan, there were very few if any interactions between Australian and Japanese, mainly because of the restriction placed on Asian immigration to Australia. Stories told about the Japanese were limited in number and nature, and most were based on imagination and invention. Thus, the first real encounters between Australians and Japanese were as enemies, and as such it was only during the occupation that many Australian servicemen encountered the 'real Japanese' for the first time.³⁾

Despite the expectations of a 'vengeful occupation' the reverse was true. John Dower wonders how one can explain the actual "peaceful nature of the Allied

172 (17) occupation of Japan" and the goodwill that developed between the occupants and the occupied, and how the racial hatred could dissipate so soon. He answers his own question by saying "the simplest of [answers is] that the dominant wartime stereotypes on both sides were wrong." Both sides were tired of war. The Allied Forces discovered that "the Japanese people — unlike their militarist leaders — welcomed peace." (Dower, p. 301) Despite slogans such as "Kichiku-Bei Ei" (Beast and Barbarian Americans and British) propagated during the war, the Japanese found that Westerners were not as the propagandists had portrayed them. While racial discrimination and hatred did not vanish, each side discovered that the other was human, too, and so started to communicate as human beings. As a result unique stories describing the encounters between Australians and Japanese started to emerge. The power relationship was, of course, clear enough and the situation was that of the conqueror and the conquered, materialistically and sexually. Australian writing generated from the experiences of the occupation thus reflects this relationship first and foremost.

The servicemen of the Occupation Forces were affected by the aftermath of the war. Some had decided to join the Occupation Forces because they found it hard to settle down as civilians after the war. Others had been too young to fight during the war and so went to Japan "looking for adventure". Most of the authors of novels written about the experiences during the occupation ("occupation novels") were among these servicemen, and include such writers as T. A. G. Hungerford, Stephen Kelen and Leonard H. Evers. Hal Porter was an exception, being a teacher in a school attached to the Occupation Forces from 1949–1950. If the Australia-Japan relationships as presented in the literature of war experiences are masculine and of inter-group rivalry, occupation stories were personal and dominated by male-female relationships.

2 "Patterns of Conquest"

As the title of Evers' novel indicates, the 'Pattern of Conquest' was clear. In this West-East, Australian-Japanese relationship, the West was an empowered group of people. The first actions of these people were those of the 'conqueror.' In describing their existence in Kure, Pop, one of the servicemen, puts it this way: "...a conquered city was always burned, looted, and its women ravished...that was the pattern in ancient times.... I don't mean we soldiers bust into houses, tear jewels off lovely throats, then toss the women on to the nearest bed — but the effects' the same." As Pop suggests to the protagonist Mark Foster, they are drawn into this inevitable pattern without exception.

Before the subordinate Japanese, the Australians are often portrayed by Australian authors as being like lords and masters, quite different from their actual and usual

role in Australian society. They take whatever chances are available to them—status, honour, money, women. Even though they use vulgar language, lack education and have a low status back home, they are honoured and privileged in their occupied land. George Smith in Kelen's novel *Goshu* (1965) says that he "had to travel half-way round [the world] to find a bloke who reckons he ain't good enough to sit next to [him]", when a Japanese man with typical politeness says he is unworthy of sitting with Smith at a dinner table. (*Goshu*, p. 57-8)

The black market is described as a very common and necessary means for allied soldiers to obtain funds to behave like masters. It is also one of the main ways in which servicemen were able to have direct contact with the Japanese, even if it is characterised by the tricks and tactics of both parties. Mark Foster, the protagonist of *Pattern of Conquest*, unexpectedly murders a Japanese black-marketeer in order to obtain 'funds' to keep a Japanese woman. Ron Prothero in T. A. G. Hungerford's novel *Sowers of the Wind* (1954) engages in secret trades by manipulating the Japanese. When troubles occur, Prothero reacts by violence to the Japanese and the raping of their wives. By doing so, he believes he is taking revenge for his brothers who were killed in Changi.

As in Prothero's case, wartime atrocities by the Japanese to their fellow soldiers become a major reason and justification for abusing the Japanese during the occupation. Captain Dugald in *A Handful of Pennies* (1958) treats his Japanese subordinates badly, saying he had seen too much of the atrocities conducted by the Japanese during the war. He also mocks those who show tolerance to the Japanese, accusing them of sentimentalism, weakness and sloppiness. He hits an aged gardener and fractures his jaw for failing to build a kennel for his cocker spaniel. The gardener then conspires with a housegirl⁷⁾ and kills the dog in an act of revenge. (p. 30)

The occupation, according to Porter in the introductory chapter to *A Handful of Pennies*, is a game in which "neither Conqueror nor Conquered had experience," and eventually in which both sides become "disconcerted, fascinated, and disappointed each other." (p. 3) In such a game, people like Andy Waller in *Sowers of the Wind* who regard themselves as 'on holiday' and take as their motto "easy come, easy go" are the most comfortable of all. He has never considered that he is "in effect an ambassador" for his country; nor has he "the foggiest notion of what the Force was doing, or of what it [hopes to] accomplish". (p. 165) Bob Twindle in *Goshu*, besides his mission to remove the hidden ammunition from Kira-jima (island), tries to gain as much as possible through black-marketeering, saying that he "didn't come here to save the Nips from themselves.... [he] just came here to see how they live, have a bit of fun, adventure, and when [he] discovered there's a bit of good honest trading around the place... that made [him] sign up for a second term." (p. 35)

170 (19) For such people as Waller and Twindle, 'women' are the most tangible trophies of the occupation. As the 'pattern of conquest' goes, so the women in an occupied land are conquered. "Chio-Chio-san"-like stories repeat themselves. Soldiers with money and goods, with saviour-like generosity, come and have momentary comfort, then, when they they have to return home, are gone forever, leaving their wailing 'Japanese wives' at the harbour — a scene exactly the same as that described by earlier Australian authors such as Carlton Dawe some 60 years before. In *Sowers of the Wind*, most of the characters, including the protagonist Rod McNaughton, who is more compassionate to the Japanese than his fellow Australians, eventually leave their pregnant Japanese wives and their "half-caste bastards", thus "sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind", in other words, "sowing a wind of hatred for the future."8)

McNaughton, who 'saves' Fumie from a Japanese cabaret and takes her under his protection, treats her humanely. Fumie becomes his "funny, dear, loyal companion", almost 'home' to him, and before this reality the faces he had known in his memory back home fade. (p. 238) A more experienced friend of McNaughton's, Norm Craigie, sees the whole thing as "loneliness and hunger masquerading as love" which only takes place in this extraordinary circumstance. (p. 199) In Hal Porter's A Handful of Pennies, young Captain Truscott, while on leave, takes a dancer Imiko from a cabaret, to become his first woman, "a symbol between youth and manhood, West and East, loneliness and fulfilment." (p. 60). She relieves his "homesickness of the spirit" (p. 83) and becomes very attached to him. But Truscott does not see the difference between "lust and tenderness, need and thievery." (p. 89) When he receives a telegram informing him of his promotion and urging his quick return to Australia, he does not hesitate to leave Imiko. Imiko's words, "Come back the day before yesterday!", a kind of a parting shot, and "Can't be helped!" showing unhappiness with shrugged shoulders, was the "cry of the East," the cry of the abandoned women who have resigned with full knowledge.

Unlike Americans, British Commonwealth Occupation Forces did not allow the marriage of mixed races; "love 'm and leave 'm" was their policy, thus leaving many 'madam butterflies'. This non-fraternization policy failed "on thousands of young soldiers, who, overcome by the boredom and loneliness of the conqueror, turned hungrily and furtively to the inevitable distractions of oriental life." Without complications of legitimacy or illegitimacy the men from the Occupation Forces who devote themselves to sexual encounters with prostitutes are often depicted with more straightforward crudeness and coarseness. Andy Waller 'on a good holiday' in Sowers of the Wind, in practicing what he has fantasized during the voyage to Japan, contracts venereal disease in the process, but it does not worry him. "Penicillin and the Army would take care of that." (p. 164) In Kure, the town where the Occupation Forces are stationed, "another night of civilised looting and raping [begins], woe to

the conquered."¹¹⁾ The authorities, alarmed at the soaring V. D. rate, started to plan licensed brothels, but that was nullified because a woman journalist from Australia threatens to report this back home. (p. 81) Some more serious members of the forces, observing the reality, deplore this situation. Johnny in *Goshu* warns his fellows, saying that "...All over Kure...Australians [are] looking for females. And the Japanese threw their poor, infected, degraded women at us, and we fell into those dirty, stinking pits of disease just as they wanted us to do" (p. 138), but he is just ignored as being "a bloody hypocrite." (p. 138)

This type of conquest is described through various episodes in a variety of literary texts. In Porter's *A Handful of Pennies*, Padre Hamilton seduces a Japanese bar boy, a "naval officer's son, student of engineering, nineteen years old, heterosexual,... and anxious to do the right thing." (p. 35) This boy wishes to learn whatever of the West he sees and hears about at the Mess, and the Padre's seduction is part of his lesson. In the same novel, an Australian teacher called Paula Groot picks up a university student called Kazuo, her housegirl's brother. She takes the lead in the relationship with Kazuo, convincing herself that "since thousands of men played the double-backed game with Oriental women, she was justified in exchanging flesh with an Oriental man." (p. 171) But her 'East-West double standard' fails, for the innocent-looking Kazuo is actually a frequent brothel visitor, and Paula Groot ends up contracting syphilis. Both the teacher and Padre are deported back to Australia, thus punished for their deeds. In the process Porter shows the ingenuousness of his Australians in these cross-cultural encounters.

In the occupation novels Japanese women are often depicted as commodities and as an inferior group of people. However, their characters are more distinct than those in the stories of half a century earlier, and despite their 'Chio-Chio-san'-like fate, they are given more human qualities. While Meriko in Pattern of Conquest, who has to sell herself to obey her father's order to save the family from hunger, is still typical of a sacrificial female figure of the East, others, as post-war new women, are presented as beginning to stand on their own feet. Imiko in A Handful of Pennies is dropped by Truscott because of his promotion, and at one point she decides to return to her hometown, where she plans to settle down as a farmer's wife. City life and memories of her times with Truscott have made Imiko a totally different person, thus giving her a chance, helped by money from Truscott, and motivation to become independent from Japanese traditions. As Laurie Clancy describes her story, it is a "tragedy" in which Imiko has to "return to the city knowing what her fate will be". 12) However, unlike her predecessors, Imiko has the 'choice', at least. 13) Another similar character, Tohana, a Canada-born Japanese woman in Pattern of Conquest, speaks fluent English and knows about the advantages enjoyed by Western women, and she tries to use Mark Foster as her means to escape from Japan and live in Western

168 (21) society. When it turns out to be difficult because of the 'non-fraternization policy' and immigration restriction, she ditches him for another Australian who appears better able to fulfill her desire. This eventually leads Foster to murder the man. Mama Watanabe in Kelen's novel *Goshu*, the wife of the head of Kira-jima, reacting to a critical situation arising from the presence of the Goshu-jin (Australians), gains courage to speak out in public without her husband's permission, an action considered impolite and against tradition. (p. 184)

In most of the novels written by Australian men about the occupation of Japan, women in Australia do not have impressive nor influential characters. They are silent and unseen, their names are sometimes omitted, and they are not portrayed as either saviours for their soldiers or as deterring them from amorous adventures in Japan. Rod McNaughton in *Sowers of the Wind* is dropped by his girl friend Merle while he is away fighting in the jungle, and thus seeks comfort and companionship from Fumie. Mark Flannery, Merle's brother, cannot escape from his alcoholism and infatuation for women. He loses his fiancēe back home when somebody informs her of his dissolute state, and eventually through desperation he commits suicide. The presence of Australian female characters is not seen as convenient to establishing the 'Orientalistic' relationships of East and West.

In this sense, Australian women attached to the Occupation Forces in Japan are no more kindly portrayed than those back home. Gloria Linden, a mistress to a married officer called Mercier in *Sowers of the Wind*, follows the military from Europe to Japan, and when the "dependents scheme" for families is enforced and Mercier's family comes to Japan, she is dumped without hesitation.¹⁴⁾ As has been mentioned, Paula Groot in *Handful of Pennies* tries to take the same opportunities as the men from the forces do, but ends up like many of them with venereal disease. Thus women of both sides somehow become victims of the circumstances in which they find themselves.

3 Some other patterns of the conquest

Although Japanese women characters still dominate, Japanese civilian men also start to appear in more distinct roles in the occupation novels, something new in Australian writing on the Japanese. Many of them are black-marketeers, who have more opportunities than others for direct contact with the Occupation Forces. People like Andy Waller worry about their lack of knowledge of the Japanese language and learn words "necessary to love-making or the operation of his black-market interest", and so through their broken Japanese are able to communicate with the Japanese. These black-marketeers are typically described in similar terms in most of the stories. They are greedy and tricky, trying to manipulate both their own people and the Occupation Forces and abusing whomever they can. For example, Osada, an

immensely fat owner of a brewery, sells his beer to the forces and earns enough to build a lavishly ornate house on the hill, using his Japanese subordinates in harsh ways. (Sowers of the Wind) Nomura buys girls from poor families to work at the dance-hall, where McNaughton helps Fumie out. He waits for the girls to be dumped by the Westerners and has them working for him again. (Sowers of the Wind) Such exploitative fathers as Meriko's urge their daughters to go and sell themselves. (Pattern of Conquest) Nijori owns a boat and does black-marketeering with his uncle, uncle's wife and his cousin, thus showing some Australian solder-business partners who have not had direct contact with a Japanese family how a 'Japanese family business' is run. (Sowers of the Wind) Akiyama Yashira's episode from Pattern of Conquest shows that both the Japanese and Australians try to trick and outwit each other in their business dealings. Akiyama tries to use counterfeit money to buy 'cigaretto' from a soldier from the Occupation Forces, only to find the cartons he buys are packed with rolled paper.

Among the Japanese portrayed in the occupation novels are some bellicose nationalists left over from the war. In Goshu, a Japanese ex-corporal called Yonemitsu and his mentor Priest Harunobu are frustrated by the fact that they have to have the Australians remove explosives from their island. They urge the villagers to keep the buried bombs as sacred tokens from the Emperor, by trying to build a shrine on the ammunition dump. Yonemitsu, who was once admired as a hero-soldier by the villagers and swore never to surrender, is desperate not to have the 'barbarians' on their island, and tries every means to resist the Australians. Osada, the rich brewer in Sowers of the Wind, maintains patience and silence when with the 'barbarians', but believes that "Tenno Heiko [sic], the Son of Heaven, had asked his people to endure the presence of the invader, and endure they would.... When [the occupation] was finished.... [they would] begin once more to build Nippon to greatness." (p. 137) These men regard the occupation as a "defilement", an extreme form of shame and dishonour similar to that seen among the Japanese prisoners held in Australia during the war. They believe that it won't last forever. Among the post-war Japanese notions observed by Australian writers, the Japanese eagerness for rehabilitation, reconstruction, recovery and eventual prosperity was seen as being very strong, almost like a form of 'revenge', a characteristic which Hal Porter also noted in his second visit to Japan in the late 1960s.

In the novels of this time, there are also some 'middlemen' type characters who lie somewhere between the West and East. They are often depicted as lone figures who do not belong to either side. Trying to please both sides, a 'middleman's burden', they fail to please anyone. Sato, a 'nisei' (second-generation) interpreter from the United States, is a tragicomical character in *Goshu*. He has decided to be the twain, to build a "bridge of understanding between East and West." (p. 155) But he is

166 (23) American-born, and the language and manners of Australian soldiers perplex him. With the physical appearance of the East and education and knowledge of the West, he wants to help his ancestors' land rise from the ruins. He tries to "balance his fate between East and West", only to find he belongs to neither side. His interpretation of information from both sides is sometimes circuitous, free-ranging and altered in order to make the messages acceptable to both sides. Sato's tragicomical efforts to please both Australians and Japanese tear him apart, revealing how immense the gap can be and how limited is the tenability of the bridge that is built.

'Jimmu' Murimoto, a peace-time architect and now storeman to Rod McNaughton in *Sowers of the Wind*, is another tragic figure. Having lost his four sons as well as his career, fortune and health in the war, Murimoto invites McNaughton, who is about the same age as his sons, to his house; and with his wife he shows him how ordinary Japanese live, think and survive in the aftermath of the war. Murimoto becomes a victim of racial hatred by a man called Weisman, who himself has been called names by McNaughton such as "wogs... bloody foreigners." (p. 235) Xenophobic attitudes hamper the process of reconciliation not only between the conquerors and the conquered, but between the conquerors as well, among whom there are considerable differences of manners, attitudes and values.

Among the conquerors are some, though small in number, who are portrayed as the 'bridges-to-be'. Major Everard-Hopkins in *A Handful of Pennies* is one such person. He "admire[s] ... and love[s] Orientals" (p. 19) and is intensely interested in observing the results of East-West encounters, dichotomies and their effects. He is disappointed with his first view of the East, just as the author himself was, both filled with Orientalistic illusions. However, he gradually finds that those who are conquered are not merely subordinate, and that the conquerors are themselves being conquered through the Japanese abundant energy for life and recovery from the effects of war. (p. 46-7)

Everard-Hopkins tries to understand the 'other' through observation. He uses reason to try and understand what he sees: "Orientals [are] poverty's most delightful offspring... they live on 'taboo and ritual'" (p. 17). He realises that "Democracy is a Western foible whose ideas of freedom, politics, religion are not based on firm sand as [the] Oriental", which is based "on a philosophy or a harmony of subordination, on those unwritten codes so much more logical than ethics typewritten in triplicate." (p. 18) Everard-Hopkins, however, before reaching the 'inward', and while trying to be part of the whole, is 'flicked' out. When he is lost in the enchanted circle of Bon-odori, a dance to welcome the soul of the deceased with "repetitions, reappearances and layers of sounds", he suddenly realises that "these barbarians are differently stronger." Unable to regain strength in his already weakened body, he dies in despair and loneliness. (pp. 167-170)

Although Everard-Hopkins' efforts to comprehend Japan were not successful, thus suggesting a difficulty in the complete mutual understanding between East and West, writings from the occupation experiences reflect a gradual gain of knowledge by Australians over Japan and the Japanese through the witnessing of different events and circumstances and by direct contact with the local people. In Goshu, the importance for men, either of lower or higher class, not to lose "mentsu" — face — is comically exaggerated, revealing the male-centred, public oriented aspect of Japanese society. The toughness of the Japanese to survive the aftermath of the war is observed, not only in the wily black-marketeers but also through the life of ordinary people - workers for the Occupation Forces, who, under a submissive appearance, take whatever they can from their masters. These include people like Imiko or Kazuo in A Handful of Pennies, who not only are used by the conquerors but also use them as stepping stones for their own purposes. Japanese customs such as Bon-odori are mentioned here and there. The importance of Bon-odori in which Everard-Hopkins is caught up, and its centripetal force for the villagers is well mentioned in Goshu. Despite minor errors in Japanese given names and family names, or in Japanese words transcribed in Roman letters, the various authors attempt to bring the 'real' atmosphere of the country to their readers.

Because of their location, most authors from the Occupation Forces witnessed the ruins of Hiroshima, and put some aspect of this experience in their stories. In Sowers of the Wind an American tells the Australians how it was like 'hell' with burnt people just after the atomic bomb exploded above them. In the same novel, a Japanese translator, Akiru Tesuo, also tells the Australians about his experiences. In Patterns of Conquest, in the totally shattered remains of the city, even the most flippant member of the group of soldiers becomes silent and thoughtful. (p. 182) In Goshu, Johnny talks about his experiences in Hiroshima with his company, about how much the bomb afflicted the ordinary citizens with "their festering wounds that will never heal." (p. 139) But despite this, Johnny believes that the dropping of the bomb was necessary to stop the war and save millions of lives on both sides. (p. 140) Later on, when villagers of Kira-jima want to celebrate the removal of ammunition with fireworks, Johnny is killed in a fire on the boat full of ammunition, ignited by a special firework ironically called the 'Atom'. Justification or condemnation over the inevitability of the bomb aside, these authors were among the first witnesses of the effects of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima, and thus were able to inform their readers of one aspect of the war not widely talked about publicly in other forms of literature or the mass media. 16)

As Porter puts it, the 'Mess' of the Occupation Forces is a place, which, "like oldmen's home or prison, is a unique zone having a climate of its own," and the people there are a unique group of soldiers, many of whom are "self-exiled, escaped

164 (25) from a Western *milieu* that knew their meagre shameful failings." (p. 27) They have a special atmosphere and status, thus not representing the 'West' as a whole. Under such extraordinary circumstances, to be conquerors does not necessarily mean to be victorious or heroic. Hungerford's *Sowers of the Wind*, despite the fact that the story itself won a prize in the *Sydney Morning Herald* Literary Competition in 1949, was not published until a few years later — "Australian exploitations of the conquered Japanese, economically and sexually, reveal such a distasteful side to the character of the young Australian troop that... Angus and Robertson kept it back until 1954."¹⁷⁾

Australians are often portrayed as victims themselves. On their arrival in Japan, Australian garrison men are disappointed to see that "it [is] just like home, just like Fremantle" as Hungerford writes about himself. 18) Like Mark Foster, they are inevitably drawn into the 'pattern of conquest'. Some characters like Charlie Rogers (Pattern of Conquest) or Johnny (Goshu) have strong wills, often supported by Christian religious beliefs, and know the signs of danger and vice well and have enough strength not to fall into the traps. Some, like Pop or Honest John in Pattern of Conquest know it well, but sees it as an opportunity. Naïve characters like Mark Foster, who do not know the pattern, fall into the trap, and themselves become tragic figures. It is much easier for people like Captain Truscott (A Handful of Pennies), who 'touch' the pattern and then move on. The morale and the sense of morality of the garrison men cannot be raised when they do not know the significance of their contact with the 'other', and eventually 'novelty' turns to 'ennui.'19) "Beer and Women" become the only two subjects of their conversation,20) and their famous 'mateship' that sustained them in the hardship of war dissolves in peacetime. (p. 130)

4 Conclusion

Despite the fact that these novels show that no easy reconciliation can be attained between former enemies, East and West and the conquerors and the conquered, they also show that through the boredom of garrison life and the petty nuances of everyday life, and through the black-marketeering and penicillin, they can still, however partial, establish some cross-cultural understanding and relationships. Through these interactions, they are able to gain an insight of Japan and the Japanese, while at the same time give their Japanese counterparts an insight to Australia and Australians.

It may be as one of the characters in *Sowers of the Wind* says, that when it has cleared up, "the politicians and the blasted priests will make their tours of Japan and assure the press that everything's hunkey-dorey, no black market, no V.D., no nothing. And if anyone says anything different, he'll be howled down for

besmirching the glorious name of our fighting forces." (p. 142) But the first-hand stories narrated by those who have experienced the post-war occupation of Japan give a strong account of the 'other.' Even the ultimate 'sacrifices' as with the deaths of Major Sholto Everard-Hopkin or Captain M. M. Wilkinson in *A Handful of Pennies*, who return home in china jars, provide a silent account of the continuing impact of the 'other.'

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Evers, L. H., Pattern of Conquest, Sydney: Currawong Publishing Co., 1954.

Hungerford, Thomas Arthur Guy, Sowers of the Wind: A Novel of the Occupation of Japan, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954.

Kelen, Stephen, Goshu, Sydney: Horwitz Publications Inc., 1965.

Porter, Hal, A Handful of Pennies, Angus and Robertson, 1958.

[Notes]

- 1) Out of the BCOF contingents of 37,000 servicemen at the end of 1946, the number of the Australians was 11,000 which exceeded those of other nations, Britain, New Zealand and India. *Michi's Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*, Keiko Tamura, Canberra: Australian National University, 2001, p. 2.
- 2) Macmahon Ball, Australia and Japan: Documents and Readings in Australian History, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1969, p. 107.
- 3) For earlier Australian fiction on Japan and the Japanese, see my "Fear of Japan: The Formation of Japanese Invasion Novels in Australian Literature" in *Bulletin of Meisei University*, Department of Japanese and Comparative Literature, Faculty of Japanese Culture, no. 6, 1998, pp. 33-41 and "Imaginary Japanese in Australian Literature" (in Japanese) in *Dento to Zen'ei*, ed., Faculty of Japanese Culture, Meisei University, 2000, pp. 329-347.
- 4) John Dower, War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War, London: Faber, 1986, p. 301.
- 5) Keiko Tamura, Michi's Memoirs: The Story of a Japanese War Bride, p. 2.
- 6) L. H. Evers, Pattern of Conquest, pp. 28-29.
- 7) "Housegirl" is a word used during the occupation for young women who worked as maids at the "Mess". "Mess" was also a word used during that period which indicates not only the dining hall but the whole barracks of the garrison.
- 8) William Wilde et. al. eds., *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 2nd ed., Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 389.
- 9) Evers, op. cit., p. 81. This becomes such a strong archetype again that Porter later uses another 'butter-fly' in his play, "The Professor", although the Japanese woman in the play sacrifices herself not for 'Pinkerton' but for a Japanese man infected with 'Westernisation.'
- 10) Cover blurb of Pattern of Conquest.
- 11) Ibid., p. 62.
- 12) Laurie Clancy, A Reader's Guide to Australian Fiction, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 186.
- 13) Later, such girls as Imiko are to be described as victims of the post-war society of Japan in one of Porter's short stories.
- 14) T. A. G. Hungerford, Sowers of the Wind, chapter 13.
- 15) Ibid., p. 165.
- 16) In recent research on war-brides and their husbands, ex-servicemen often express their wonder how they were astonished by the devastating effects of the bomb and marvelled at the power and will of the local people, which eventually lead to their sympathetic and compassionate feeling for the Japanese. See Tamura's Michi's Memories.
- 17) Wilde, eds., op. cit., p. 389.

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- 18) T. A. G. Hungerford, "Tourist with Haiku" from *A Knockabout with a Slouch Hat*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1985.
- 19) Evers, op. cit., p. 80.
- 20) Hungerford, Sowers of the Wind, p. 173.

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