

Have academic studies of Victorian and Edwardian invasion literature significantly under-represented the importance of Russia as a threat to Britain and its empire in popular literature between 1871 and 1914?

Derek Linney, December 2015

Invasion literature proliferated between 1871, with the publication of *The Battle of Dorking*, and the beginning of the First World War¹. The genre was initially precipitated by concerns over the threat posed by the newly consolidated Germany and its success in the Franco-German war of 1870. However, for much of the period up until the early 1900s, Britain's potential enemies were identified as its imperial rivals of France and Russia. From 1900 Germany started to feature again as a major threat in the popular literature, for example with the publication in 1903 of *The Riddle of the Sands* and in 1906 in Le Queux's hugely successful *If England Were Invaded*. After 1906 Germany dominated the genre through to the start of war in 1914. Specific imperial crises such as Egypt (1882) and the South African War (1899-1902) were reflected in the popular literature. While many stories were produced for purely commercial gain, the genre was also used as a propaganda mechanism to put pressure upon government with regard to defence strategy and spending².

This essay will analyse the changing nature of the perceived threat to Britain, its fleet and its empire reflected in the literature with a specific emphasis on the threat from Russia. It also relates the nature of the threats in the stories to military and diplomatic events and the

¹ There are three distinguishable, but overlapping, categories of fiction in the invasion genre: *Invasion Scares*, *Future War Fiction* – often featuring new techniques or technologies of warfare – and *Spy Fiction*. This essay uses the generic term “invasion literature” as a catchall.

² I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984* (London ; 1966), pp.128-130.

changing anxieties within Britain regarding the security of the nation and the empire.

In 1988 Cecil Eby analysed sixty works of invasion literature dating from 1871 to 1914 in which Germany featured 41 times as the enemy, France 18 times and Russia only 8 times and then "*usually allied with France*"; there was a smattering of other foes³. Eby plots the changing nature of the imagined enemy: "*...invasion narratives serve as convenient weather vanes pointing towards three storm centres publicized by the Foreign Office*"⁴. Although he identifies the emergence of Russia in the narratives after its 1894 alliance with France this essay will show that his analysis under-represents the importance of Russia within the invasion literature genre in general and especially during the period 1885-1905. Similarly, Mariangela Tempera's 1984 thesis *Popular Literature as Propaganda in the "Future War" Tale (1871-1915)* only mentions Russia once in its 187 pages⁵. I.F. Clarke's *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984*, one of the seminal works on invasion literature, devotes substantial space to Germany and France but relatively little to Russia⁶.

The analysis presented here extends that done by Eby but includes short stories as well as books and pamphlets. This extends the analysis to 135 works⁷. As with Eby it includes works that feature a near-future war or invasion involving Britain or a part of the British Empire. Included are spy stories that feature a near future confrontation or a recent, fictional, avoided confrontation. Excluded are: fantasy stories, parodies, pure science fiction, utopian visions

³ Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, (Durham, 1988), p.11.

⁴ Ibid., p.20.

⁵ Mariangela Tempera, *Popular Literature as Propaganda in the "Future War" Tale (1871-1915)* (England, France, Germany) (Indiana University, 1984).

⁶ Clarke, *Voices*, pp.107-161.

⁷ Listed in the bibliography as *Primary Sources: Invasion Literature*.

and tales of civil unrest not involving direct input from a foreign power. Britain's enemies are analysed by identifying the main protagonists - either in isolation or as part of an alliance - and are categorised by date of original publication. Over the whole period Russia featured as Britain's enemy in 37 works⁸. This is only slightly behind France (39 works) although well behind Germany: by far the most significant foe (69 works) [Table 1 & Chart 1].

135 Works Analysed	The Foe					
	Russia	France	Germany	Asian	Others	Unspecified
1871-1875	1	0	8	0	2	0
1876-1880	3	0	3	0	1	0
1881-1885	3	7	3	1	1	1
1886-1890	6	3	1	0	3	1
1891-1895	5	9	1	0	1	0
1896-1900	10	9	5	2	3	0
1901-1905	8	10	7	0	1	2
1906-1910	1	1	28	5	0	2
1911-1914	0	0	13	3	1	1
Total	37	39	69	11	13	7

Table 1 - Enemies of Britain

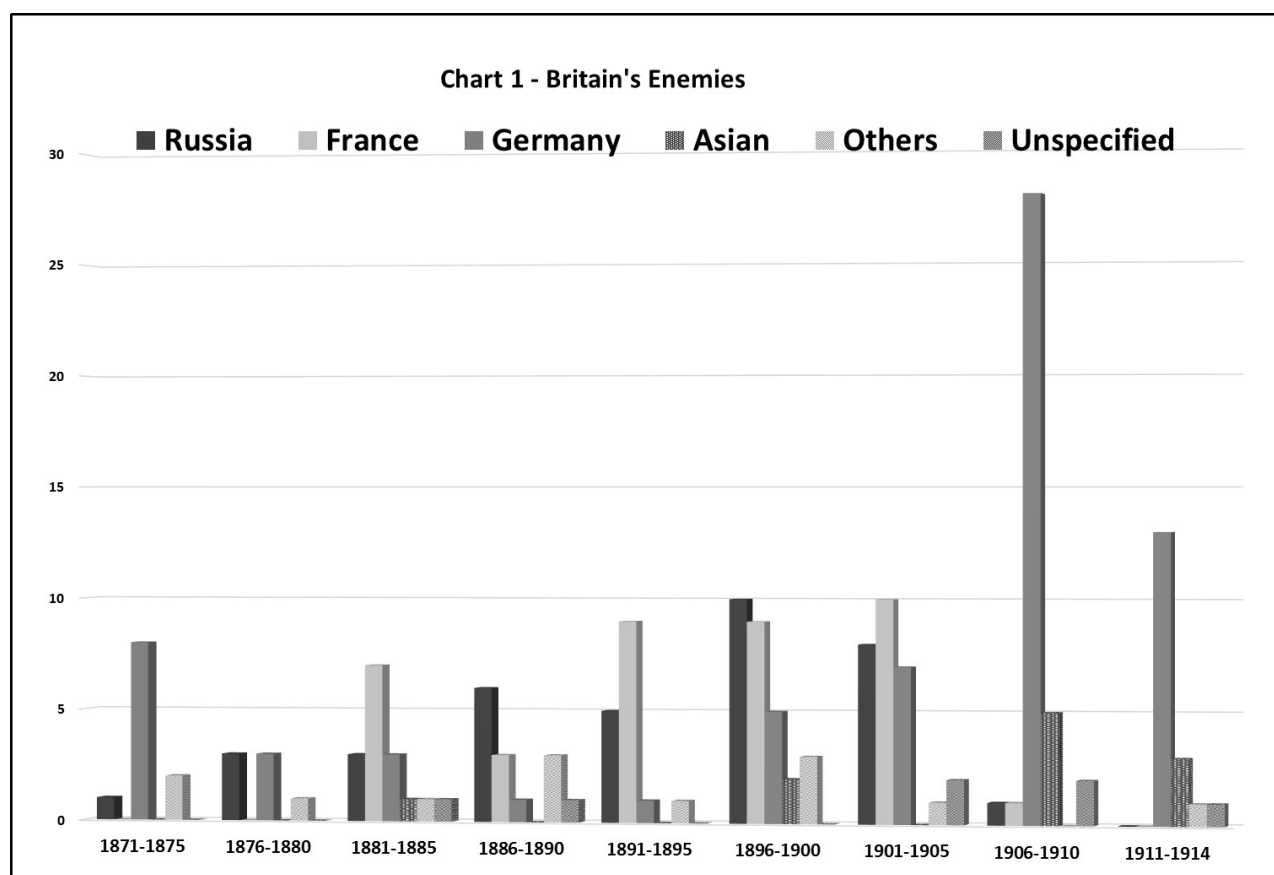
However, the picture is significantly different during the 20-year period 1886-1905 with Russia featuring 29 times, France 31 times and Germany only 14 times⁹. Michael Stewart attributes the renewed focus on Germany as dating from the Kruger Telegram of 1895 but detailed analysis suggests that the upswing of stories featuring Germany does not start until 1899 and then only grows rapidly in the early 1900s in the aftermath of the Boer War¹⁰.

⁸ Listed in the bibliography as *Primary Sources: Invasion Literature featuring Russia as the enemy of Britain*.

⁹ Analysis of individual works relied on either examination of the original stories or commentaries in the secondary sources included in the bibliography.

¹⁰ Michael Stewart, "Stranger Than Fiction", (Texas Woman's University, 2012), p.42 & A. Michael Matin. "We Aren't German Slaves Here, Thank God", *Journal of Modern Literature*, 21(2) (1977): p.272.

I.F.Clarke sees the popularity of *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903) as signalling the beginning of the shift towards the German threat¹¹.



An analysis of the 37 works featuring Russia as Britain's enemy shows that it was only operating in isolation in 10 of the stories while it allied with France in 22 stories and Germany in 10 works [Table 2 & Chart 2]. In six of these stories Russia, France and Germany were joint allies against Britain. However, during the period before 1900 Germany was often portrayed as an ally of Britain against Russia. Although Juvenile literature is not included in the current analysis it is noteworthy that Michael Paris shows that there was a similar focus on France and Russia as potential enemies in the many juvenile publications - magazines, comics and

¹¹ Clarke, *Voices*, p.116.

books - during the period up to 1905; after which Germany dominated as Britain's enemy¹².

37 Works Analysed	Russia Alone	Russia's Allies				
		France	Germany	USA	Turkey	Ireland
1871-1875	0	0	1	1	0	0
1876-1880	2	0	1	0	1	0
1881-1885	1	2	0	0	0	0
1886-1890	4	2	1	0	0	0
1891-1895	0	5	0	0	0	1
1896-1900	3	6	3	0	1	0
1901-1905	0	6	3	0	0	0
1906-1910	0	1	1	0	0	0
1911-1914	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	22	10	1	2	1

Table 2 - Russia's Allies against Britain



The nature of the threat in the narratives featuring Russia included: naval attacks on Britain or upon the British Fleet, invasion of Britain, threats to British interests in the Mediterranean, attacks, invasion or spying activity in Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India and opportunist attacks on British colonies. The earliest stories – *The Battle of the Ironclads* (1871)

¹² Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation*, (London, 2000), pp.88-91.

and *Fifty Years Hence* (1877) – feature Britain being dragged into a Russo-Turkish conflict. Sometimes the attack on British interests - India, Egypt etc. - is the main subject of the narrative – e.g. *The Invasion* (1877) features a Russian invasion of Australia and *The Back Door* (1897) describes a Franco-Russian attack on Hong Kong. Occasionally it is a sub-plot: for example, where Britain's forces are tied up in a European conflict which leaves open the door for Russian opportunism in the Near East or Asia as occurs in *Starved into Surrender* (1904) in which Russia invades India during a naval blockade of Britain.

The themes of the stories reflected changing concerns regarding the security of Britain and its empire. A. Michael Matin comments that it was during the 1870s and 80s that concerns of national security tended to become conflated with concerns over imperial security¹³. Genuine concerns over imperial threats, given Britain's wide flung empire, generated unrealistic public fears over domestic invasion as reflected in invasion literature. Among the identified weaknesses of Britain are: Britain's inability to protect its farther flung colonies, the use of conscription by its rivals providing them with large standing armies, Britain's dependency upon imported food, Britain's dependence upon international trade and the economic consequences of disruption to that trade and the use of foreign seamen in Britain's merchant fleet.

These concerns were not only represented in prose but also in other forms such as poetry: Kipling's 1897 poem *Recessional* alludes to the dangers of Britain's "*far-called navies*"¹⁴. As early as 1871 Russia was the subject of popular songs identifying it as a threat to Britain's

¹³ A. Michael Matin, *Securing Britain*, (Columbia University, 1997), pp.94-95.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.93.

interests; this culminated in *Macdermott's War Song* (aka. *By Jingo*) written by G. W. Hunt in 1878 which reflected a popular antagonism to Russia resulting from the threat to Constantinople during the 1877-8 Russo-Turkish crisis. Two years later Hunt wrote another anti-Russian song featuring the Russian threat to Afghanistan and India¹⁵.

Although Germany featured prominently in stories during 1871 following unification and encouraged by the literary success of *The Battle of Dorking* it quickly subsided to be replaced by Russia and France as the main protagonists against Britain. Although there were a couple of early stories featuring France and Russia united against Britain - *The Story of the Battle of Port Said* (1883) and *The Siege of London* (1885) - it was after the Franco-Russia alliance in 1894 that there was a marked increase in invasion literature featuring the two countries in alliance against Britain.

An exception, from a timing point of view, was Admiral Colomb's *The War of 189-*, a highly professional analysis of a diplomatic incident - an assassination in the Balkans - leading to a European wide war in which France and Russia confront Britain and Germany. Written in 1892, when the Franco-Russia alliance was not yet completed, it anticipated the protagonists of much of the invasion literature of the next 12 years. It is also noteworthy in the uncanny parallel to the events of 1914; the difference being that it is France's violation of Belgium neutrality that brings England in on Germany's side! *The War of 189-* was a collaborative venture of prominent supporters of "Greater Britain" and was published by *Black and White* with a deliberate political motive¹⁶.

¹⁵ John M. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), pp.25-28.

¹⁶ Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*, (Princeton, 2007) pp.38-39

The most commercial of the stories featuring invasion by France and Russia was Le Queux's *The Great War in England in 1897* - originally published in serial form in *Answers* in 1893 and in book form in 1894 and running to eight editions. Stafford regards it as the first novel to attribute a significant role to espionage as well as exploiting the "*popular fears generated by the new Franco-Russian alliance*"¹⁷.

J. Hampson's 1898 essay *Great Britain vs. France and Russia* was the prize winning entry in a competition sponsored by *National Review* and the National Navy League. It highlights several of the themes that recur through invasion literature around this time: the strength of the combined Russian and French Fleets, Britain's dependence upon imported food and the economic havoc that a European war would create for a nation such as Britain whose economy was so heavily dependent upon international trade. The Navy League was founded in 1895 as a lobby group and to influence public opinion¹⁸. The disruption of British trade is also featured heavily in *The Russia's Hope* (1888) in which Russian naval vessels intercept and sink British merchantmen with the aim of "*annihilating our commerce and carrying trade*". The disruption to Britain's ability to intercede overseas leads to uprisings in Ireland and India and opens up Australia to attack. The literature reflects what Philip Steer identifies a "*growing sense of isolation from Britain*" in turn-of-the-century Australasia and a consequent fear of Russian or Asian invasion¹⁹.

Concern about the vulnerability of Britain's merchant fleet from the high number of non-

¹⁷ David A. T. Stafford, 'Spies and Gentlemen', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 24, (1981), pp.496-7.

¹⁸ Anne Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop*, No. 2 (1976), pp.116-122.

¹⁹ Philip Steer, "Greater Britain and the Imperial Outpost", *Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada*, 2009, p.81.

British seaman is reflected in two stories: *When War Breaks Out* (1898) and *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1905). In *When War Breaks Out* the first act of France is to sever Britain's international telegraph cables rendering its communication with its fleet ineffective; Russia invades Egypt to which Britain responds by blocking the Suez Canal. Foreign seamen on British ships are ordered by their respective governments to refuse to cooperate in shipping movements and Britain suffers massive food price rises as a result of shortages. In *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* one of the identified weaknesses, among many, of the British Empire is its dependence on "alien" seamen. The book quotes Lord Muskerry speaking in a House of Lords debate on the Merchant Shipping (Aliens) Bill in 1905:

*".... alien seamen are increasing, and the danger to the State is greater still. What have the National Defence Committee to say to this? Not to speak of 41,000 Lascars, I find that no fewer than 40,396 aliens are enjoying the hospitality of British ships."*²⁰

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire also highlights the poor physical state of British men and had a strong impact on Baden-Powell in setting up the Boy Scout movement²¹.

Relationships with France, in public perception, worsened after the Fashoda Incident in 1898 but after the Anglo-French *Entente Cordial* of April 1904 France rapidly drops away as a potential enemy in the literature²². Russia, however, continues to feature as a threat until the Anglo-Russian accord of 1907. There was a lingering distrust of Russia not helped by the Dogger Bank incident in October 1904 when the Russian Fleet fired on British trawlers - suspecting them of being Japanese torpedo boats and submarines²³. Despite Russia's

²⁰ *Hansard*: HL Deb 26 June 1905 vol. 148 cc. 11-30.

²¹ Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (London, 1968), pp.25-27.

²² Clarke, *Voices*, p.108.

²³ *Scarborough Maritime Heritage Centre*

credibility as a potential enemy having been seriously dented by its performance in the 1904-5 war with Japan and the 1905 Revolution there are two notable stories from this period: *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1905) - discussed above - and *The Death Trap* (1907)²⁴. Both feature a Russia-German alliance against Britain; in the former France remains neutral because of her relationship with Russia and in the latter Germany pressurises France to join their alliance.

Throughout the period 1879 to 1905 a recurrent theme is Russia's intentions in Asia. Despite Matin's comment that the threat to India from Russia, unlike that of invasion of Britain, was more heavily written about in non-fiction than in fiction it is nonetheless present in a few stories²⁵. Matin explains the limited number of fictional stories featuring Russian invasions of India as the main story, rather than "*sideshows in texts whose main event is invasion of England*", as a difference in audience: British readers in India were well versed in the dangers from Russia and hence fictional accounts were less needed, or powerful, than factual analyses such as provided by Sir Charles MacGregor in *The Defence of India* (1884) or Charles Marvin's *Russia's Power of attacking India* (1885)²⁶.

Kipling's *Kim* (1900) has been extensively analysed by many authors as an example of British attitudes towards Russia's intentions in Asia²⁷. However, it is debated to what extent it represented the reality of the spying that went on at that time in the *Great Game*²⁸. Apart

²⁴ Matin, *Securing Britain*, p.102.

²⁵ Ibid., p.104.

²⁶ Ibid., pp.104-105 & Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, (London, 1990), pp.422.

²⁷ e.g. in Matin, *Securing Britain* & Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, (New York, 1979).

²⁸ Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, pp.422-3.

from spy stories such as *Kim* and the real-life exploits of Frederick Burnaby (1876 & 1877) there are a few fictional narratives with the main storyline being a Russian attack on Afghanistan and India²⁹. Probably the earliest such story is A. Dekhnewallah's 1879 pamphlet *The Great Russian Invasion of India*. Russia, aided by spies amongst India's lower castes, invades India through Afghanistan and occupies Punjab and the Central Provinces. Britain tries to counter by sending a conscript army to Russia but only succeeds when the British Fleet is sent into the Baltic and the Black Sea³⁰. Other North-West Frontier stories are Robert Cromie's *For England's Sake* (1889) which covers a British-Russian war in Afghanistan, and his follow up story *The Next Crusade* (1896) which features a war between Britain, allied with Austria and Germany, against Russia and Turkey.

John Buchan's *The Half-Hearted* (1900) is the first of his "empire" fictions and features a protagonist who having failed at home travels to India where he proves himself: dying while foiling a Russia invasion. Nathan Waddell presents this portrayal as symptomatic of concerns regarding metropolitan decay³¹. Al-Rawi sees the novel as an expression of Britain's "*imperial anxiety over a Russian military threat*" and Buchan's own characterisation of Russia is that

".... [Russia] is the step-daughter of the East and some day they will push beyond their boundaries and sweep down on Western Europe, as their ancestors did thirteen hundred years ago."³²

²⁹ Frederick Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia*, (London: 1876) & *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, (London, 1877).

³⁰ M. Yapp, 'The Legend of the Great Game', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 111, (2001) p.194 & A. Michael Matin, 'The Hun Is at the Gate!' - Part One', *Studies in the Novel*, No. 3 (1999), p.346.

³¹ Nathan Waddell, 'Modern John Buchan', *Cambridge Scholars Publishing*, (2009), p.18.

³² Ahmed K. al-Rawi, 'Islam and the East in John Buchan's Novels', *www.academia.edu*, (2014), p.5 & John Buchan, *The Half-Hearted*, (London, 1900), pp.264-5.

In summary, Russia features more prominently in invasion literature than previously suggested, especially in the period 1886-1905. Although involved in some direct invasion attempts on Britain or in naval confrontations, often in conjunction with France, it also features as a threat to Britain's overseas interests: especially India but also Egypt and the Suez Canal. Many of the stories identify failures in British preparedness; sometimes to make a good story but often deliberately invoked to awaken public and/or Government to the perceived dangers. Although invasion literature featuring Germany has been extensively researched and that featuring France appears in the academic literature to a lesser, but still significant degree, that featuring Russia has received much less attention with the solitary exception of *Kim*. This essay has attempted to start the process of rebalancing the neglect of Russia in the study of Victorian and Edwardian invasion stories.

[Word Count: 2992]

Bibliography

Invasion Literature – Note on the sources used in the analysis

The main source used to identify candidate publications as primary sources to be used in the analysis of invasion literature was:

I.F. Clarke, *Tale of the Future: From the Beginning to the Present Day: An Annotated Bibliography*

Additional candidate works were identified in many of the works listed in the general bibliography but especially:

I.F. Clarke, 'Future-War Fiction: The First Main Phase, 1871-1900', *Science Fiction Studies*.

I.F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-Come*.

Antulio Joseph Echevarria, *Imagining Future War : The West's Technological Revolution and Visions of Wars to Come, 1880-1914*.

Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon : The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870-1914*.

Michael Moorcock, *Before Armageddon: An Anthology of Victorian and Edwardian Imaginative Fiction Published before 1914*.

Michael Paris, *Winged Warfare: The Literature and Theory of Aerial Warfare in Britain, 1859-1917*.

Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000*.

Harry Wood, *Island Mentalities*, <http://invasionscares.wordpress.com>
The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction <http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/>

Excluded from analysis are: fantasy stories, parodies, pure science fiction, including aliens or far-fetched technologies, utopian visions of the future and tales of civil unrest and uprisings not involving direct input from a foreign power.

Much of the source material for the analysis has been derived from the author's website: *Victorian & Edwardian Invasion, Future War & Spy Literature*: <http://www.theriddleofthesands.com> .

Primary Sources: Invasion Literature featuring Russia as the enemy of Britain

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
1871	Anonymous	<i>The Battle of the Ironclads</i>
1877	Anonymous	<i>Fifty Years Hence – An Old Soldiers Tale of England’s Downfall</i>
1877	Walker, W.H.	<i>The Invasion</i>
1879	Dekhnewallah, A.	<i>The Great Russian Invasion of India</i>
1883	Anonymous	<i>The Story of the battle of Port Said</i>
1884	Anonymous	<i>How Glasgow Ceased to Flourish: a tale of 1890</i>
1885	Posteritas	<i>The Siege of London</i>
1887	Anonymous	<i>The Battle Off Worthing</i>
1888	Anonymous	<i>The Russia’s Hope</i>
1888	Lester , H.F.	<i>The Taking of Dover</i>
1889	Anonymous	<i>Bombardment of Scarborough' by the Russian Fleet in 1891</i>
1889	Anonymous	<i>England’s Danger; or, Rifts Within the Lute. A Russian Plot</i>
1889	Cromie, R.	<i>For England’s Sake</i>
1892	Colomb, Admiral P. H.	<i>The War of 189-</i>
1893	Gladstonian M.P.	<i>The Great Betrayal</i>
1894	Le Queux, W.	<i>The Great War in England in 1897</i>
1895	Griffith, G.	<i>The Outlaws of the Air</i>
1895	Jane, F.T.	<i>Blake of the “Rattlesake”</i>
1896	Cromie, R.	<i>The Next Crusade</i>
1896	Tracy, L.	<i>The Final War</i>
1897	Anonymous	<i>The Back Door</i>
1897	Gleig, C.	<i>When All Men Starve</i>
1898	Hampson, J.N.	<i>Great Britain vs. France and Russia</i>
1898	Waterloo, S.	<i>Armageddon</i>
1898	Wilson, H.A. & White, A.	<i>When War breaks out</i>
1899	Stevenson, P. L.	<i>How The Jubilee Fleet Escaped Destruction and the Battle of Ushant</i>
1900	Buchan, J.	<i>The Half-Hearted</i>
1900	Kipling, R.	<i>Kim</i>
1901	Anonymous	<i>The Sack of London in the Great French War of 1901</i>
1901	Cairnes, W.E.	<i>The Coming Waterloo</i>
1903	Hill, H.	<i>Seaward for The Foe</i>
1904	Clarke, A.	<i>Starved into Surrender</i>
1904	Hall, G. R.	<i>The Black Fortnight; Or, the Invasion of 1915</i>
1905	Mill, E.E.	<i>The Decline and Fall of the British Empire</i>
1905	Mill, G.	<i>In the Hands of the Czar</i>
1905	Phillips Oppenheim, E.	<i>A Maker of History</i>
1905	Cole, R.W.	<i>The Death Trap</i>

Primary Sources: Invasion Literature

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
1871	Anonymous	<i>After The Battle of Dorking</i>
1871	Anonymous	<i>The Battle of the Ironclads</i>
1871	Anonymous	<i>What Happened After The Battle of Dorking</i>
1871	Chesney, G. T.	<i>The Battle of Dorking</i>
1871	Hayward, A.	<i>The Second Armada. A Chapter of Future History.</i>
1871	McCauley, M. R.	<i>Chapters from Future History: The Battle of Berlin</i>
1871	Moltrum, M.	<i>The Other Side of the Battle of Dorking</i>
1871	Payn, J.	<i>The Cruise of the Anti-Torpedo</i>
1875	Anonymous	<i>The Battle of Pluck</i>
1876	Anonymous	<i>The Invasion of 1883</i>
1876	Cassandra	<i>The Channel Tunnel: or, England's Ruin</i>
1877	Anonymous	<i>Fifty Years Hence – An Old Soldiers Tale of England's Downfall</i>
1877	Walker, W.H.	<i>The Invasion</i>
1879	Dekhnewallah, A.	<i>The Great Russian Invasion of India</i>
1881	Lang-Tung	<i>The Decline and Fall of the British Empire</i>
1882	Anonymous	<i>Submarina: or Green Eyes and Blue Glasses</i>
1882	Anonymous	<i>The Invasion of England</i>
1882	Berney, T.	<i>The battle of the channel tunnel and Dover Castle and forts</i>
1882	Demure One, The	<i>The Battle of Boulogne: Or How Calais Became English Again</i>
1882	Grip	<i>How John Bull Lost London</i>
1882	Guthrie, T.A.	<i>The Seizure of the Channel Tunnel</i>
1882	Vindex	<i>England Crushed; The Secret of the Channel Tunnel Revealed</i>
1883	Anonymous	<i>The Battle of the Moy: Or How Ireland Gained Her Independence in 1892-1894</i>
1883	Anonymous	<i>The Story of the battle of Port Said</i>
1883	Forth, C.	<i>The Surprise of the Channel Tunnel</i>
1884	Anonymous	<i>How Glasgow Ceased to Flourish: a tale of 1890</i>
1885	Anonymous	<i>The Great War and Disastrous Peace of 1885</i>
1885	Posteritas	<i>The Siege of London</i>
1886	Anonymous	<i>The Great Irish Rebellion of 1886</i>
1887	Anonymous	<i>The Battle off Worthing</i>
1887	Clowes, W.L.	<i>The Great Naval War of 1887</i>
1888	Anonymous	<i>The Russia's Hope</i>
1888	Arnold-Forster, H.O.	<i>In a Conning Tower</i>
1888	Barton, S.	<i>The battle of the Swash and the capture of Canada</i>
1888	Lester, H. F.	<i>The Taking of Dover</i>
1889	Anonymous	<i>Bombardment of Scarborough' by the Russian Fleet in 1891</i>
1889	Anonymous	<i>England's Danger; or, Rifts Within the Lute. A Russian Plot</i>
1889	Cromie, R.	<i>For England's Sake</i>
1889	Stockton, F.R.	<i>The Great War Syndicate</i>
1892	Colomb, Admiral P. H.	<i>The War of 189-</i>
1892	Seaforth, A. N.	<i>The Last Great Naval War</i>
1893	Clowes, W.L.	<i>The Captain of the "Mary Rose"</i>
1893	Gladstonian M.P.	<i>The Great Betrayal</i>
1894	Eardley-Wilmot, S.M. Sir	<i>The Next Naval War</i>
1894	Le Queux, W.	<i>The Great War in England in 1897</i>
1894	Mayo, Earl of	<i>The War Cruise of the Aries</i>
1895	Eastwick, J.	<i>The New Centurion</i>
1895	Griffith, G.	<i>The Outlaws of the Air</i>
1895	Jane, F.T.	<i>Blake of the "Rattlesake"</i>
1896	Anson, C.V.	<i>The Great Anglo-American War of 1900</i>
1896	Burton, F. G.	<i>The Naval Engineer And The Command Of The Sea</i>
1896	Cromie, R.	<i>The Next Crusade</i>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
1896	Tracy, L.	<i>The Final War</i>
1897	Anonymous	<i>The Back Door</i>
1897	Gleig, C.	<i>When All Men Starve</i>
1897	Griiffith, G.	<i>Briton or Boer?</i>
1897	Mackay, K.	<i>The yellow wave</i>
1898	Hampson, J.N.	<i>Great Britain vs. France and Russia</i>
1898	Phillips Oppenheim, E.	<i>The Mysterious Mr Sabin</i>
1898	Shiel, M. P.	<i>The Yellow Danger</i>
1898	Waterloo, S.	<i>Armageddon</i>
1898	Wilson, H.A. & White, A.	<i>When War breaks out</i>
1899	Hill, H.	<i>The Spies of the Wight</i>
1899	Stevenson, P. L.	<i>How The Jubilee Fleet Escaped Destruction and the Battle of Ushant</i>
1900	Allen, F.M.	<i>London's Peril</i>
1900	Buchan, J.	<i>Half-Hearted</i>
1900	Kipling, R.	<i>Kim</i>
1900	Maude, F.N.	<i>The New Battle of Dorking</i>
1901	Anonymous	<i>The Sack of London in the Great French War of 1901</i>
1901	Cairnes, W.E.	<i>The Coming Waterloo</i>
1901	Griffith, G.	<i>The Raid of Le Vengeur</i>
1901	Pemberton, M.	<i>Pro Patria</i>
1901	Pemberton, M.	<i>The Giant's Gate</i>
1901	Tracy, L.	<i>The Invasion / The Invaders</i>
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1908	Kernahan, C.	<i>The Red Peril</i>
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1908	Vickers, C. E.	<i>The Trenches</i>
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1909	Anonymous – Punch	<i>The Invaders</i>
1909	du Maurier, G.	<i>An Englishman's Home</i>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
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1909	Le Queux, W.	<i>Spies of the Kaiser</i>
1909	Milne A.A.	<i>The Secret of the Army Aeroplane</i>
1909	Swinton, E.D.	<i>The Green Curve & Other Stories</i>
1909	Tregellis, J.	<i>The Secret of the Thames</i>
1909	Williams, L.	<i>The Great Raid</i>
1910	Anonymous – Punch	<i>Strength at the Helm</i>
1910	Carter, J.L.J.	<i>Peggy the Aeronaut</i>
1910	Kipling, A.W.	<i>The Shadow of Glory</i>
1910	London, J.	<i>The Unparalleled Invasion</i>
1911	Griffith, G.	<i>The Lord of Labour</i>
1911	Phillips Oppenheim, E.	<i>The Double Four</i>
1911	Pollock, A.	<i>Lord Roastem's Campaign in North Eastern France</i>
1912	Campbell, S.	<i>Under the Red Ensign</i>
1912	Davis, R.H.	<i>The Invasion of England</i>
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1912	Strang, H.	<i>The Air Scout</i>
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1913	Eardley-Wilmot, S.M.	<i>The battle of the North Sea in 1914</i>
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1913	Saki	<i>When William Came</i>
1913	Shiel, M.P.	<i>The Dragon</i>
1913	Strang, H.	<i>The Air Patrol</i>
1913	Wallace, E.	<i>Private Selby</i>
1914	Conan Doyle, A.	<i>Danger! and Other Stories</i>
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