

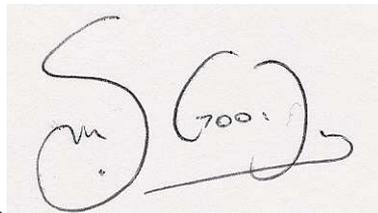
Mapping New Jerusalem: Space,
National Identity and Power in British
Espionage Fiction 1945-79.

Submitted by Samuel Geoffrey Goodman to the University of Exeter as a
thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, March 2012.

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Signature.....

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored background. The signature is stylized and appears to be 'S. Goodman'. The 'S' is large and loops around the 'G'. The name 'Goodman' is written in a cursive style. There is a small mark that looks like '700' or '7000' written inside the 'G'.

Abstract

This thesis argues that the espionage fiction of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming and John le Carré published between 1945 and 1979 illustrates a number of discontinuities, disjunctions and paradoxes related to space, sovereignty and national identity in post-war Britain. To this effect, the thesis has three broad aims. Firstly, to approach the representations of space and sovereign power in the work of these authors published during the period 1945-1979, examining the way in which sovereign power produces space, and then how that power is distributed and maintained. Secondly, to analyse the effect that sovereign power has on a variety of social and cultural environments represented within spy fiction and how the exercise of power affects the response of individuals within them. Thirdly, to establish how the intervention of sovereign power within environments relates to the creation, propagation and exclusion of national identities within each author's work.

By mapping the application of sovereign power throughout various environments, the thesis demonstrates that the control of environment is inextricably linked to the sovereign control of British subjects in espionage fiction. Moreover, the role of the spy in the application of sovereign power reveals a paradox integral to the espionage genre, namely that the maintenance of sovereign power exists only through the undermining of its core principles. Sovereignty, in these texts, is maintained only by weakening the sovereign control of other nations.

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Introduction.

1. A Cultural Cartography of Espionage Fiction.

'We have learned in recent years to translate almost all of political life in terms of conspiracy. And the spy novel, as never before, really, has come into its own' - John le Carré (1977).¹

'A licence to kill? Oh heavens, no! Can you imagine how many clearances would be necessary?' - Baroness Park of Monmouth, formerly of SIS and MI6 (2003).²

The popular appeal of espionage fiction throughout the twentieth century has never been in doubt. From the early clandestine forays of Edwardian gentleman amateurs such as John Buchan's Richard Hannay through to the high-intensity world of black operations and plausible deniability inhabited by Robert Ludlum's Jason Bourne, successive generations of spy writers have enjoyed a seemingly insatiable public appetite for the secret world of the spy.³ Despite this century-wide appeal, however, the figure of the spy is never more readily associated with any period other than that of the Cold War.⁴ It is at this point in history, the years immediately following the Second World War, when British international fortunes began their inexorable decline, that the popular conception of the spy has crystallised; in an era of undeclared, proxy conflict between two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as their allies, the image of the lone British agent

¹ M. Barber. 'John le Carré: An Interrogation', *New York Times Online*, <http://www.nytimes.com/books/99/03/21/specials/lecarre-interrogation.html>. 25th September 1977. Accessed, 12/12/11.

² R. Sylvester. 'A licence to kill? Oh heavens, no!', *The Daily Telegraph*, 24th April 2003, English ed. Print, p. 19.

³ See J. Atkins. *The British Spy Novel* (London: John Calder, 1984), p. 16. Atkins cites Myron J. Smith's *Cloak and Dagger Bibliography* (1976) in which Smith claims that 1675 espionage novels were published between 1937-75.

⁴ Post-war British audiences were predisposed towards the figure of the spy and the secret world which he inhabited. Throughout the war, a range of sources such as literature, film and newspapers simultaneously popularised the appeal of clandestinity. In print, the heroism of the Resistance, the SOE, the SAS and other organisations operating behind enemy lines was celebrated as an open secret; See M.R.D Foot. *An Outline History of the Special Operations Executive* (London: Pimlico, 1999) and G. Mortimer. *Stirling's Men: The Inside History of the SAS in World War II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2004) Also, regular reports of Commando raids were printed in *The Times* throughout the war, and are indicative of widespread public knowledge regarding operations behind enemy lines. In cinema, *Casablanca* (1942) and its story of secret letters, as well as love, was a great wartime and post-war success, as was Eric Ambler's *Mask of Dimitrios*, produced as a film in 1944.

charged with the defence of the realm proved increasingly popular with a national, and later global, audience.⁵

In the decades which followed the end of the war, the popularity of the spy genre expanded exponentially. For instance, the first of Ian Fleming's James Bond novels, *Casino Royale*, was published to modest acclaim in 1953; however, just a few years hence, Fleming's successive novels would be first serialised in newspapers and magazines before later expanding into radio and, perhaps most successfully, into film.⁶ The Broccoli-Salzman productions of the Bond series began in 1962 with *Dr. No*; though not the first of Fleming's novels to be adapted for the screen or the best-selling of the series, Sean Connery's successful portrayal of Bond not only consolidated the image of the spy in popular media but would begin a franchise that has maintained Bond's screen-presence for fifty years.

Whilst Fleming's Bond was, and perhaps still is, the most recognisable icon of post-war spy fiction, he was by no means its only well-known figure. Similarly, nor was Fleming the genre's only successful post-war proponent. Of all the spy fiction authors active in the post-war and Cold War period, the work of Fleming, Graham Greene and John le Carré has proved the most popular and enduring. Greene had been writing thrillers and 'entertainments' alongside his more serious fiction since the publication of *Stamboul Train* (1932) and would continue to do so sporadically throughout his career. In the same way that Fleming provided post-war spy fiction with a figurehead, Greene's often morally ambiguous spy novels of the 1940s and 1950s supplied its conscience, fictionalising contemporary anxieties over declining British influence and worldwide nuclear proliferation. Greene's novels demonstrated how espionage fiction could react to and reflect the geopolitical circumstances of the period in an accessible yet erudite fashion. Similarly, as well as describing the political complexities of the period, Greene's novels lend the genre some of its most memorable and widespread aphorisms with which to do so; language soon transcendent of its fictional origins and part of common parlance. For instance, when evidence of the Cambridge Spy ring was revealed in the 1960s, speculation centred on the identity of the 'third man';

⁵ T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. *Bond & Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (London: Macmillan Education, 1987) Bennett and Woollacott place the tipping point of Bond's popularity in 1957; p. 24.

⁶ Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond & Beyond*, pp. 29-31.

language immediately recognisable as Greene's.⁷ Le Carré meanwhile was living a spy story for real, his cover blown upon Kim Philby's defection to the Soviet Union.⁸

The currency of spy fiction throughout the 1960s was increased greatly by events such as the unmasking of the Cambridge Five and many others that bore a faint trace of espionage.⁹ David Seed has argued that the continued popularity of spy fiction in the 1960s coincided with the contextual point at which 'popular anxieties were growing over the credibility of government processes'.¹⁰ Though the public appetite for Fleming's novels and their film adaptations did not diminish, le Carré's novels satisfied a growing demand for plausibility and a desire for the 'truth' of the spy world that inspired the fiction. It was widely known that le Carré had given up his career in the Secret Services in order to devote himself to writing; this connection, as well as the overtly anti-Bond characterisation of his protagonist George Smiley, gave his series of novels an apparent verisimilitude beyond that of Fleming's fictional world of exotic travel and product placement, helping spy fiction to develop into a respected and widely-read literary form.¹¹ So successful was le Carré's spy fiction in creating what appeared a 'realistic' portrayal of post-war espionage that, for many, the fictional representation of the spy and the reality were largely indistinguishable; a perception only confirmed by further defections and scandals throughout the latter stages of the Cold War.¹²

The question remains, however, as to why spy fiction is important in a modern context and why a study of spy fiction such as this is necessary. The appeal of a genre

⁷ 'Philby "Third Man" who warned Maclean', *The Times*, Tuesday, Jul 02, 1963; pg. 10; Issue 55742; col A.

⁸ A. Anthony. 'John le Carré: A Man of Great intelligence', *The Guardian*, 1st November 2009. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/2009/nov/01/profile-john-le-carre>. Accessed 1/2/12.

⁹ For instance, Gary Powers' detention in 1960 after his U2 was shot down over Sverdlosk, Philby's 'disappearance' (later revealed as his defection) in Beirut in 1963, the repatriation of Greville Wynn from the Soviet Union in 1964 and George Blake's escape from Wormwood Scrubs in 1966.

¹⁰ D. Seed, 'Spy Fiction' from M. Priestman (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), p. 115.

¹¹ M. Denning. *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 103-104. Spy fiction also became self-generating, with le Carré often revisiting or acknowledging other espionage authors; for instance, le Carré's *Tailor of Panama* (1996) is Greene's *Our Man in Havana* (1958) relocated to South America with greater literary aspirations.

¹² Such was the impact of le Carré's fiction that forty-four years after his first novel, Baroness Park of Monmouth, former MI6 agent and diplomat, felt it necessary to recognise the disjunction between her own experience and le Carré's novels noting that the author had '[done] a lot of harm'. R. Sylvester. 'A licence to kill? Oh heavens, no!', *The Daily Telegraph*, 24th April 2003, English ed. Print, p. 19.

such as espionage fiction throughout the Cold War may be readily understood as a case of art imitating life; in such ideologically polarised times it is perhaps unsurprising that novels which dramatised this pervasive conflict and associated anxieties drew a large readership.¹³ However, this reasoning does not explain the longevity of spy fiction and its continued prevalence throughout popular culture after the end of the Cold War. Rather than espionage fiction concluding along with the Cold War, the genre has instead sustained itself with a range of revisions, reinventions and revelations intimating that the public appetite for the clandestine is as strong as ever.

In 2010 *The Guardian* newspaper published an article that considered the Bond franchise and its recent history. The article concluded with a question: just how relevant are Cold War spies in the twenty-first century?¹⁴ Contrary to their analysis, however, it is the figure of Bond who has best adapted to life after the Cold War; ageless, tireless and remorseless, Bond continues to fight against any and every cabal, conspiracy or threat to the British isles far beyond his original Cold War remit or even the intentions of his creator, becoming part of a group of fictional figures that Tony Bennett has argued 'have...acquired a cultural life that is all their own...functioning...as shorthand expressions for a number of deeply implanted cultural and ideological concerns'.¹⁵ Via a number of films, original novels written by a range of authors both high-brow and low, video games and other media, the James Bond franchise has retained its position as the most successful spy series of the past century.¹⁶ However, the work of le Carré has also enjoyed new-found popular appeal with a recent and high-profile adaptation of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011), immediately prompting a re-screening of the original television adaptation starring

¹³ See P. Williams. *Race, Ethnicity & Nuclear War* (Liverpool: University Press, 2011). Similarly, Bond has recently been blamed for creating these anxieties: S. Coughlan. 'James Bond Villains blamed for nuclear's bad image'. BBC Online, 12 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-16509668>. Accessed 12/1/12.

¹⁴ S. Heritage. 'Is James Bond Past his sell-by date?', *The Guardian*, 5 July 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/filmblog/2010/jul/05/james-bond-past-sell-by>. Accessed 1/1/12.

¹⁵ Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond*, p. 14.

¹⁶ Twenty-two Bond films have been produced since *Dr. No* in 1962 alongside various multi-platform videogame titles, spin-off novelisations and other media. Two high profile novels, *Devil May Care* (2008) by Sebastian Faulks and *Carte Blanche* (2011) by Jeffrey Deaver have also been published to good public reception. The next Bond film, entitled *Skyfall*, is due for release in December 2012.

Alec Guinness and new printings of his 'classic' novels.¹⁷ Additionally, a range of television productions beginning in the 1960s such as *The Saint* (1962-69), starring Roger Moore who would later play Bond, through to the long-running BBC series *Spooks* (2002-11) would keep the spy in the public eye.

Aside from media productions or new works of spy fiction, the cultural currency of clandestinity has been ensured by a number of other factors and media events. In the last decade or so there have been various high-profile cases in which foreign agents living in Britain have been unmasked and in which the spectre of the Cold War has once again loomed large; for example; the tabloid revelations published in 1999 regarding Melita Norwood who passed secrets to the Soviet Union between the 1930s and the late 1970s, the poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko in London in 2006 by FSB agents, or more recently the investigation into Liberal Democrat researcher Katia Zutuliveter, somewhat preposterously rumoured to be a honey trap targeting MP for Portsmouth South, Mike Hancock.¹⁸ Similarly, further information regarding Second World War espionage has come to light in the past two decades, either through exercise of the Freedom of Information Act or expiry of the Official Secrets Act that originally covered them. Once top-secret operations such as the code breaking at Bletchley Park, the actions of Juan Pujol Garcia, codenamed 'Garbo', who supplied disinformation to the Nazi High Command regarding D-Day or the extraordinary career of double-agent Eddie Chapman, also known as Agent Zig Zag, have been well-received by a British public still eager for spy stories.¹⁹

Whilst the rapid post-war growth of espionage fiction and its lasting appeal long after the end of the Cold War is undoubtedly important to any study of the genre or its authors, my thesis is not limited to this particular trend. The worldwide appeal of espionage fiction has resulted in two major effects on the reputation of the genre and the popular understanding of it; firstly, the popularity of espionage fiction and its

¹⁷ Sceptre Publishing have recently reprinted le Carré's novels in a series of understated jackets: www.hodder.co.uk/books/browser.aspx?TagID=693.

¹⁸ J. Cunningham. 'Melita Norwood'. *The Guardian*, 28 June 2005, English edition, print. 'The Spy Who Loved Me', *Daily Telegraph*, 2nd July 2010, English edition, print. 'MP Caught in Honeytrap', *The Daily Mail*, 6th December 2010, English edition, print.

¹⁹ See B. MacIntyre *Agent Zig-Zag: The True Wartime Story of Eddie Chapman, Lover, Betrayer, Hero, Spy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) which recounts the wartime exploits of Eddie Chapman who worked within the Abwehr and N. West, *Operation Garbo: The Personal Story of the Most Successful Spy of World War II* (London: Biteback Publishers, 2011).

translation into a global phenomenon has obscured the subtler, and more revealing, dimensions of the original texts.²⁰ My thesis argues that post-war espionage fiction is far more responsive to the contextual pressures and privations experienced by the British state after the Second World War than typically acknowledged; rather than removed from their context and only acknowledged as popular entertainment, post-war British espionage fiction is rooted in the prevailing contextual rhetoric of containment, anti-communism and the preservation of British sovereignty, which, now transformed into anti-terror laws, remain relevant to questions of national security. Secondly, it is the development of espionage fiction into a global franchise that has resulted in the genre's reputation as a byword for a number of crude ideological positions including patriotism, democracy, affluence, equality and a homogenised form of British identity.²¹ My thesis argues against the traditional assessment of espionage fiction and reveals instead that the genre is concerned with the discontinuity between power and security of the state, the undermining of sovereign principles in defence of the nation and an unstable sense of British identity moulded to fit a particular political agenda.

2. Earlier Expeditions: Literature Review.

The popularity of espionage fiction means that there exists a ready market for works that explore the fictional and biographical worlds of its authors and characters alike.²² However, for a literary genre that has enjoyed such widespread commercial success, critical explorations of espionage fiction are surprisingly few in number. The popularity of the espionage genre has, in many instances, seemingly prevented in-depth critical analysis of the original fiction; many academic works instead focus on the cultural appeal of various film adaptations, particularly those of Fleming's novels, and the ensuing phenomenon of the spy genre throughout the late twentieth century.

²⁰ Rather, the Bond series has resulted in a number of books and media which focus on the fictional Bond universe, becoming an industry in their own right: publications of this type include L. H. Gresh & R. Weinberg. *The Science of James Bond: From Bullets to Bowler Hats to Boat Jumps, the Real Technology Behind 007's Fabulous Films* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2006) and H. Chancellor. *James Bond: The Man and His World - The Official Companion to Ian Fleming's Creation* (London: John Murray, 2005).

²¹ J. Chapman. 'A Licence to Thrill' from C. Lindner (Ed). *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 96. Chapman discusses the various motifs of the Bond films that have created these misconceptions.

²² See footnote 20 for further information.

The critical engagement with spy fiction began in earnest as a response to the ubiquity of Fleming's Bond in the mid-1960s. Some earlier attention had been paid to spy fiction, such as Bernard Bergonzi's 'The Case of Mr. Fleming' published in *The Twentieth Century* (1958) and Paul Johnson's infamous *New Statesman* review 'Sex, Snobbery & Sadism' (1958).²³ This early press was largely critical, with Bergonzi in particular stating that Fleming's fiction had 'a total lack of any ethical frame of reference'.²⁴ Published at the peak of espionage fiction's Cold War popularity, Kingsley Amis' *The James Bond Dossier* (1965) provided a rebuttal to such criticisms and analysed the significance of Fleming's novels in terms of their cultural and political validity. True to form, Amis' assessment of Fleming's Bond series is conducted with a light-hearted tone akin to the novels he was appraising and as a result cannot necessarily be viewed as serious literary criticism.²⁵ However, Amis's familiarity with the form and themes of Fleming's novels resulted in criticism that makes a range of important textual and contextual observations regarding the characterisation of Bond and the values he and Fleming's novels uphold. Amis also provides a justification for why spy fiction is a subject worthy of academic consideration, arguing that the scale on which Fleming's books are read is cause alone for critical scrutiny.²⁶

Umberto Eco's 'Narrative Structures in Fleming' (1965) was contemporaneous with Amis' publication but engaged in a much more structuralist analysis. Eco concludes that Fleming's novels all largely correspond to a recognisable and predictable structure of various oppositions and 'play situations', in particular the journey and the meal.²⁷ He goes on to argue that the success of Fleming's novels lies in the author's ability to employ what Eco terms *Endoxa*; the art of persuasion that emulates the

²³ B. Bergonzi. 'The Case of Mr Fleming', *Twentieth Century*, March 1958. P. Johnson. 'Sex, Snobbery & Sadism', *New Statesman*, 5th April 1958, English edition, print.

²⁴ Bergonzi, 'The Case of Mr. Fleming', p. 221.

²⁵ K. Amis. *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965). Amis' association with the Bond estate extends beyond the authorship of criticism; from 1965 to 1968 Amis also published a Bond novel, *Colonel Sun*, under the pseudonym of Robert Markham. Similarly, in 1966 Amis also published *The Anti-Death League*, a typically irreverent take on the contemporary taste for spy thrillers.

²⁶ Amis, *James Bond Dossier*, p. 9.

²⁷ U. Eco. 'Narrative Structures in Fleming' taken from *The Role of the Reader* (Indiana: University Press, 1979), p. 155-156.

common opinions shared by the majority of readers.²⁸ Eco's evaluation of Fleming's novels is useful as it identifies key archetypes of Fleming's writing and their intended contextual effects; the assessment of how these tropes are constructed in Fleming's work has allowed me to contrast their subversion in the novels of Greene and le Carré. Eco's essay is particularly influential within the field of spy fiction criticism and is reproduced in a number of subsequent critical works and as part of edited collections.²⁹ However, it is narrow in focus and, aside from identification of Mickey Spillane as an influence, does not consider Fleming's fiction in conjunction with the wider trends of espionage fiction or contemporary history.

If Amis and Eco's work represent the beginnings of contemporary criticism on the espionage genre, nearly all subsequent author studies and thematic works on espionage fiction can be categorised as a combination of or a variation on both authors' approaches. Of the various critical overviews and histories of twentieth-century espionage fiction, David Seed's 'Spy Fiction' in *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (2003) is perhaps the best. Seed presents a comprehensive historical overview of espionage fiction in relation to crime fiction, the particular developments or traits which make it a distinct format and the subsequent genealogy of the genre. Seed categorises developments in spy fiction into four main areas of thematic shifts, beginning with the period from James Fenimore Cooper's early spy novels of the 1820s to late imperial fictions such as Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901), through wars both 'hot' and 'Cold' and up to the end of the Cold War and the nascent period of post-9/11 espionage. For Seed, spy fiction is characterised by 'a covert action which...transgresses conventional, moral or legal boundaries'.³⁰ This definition is of particular use to my intervention as it states the importance of boundaries both physical and metaphorical as key elements of spy fiction.

Additionally, Seed provides a variety of useful and informative descriptions of major trends within spy fiction and the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré in particular; he identifies the reactionary ethic of le Carré's fiction and the way in which he

²⁸ Eco, *Role*, p. 161.

²⁹ Lindner, Bennet, Atkins, Seed all reproduce Eco's work to some extent, as do Cawelti & Rosenberg, Bruce Merry in *Anatomy of a Spy Thriller* (1977), Allan Hepburn in *Intrigue* (2005) and Brett F. Woods *Neutral Ground* (2008).

³⁰ D. Seed. 'Spy Fiction', p. 115.

deliberately sets his fiction against many accepted conventions of high-profile contemporary authors such as Fleming. For Seed, le Carré's fiction dramatises an essential loss of confidence in either ideology or identity. Unlike Eco, Seed is also sensitive to the contextual influences on post-war spy fiction and the other elements of Fleming's novels, in particular, that he calls 'cultural specifics'; namely the various ingredients that made spy fiction so appealing in a post-war context. However, whilst Seed makes a convincing case for spy fiction being distinct from crime fiction, the inclusion of spy fiction within *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* is indicative of the marginal place it is given within wider genre studies. This thesis examines the mid-twentieth-century interrelation between the work of Fleming, Greene and le Carré, as well as the 'cultural specifics' of their work, in much more detail and to a greater extent.

John Atkins' *The British Spy Novel* (1984) and John Cawelti and Bruce Rosenberg's *The Spy Story* (1987) share a number of similarities with Seed's chapter. Both Cawelti and Rosenberg and Atkins seek to present a topographical overview of spy fiction so do not apply a theoretical or deeply analytical framework to the novels under discussion.³¹ Neither work, whilst both historically broad and chronologically detailed, engages in textual analysis beyond the identification of recurrent motifs or the narrative methodology of individual authors. However, both texts begin by establishing the distinct otherness of spies themselves, arguing that the models of intrigue in early examples of the genre were not based necessarily on narrative or ideological motivators but instead relied more on the inherent difference of the central protagonists to their surrounding environments or society in general. Atkins' work in particular notes a number of concerns central to le Carré's fiction, such as the preoccupation with trust or the lack thereof, the diminishing faith in espionage organisations and the sense of ideological and physical liminality that le Carré's novels contain.³² However, whilst Atkins' book is titled *The British Spy Novel* and Cawelti and Rosenberg note that the most successful proponents of the genre are

³¹ Brett F. Woods' *Neutral Ground*, Simon Reevas' *Spies and Holy Wars* (2010) and Wesley Britton's *Beyond Bond* (2005) all do similar, taking a populist approach which serves to largely obscure the subtleties of the genre.

³² Similarly, Atkins is one of the few critics on Greene able to resist discussing his Catholicism and instead retains focus on the spy side of Greene's writing persona.

British, no explicit attention is directed towards what particular factors of national identity may drive this success or motivate each author's treatment of the subject.

Aside from the more general surveys of the espionage genre, some texts engage with the work of spy authors with a greater degree of specificity. Michael Denning's *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (1987) and Adam Piette's *The Literary Cold War: 1945 to Vietnam* (2009) are two such examples. Whilst not offering as extensive an historical overview of the spy fiction genre as Seed or Atkins, Denning instead draws focus on certain elements which have characterised the genre in its last hundred years of development. Denning situates his intervention within the field of popular fiction, arguing cogently the various reasons why popular fiction is worthy of critical attention. His text outlines a clear argumentative framework and examines three principle questions with regards to espionage fiction; namely what constitutes a thriller; how the history of such novels can be told and thirdly, what defines the relationship between thrillers and realism.³³ Denning's assertion that spy fiction and popular fiction act to conceal the ideological objectives of the societies that produce them has influenced this thesis considerably. Whilst not exclusively writing about espionage fiction, Piette's work traces the 'hazy borders between aesthetic project and political allegory' through a variety of texts and genres prevalent after the Second World War.³⁴ As part of this investigation, Piette's work contains two chapters on Greene's *The Third Man* and *The Quiet American*. Piette's analysis that *The Quiet American* transplants the spatial context of Europe to the continuing battle for Cold War supremacy in Asia was instructive in the composition of the chapter on colonial space in this thesis.

Aside from survey texts on espionage fiction, there is an abundance of single-author studies on Greene, Fleming and le Carré. Of these three authors, Greene has attracted the greatest amount of critical attention; however, given his extensive writing period (1924-1990) and his receipt of the Jerusalem Prize for Literature, this is unsurprising. The majority of Greene criticism focuses, inevitably, on his Catholic novels such as *Brighton Rock* (1938), *The Power & the Glory* (1940) and the *End of the Affair*

³³ M. Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 2-5.

³⁴ A. Piette, *The Literary Cold War: 1945 to Vietnam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 11.

(1951), however, many devote attention to Greene's espionage fiction and its associated themes. David Lodge's *Graham Greene* (1966) and John Atkins' *Graham Greene: A Collection of Critical Essays* (1973) both largely concern themselves with Greene's methods of internalising perspective, conflict and narration, as well as Greene's identity as a Catholic novelist.³⁵ More contemporary publications, such as Robert Hudson and Edwin Arnold's *Graham Greene: A Critical Study* (2005), indicate how this state of affairs has changed little in the intervening decades, and though they draw some interesting parallels between *The Power & the Glory* and J.R.R Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (1954-55) offer little on Greene's spy fiction.³⁶ Seemingly able to put aside his earlier distaste for spy fiction, Bernard Bergonzi's *A Study in Greene* (2006) contains chapters which address *The Quiet American* and *Our Man in Havana*.³⁷ Bergonzi posits that these novels as well as others contribute to the characterisation of the 'Greene Man', however, his analysis is purely thematic or biographical and he does not take into account any contextual influence on the writing of these novels nor does he explore the fact that of the Greene men he identifies all share British or English identity as their common factor. A series of essays published by the Graham Greene Birthplace Trust are more divergent in the scope of their criticism and 'The Craft of Graham Greene' (2001) by Neil Sinyard and 'Darkest Greenland' (2000) by Cedric Watts are among those few texts on Greene that give novels such as *The Third Man* due attention. However, no single author study of Greene examines his decision and motivation to reject Catholicism in favour of politics as the subject of his novels immediately post-war. This thesis explores Greene's turn away from Catholic dogma in favour of political ideology throughout his Cold War novels.

Aside from Greene, many critical publications on espionage fiction focus on the cultural significance and phenomenon of Fleming's Bond series. In addition to Amis' early critical work on Fleming, there are a great number of single author studies which analyse the impact of Fleming's work and the apparent autobiographical impetus behind them. Of these, *Bond & Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (1987) by Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, *The Politics of James Bond:*

³⁵ D. Lodge. *Graham Greene* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); J. Atkins. *Graham Greene: A Collection of Critical Essays* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1973).

³⁶ R. Hudson & E. Arnold. *Graham Greene: A Critical Study* (Dehli: Anmol, 2005).

³⁷ B. Bergonzi. *A Study in Greene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

From Fleming's Novels to the Big Screen (2001) by Jeremy Black, *The James Bond Phenomenon – A Critical Reader* (2003) edited by Christoph Lindner and Ian Fleming & *James Bond: The Cultural Politics of James Bond* (2005) edited by Edward P. Comentale, Stephen Watt and Skip Willman share a number of similarities in terms of their analyses and the subject matter they include. All four volumes provide a detailed analysis of the writing process of the original Bond novels and their subsequent cultural impact. Bennett and Lindner's texts provide lengthy examination of Fleming's narrative methods and both reprint Eco's 'Narrative Structures in Fleming', as well as exploring the accusations of racism and sexism which colour the reputation of the novels, a theme also approached by Black. Of the four texts, Comentale, Watt and Willman's collection of essays offers the most original material.³⁸ In *The James Bond Phenomenon*, Paul Stock's chapter 'Dial M for Metonym: Universal Exports, M's Office Space and Empire' considers space within espionage fiction in a critical fashion. Though Stock focuses largely on the James Bond films and only touches upon the original novels as supporting materials, his chapter identifies Bond as a 'floating signifier' of Britishness dispatched to the periphery of empire in order to maintain its standards.³⁹ This thesis develops and engages with Stock's suggestion of liminality in various chapters, refocusing spatial analysis on the original novels in conjunction with relevant historical context.

The major limitation of the single author studies on Fleming and Bond is that the majority of them concern themselves largely with the filmic representations of Fleming's work, subordinating literary analysis in favour of a largely cinematic focus. Whilst this focus on the Bond films is not necessarily disproportionate given their place in ensuring the cultural longevity of Fleming's work, the films differ radically in terms of their plot details and politics; moreover, they lack the contextual immediacy of Fleming's original novels, written at a time of social upheaval and national decline.⁴⁰ A further limitation of single author studies on Fleming is the over-reliance on expositional narrative over sustained analysis, meaning they offer little in the way

³⁸ J. Chapman. 'Bond & Britishness', pp. 129-144. Vivien Halloran's chapter 'Tropical Bond' proved instructive to this thesis and is engaged with in the chapters on travel and colonial space. V. Halloran. 'Tropical Bond', pp. 158-178. From Comentale, Watt & Willman, *Ian Fleming & James Bond*.

³⁹ P. Stock. 'Dial 'M' for Metanym: Universal Exports, M's Office Space and Empire', pp. 215-232. From Lindner, *James Bond Phenomenon*.

⁴⁰ Similarly, the film adaptations amplify existing themes in Fleming's novels; without examining the cultural and political origins of these ideas, study of the films appears a limited exercise.

of fresh perspective on the Bond canon. An exception to this assessment is David Cannadine whose chapter 'Fantasy: Ian Fleming and the Realities of Escapism' in his book *In Churchill's Shadow* (2003). Largely biographical in his exploration of Fleming, the development of the Bond novels and their fame, Cannadine nonetheless situates his analysis firmly in terms of the literary Bond, noting Fleming's predilections for fictionalising consumer affluence and the decline of British class values alongside contextual material.

Single author studies of le Carré are fewer in number than those available on Fleming and Greene. Myron J. Aronoff's *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (1999) is a representative example of what critical material is available on le Carré's life and work, charting David Cornwell's early life with MI5 and MI6 and then his increasingly prominent place as an author of supposedly 'realistic' espionage fiction.⁴¹ Aronoff, like Atkins, Seed and others, notes clearly the pervasive sense of decay and betrayal present in the fictional world le Carré's spies inhabit but focuses more on providing a narrative of le Carré's writing career to date than closely analysing individual novels.

In response to a clear gap in existing scholarship on spy fiction, this thesis offers a contextual and theoretical investigation of espionage fiction in which the decline of British power and the consequent effect on British identity is analysed through a lens of sovereign and spatial politics. Very few of the existing critical approaches to espionage fiction apply a consistent theoretical framework in the fashion of this thesis. Though a variety of authors identify key themes of identity and alignment of the spy with the politics of the power he serves, these terms are typically left untheorised and their implications unexplored. Similarly, many critical works on spy fiction are sensitive to concerns of context, especially with regard to the reasons why spy fiction in the post-war period was able to garner such massive popularity in so short a space of time. However, few critical works engage with this context in any degree of specificity; those that do, such as Denning's *Cover Stories* or Piette's *The Literary Cold War*, do so in a detailed and articulate way, but are in the minority. No existing study considers the work of three major authors of the genre in conjunction

⁴¹ M. J. Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 16.

with one-another in relation to relevant social history in this fashion. This thesis not only forms an original engagement with the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré but also represents a fresh contribution to the criticism of espionage fiction in general.

3. Grid References: Methodology.

Landmarks: Choice of authors.

This thesis compares and contrasts the representation of power and space in the work of three authors; Ian Fleming, Graham Greene and John le Carré. The initial dichotomy of Greene and Fleming is a way by which I am able to consider two distinct varieties of espionage fiction written largely in simultaneity but greatly divergent in aim, tone and scope; Greene and Fleming are prominent during the early part of my chosen period (chiefly 1945-65), a time during which a number of key characteristics of post-war and, latterly, post-imperial conceptions of British identity are developed. Le Carré, however, continues to develop the form and scope of the genre after Fleming and Greene cease writing spy fiction, illustrating how British identity changes in a period of further international decline. By exploring the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré as opposed to either just one of them as a single author study or two as a work of comparative analysis allows me to consider the importance of spy fiction within the post-war period in a balanced and nuanced way. The contrast and comparison of these three contemporary bodies of writing throughout this period of time provides significant scope for the exploration of textual and thematic developments within the genre and in relation to my theoretical framework.

As the most culturally ubiquitous of the three authors, Fleming and his series of Bond novels are responsible for the traditional perception of espionage fiction as a populist form and the cultural space in which the waning influence of British dominion is able to be corrected and compensated through direct and often heroic action.⁴² Building on the established forms of Victorian and Edwardian adventure stories, Fleming's novels took the internationally embattled state of post-war Britain and filtered it through a

⁴² E. P. Comentale, S. Watt, S. Willman (Eds.). *Ian Fleming & James Bond: The Cultural Politics of 007* (Indiana: University Press, 2005), p. xvi.

fantastical screen of political and technological consolation and consumerism.⁴³ The Britain of Fleming's novel is an occasionally exaggerated yet instantly recognisable version of contemporary modern living mixed with a sense of all-pervasive nostalgia; contextually, Fleming's writing would seek to preserve a class-based portrait of England at the point at which that hierarchy was beginning to alter. Fleming's novels would manage to transform fear over the decline of privileged England from a localised, upper-class issue into a national one; the popularity of Bond meant that all social classes were invited to take an interest in the decline of Tory England. It is for these concerns and their associated complications that Fleming's novels are relevant to my study. Fleming's novels encompass ideologies of nationhood, national concerns with regard to territorial dominance and the prevalence and preference for tradition in the collective British psyche as a means of fending off international threat. However, this thesis argues that Fleming's novels illustrate a more complicated relationship between these concepts than typically assumed, revealing disunities and disjunctions in the representation of space and the subordinate power relationship between the individual and the sovereign state.

Conversely, Greene's fiction is representative of a greater sense of resignation in the face of modern political power and the insidious manner by which Greene perceives the ideology of espionage to work on the individual. Unlike Fleming, Greene did not write exclusively from the perspective of a recurrent, singular spy nor did he confine his fictive world to the perceptions or politics of an individual nation state. Despite this, the central protagonists of novels such as *The Heart of the Matter* (1948), *Our Man in Havana* (1958) and *The Quiet American* (1955) are British, specifically English, and his novels depict British subjects relocated to spaces in which their influence and authority are subverted by events outside of their knowledge or beyond their control. The value of the political comment included in each of these situation-driven novels that makes Greene is worthy of inclusion and investigation in this study.

Greene's novels also represent a far more nuanced political engagement with espionage, lending the genre a greater sense of literary credibility than much of the Fleming canon. Greene's work provides a counterpoint to the strictly patriotic world

⁴³ Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond & Beyond*, p. 18.

in which Bond operates; the morally-dubious actions and inactions of Englishmen are shown to have far-reaching consequences in Greene's fiction.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the form of Greene's espionage literature is far more varied; Greene employs a number of literary modes in approaching espionage, utilising forms of black comedy, farce and the realist novel in his treatment of the subject.⁴⁵ The more cerebral approach to espionage that Greene engages in serves to elevate the genre from the realms of pulp fiction and cheap thriller, a classification that Fleming never entirely manages, nor necessarily tries, to escape. When compared to Fleming's, Greene's novels illustrate a very different engagement with the concerns of the genre. Fleming's novels hinge on the primacy of individual agency, whereas Greene's characters are far more aware of the way in which they are subject to the effects, and controls, of their social and spatial surroundings.

John le Carré's novels, particularly the Smiley series, demonstrate a scaling down of the operational theatres of espionage fiction after 1960 and represent a distinct progression in tone from both Greene and Fleming. Le Carré, a generation younger than Greene or Fleming, continues writing spy fiction long after Fleming's death in 1964 and Greene's decision to focus on themes other than espionage in his work in the late 1950s; le Carré's fiction represents the latter-day twilight of empire as the last vestiges of British power are slowly drained by economic stagnation and geopolitical decline. If the waning Imperialism of espionage fiction is detailed by Fleming and Greene's far-flung locations such as Cuba, Jamaica, Indochina and West Africa, le Carré's fictive world of the modern spy after 1960 is one shrunk to the boundaries of more immediate surroundings, illustrating a disjunction between the Oxbridge, clubbable background of his characters and the world they inhabit. It is a fiction demonstrative of restriction from space as opposed to access to it. Instead of privileged environs of Jamaica or the resorts to be found in Fleming's work, the majority of narrative events in le Carré's novels are largely enacted in office buildings, down-at-heel areas of London or drab suburban environments; a dramatic

⁴⁴ As Kingsley Amis observes: 'throughout Bond's adventures, no Englishman does anything bad'. K. Amis. *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 86.

⁴⁵ Greene also acknowledges the influence of Modernism on his writing in *The Heart of the Matter*, which mimics Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier* (1915) in terms of plot and narrative.

contrast to the established conventions of the genre and the authors that preceded him.⁴⁶

The inclusion of le Carré's novels in this study highlights their contextual and literary importance as a counterpoint to Fleming's; unlike Fleming's so-called 'compensatory fantasy', le Carré's depiction of espionage is as a bleak landscape utterly devoid of glamour, detailing the pointless and inconsequential sacrifice of individuals for the maintenance of an anachronistic state.⁴⁷ When considered against the infighting and ineptitude of the espionage services as described by le Carré, the settings, organisations and theatrical adversaries present in Fleming's novels seem incredible by comparison.⁴⁸ Comparing the work of both authors against one-another allows me to consider relevant contextual currents of anti-Americanism, social disintegration and European isolation; le Carré's novels assert that threat is present, and perhaps even more pronounced, in those that purport to be allies than in anything that resembles the super-villainy set against Bond. Similarly, the shift in the spy's remit in le Carré's fiction, from international agent to domestic detective, is representative of a gradual yet grudging acceptance of the diminishing influence of British interests abroad and a demand for focus on the altered experience at home. As the international standing of Britain diminishes, the mechanisms of compensatory fantasy degrade, revealing the workings of sovereign power and its effect on the individual.

The manner by which each author reacts to the concerns of the period are markedly different, allowing for a range of analyses in relation to developing attitudes and ideological standpoints. The difference between the populist Fleming, the politically *engagé* Greene and the politically disillusioned le Carré provides opportunity for contextual investigation as well as exploration of textual representations of nation, space and sovereign power. In terms of the connection between espionage fiction and historical context, the experiences of each author with regard to their real-life espionage activities will contribute to a critical assessment of subjective depictions of history. Fleming, Greene and le Carré were all at one point or another engaged in

⁴⁶ In reacting against the exotic or luxurious settings of Greene or Fleming, le Carré's stylistic choices more often echo those of the pre-Cold War generation of spy writers and detective fiction authors such as Eric Ambler.

⁴⁷ T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. 'The Moments of Bond' from C. Lindner, Ed. *The James Bond Phenomenon*, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁸ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 117.

intelligence operations and each used their experiences to inform their writing in a variety of ways.⁴⁹

Greene, Fleming and le Carré remain the dominant figures in British depictions of espionage fiction, especially in the initial post-war period and in the latter years of the Cold War. Differing to the imitative concerns of later authors such as Len Deighton, Frederick Forsyth or Ken Follet, the core ideological foundations of the period I am concerned with are formed in the years directly after the Second World War; the novels of Fleming and Greene set certain, yet distinct, stylistic precedents during this time, based on individual concerns with regard to their wider political context.⁵⁰ The analysis of how and for what reason their concerns would be adopted as convention is intrinsic to an understanding of the post-war period in its entirety. Despite their perceived literary shortcomings and critical ambivalence to certain aspects of their work, Greene, Fleming and le Carré all remained highly regarded in popular consciousness for their focus on concerns deemed vital to the contemporary political and social climate.

Despite the widespread popularity of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, their significance within the spy fiction genre and the volume of criticism available on their respective works, there remain few academic studies in which their work is directly contrasted.⁵¹ Similarly, there is a noticeable lack of any publication in which spatial analysis is used as a means by which to explore the mechanisms of power at work in each of their novels. This thesis makes an original contribution to existing scholarship on espionage fiction by not only analysing the work of each author individually, in relation to one another and as part of the espionage genre, but also by exploring spy fiction through a critical framework of space, sovereignty and national identity. My intervention is the first time that many of the texts which comprise this study have

⁴⁹ Information on the real-life espionage careers of all three authors is readily available; Greene's wartime postings in Sierra Leone and in London are discussed in Norman Sherry's *The Life of Graham Greene: Vol. Two 1939-1955* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1994) and *The Life of Graham Greene: Vol. Three 1955-1991* (London: Jonathan Cape 2003). Fleming's time in the Secret Service is similarly covered by Lycett's *Ian Fleming* and other more recent books including Craig Cabell's *Ian Fleming's Secret War* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2008) and Michael Smith's *Station X: The Codebreakers of Bletchley Park* (London: Pan Macmillan Ltd, 2007). Le Carré has proved far more reluctant to discuss his actions, making only brief comments in interviews as mentioned above.

⁵⁰ Authors such as Len Deighton and Frederick Forsyth, whilst successful and important in their own right, are much more imitative than innovative, developing existing trends in espionage fiction.

⁵¹ See Literature Review section for further information.

been analysed from the perspective of space and sovereignty and the first time that the espionage fiction of Greene, Fleming and le Carré has been considered together in this fashion.

Critical Topographies: Sovereignty & Space.

This thesis approaches post-war British espionage fiction by employing a theoretical framework which combines space, sovereignty and national identity. This thesis understands the relationship between space, sovereign power and national identity as dynamic, heterogeneous and hybrid; continually subject to change. This section illustrates how I define this understanding from existing spatial and sovereign paradigms. Whilst this theoretical framework is consistent throughout, it remains flexible in order to accommodate the variations in perspective between my three key themes of space, power and national identity in relation to the subject of each chapter. The theorists and concepts discussed here represent the major theoretical influences on this thesis; however, individual chapters also include other relevant critical texts or approaches where appropriate or applicable.

In his analysis of nineteenth-century literature Franco Moretti has argued that ‘different spaces are not just different landscapes, they are narrative matrixes. Each space determines its own kind of actions, its plot, its genre’.⁵² This thesis argues that the same is true of the twentieth-century espionage novel and that spy fiction is inextricably bound to the concept of space. Fleming, Greene and le Carré all fictionalise the post-war anxiety and Cold War conflict over territory; the environments of their novels determine the objectives of their protagonists and the desires of the agencies and nations they serve. Space within espionage fiction is not secondary or subordinate to the demands of plot and characterisation but rather a key factor which permits and develops their occurrence; as Moretti argues, space is ‘an active force that pervades the literary field and gives it depth’.⁵³ However, the specific composition of space within espionage fiction combines elements of power, sovereignty and identity, and requires further definition.

⁵² F. Moretti. *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 84.

⁵³ Moretti, *Atlas*, p. 3.

Key to this thesis is the manner by which sovereign power influences the production of space within spy fiction. The theoretical framework of my project relates primarily to the exchange of values and forces between political power and spatial environment; the notion that space is inherently political and that politics is inherently spatial.⁵⁴ The correlation of space and power within this thesis was derived initially from Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974) but is also informed by a range of other dominant paradigms associated with the so-called spatial turn. Lefebvre argues that '(Social) space is a (social) product...the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action...in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power'.⁵⁵ Lefebvre further argues that space does not exist 'in itself' but rather it is always produced, and produced for control.⁵⁶ Christian Schmid argues that to understand the concept of space in Lefebvre's work, analysis of 'social constellations, power relations and conflicts relevant to each situation' must be enacted; in order to analyse space in spy fiction, consideration of the way in which the contemporary politics of the post and Cold war period intersects with the production of space is vital.⁵⁷

The influence of politics upon space, however, means that spaces are rendered fractured, hybrid and unknowable. So whilst Lefebvre and Michel Foucault would identify space as an arena in which power is exercised and maintained, the process of fracture and hybridisation renders definitive use of space for singular purpose impossible. Foucault's analysis in *Discipline & Punish* (1975) that introduces the terms enclosure, partitioning, classification and ranking suggests that spaces, whilst subject to revisions by the continual rule of power, nonetheless retain specific functions.⁵⁸ Foucault's analysis that space is fundamental to the exercise of power and that power is maintained through the control of space is of obvious relevance to this thesis. However, my definition of space and power does not accept Foucault's argument that spaces are consistently maintained by the rule of power in perpetuity.

⁵⁴ S. Elden. *Mapping the Present; Heidegger, Foucault and the project of a spatial history* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 151.

⁵⁵ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ C. Schmid. 'Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space: towards a three dimensional dialectic' from K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgram, C. Schmid (Eds) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 28

⁵⁷ Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre's theory...', p. 29.

⁵⁸ M. Foucault. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 143.

Instead, this thesis adopts Stuart Elden's analysis that space in Foucault's work should be understood in terms of discontinuity, breaks, shifts, transgression and egress; all relevant concepts in a thesis that explores the attempt to fortify and undermine space through espionage.⁵⁹ For Elden, spaces are continually produced and re-produced dependent on the desired outcome whilst still remaining fundamental to the exercise of power.⁶⁰

Instead of relying solely on Foucault and Lefebvre, this thesis derives its definition of space largely from the work of more recent spatial theorists such as Marc Augé and Doreen Massey.⁶¹ Rather than fixed zones of emplacement, Massey recognises space as 'the product of interrelations...as the sphere in which distinct trajectories co-exist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity...we recognise space as always under construction'.⁶² Space can be understood from Massey as contingent on various conditions, hybrid in so much as it is a composite of competing forces and always in process. It is the combination of these three qualities that makes spaces representable in fiction but ultimately unknowable; Massey argues that space is never inert and this active form of space resists objective definition.⁶³ Similarly, Augé suggests that the production and reproduction of space in the modern age influences the 'average man' and his identity, arguing that spaces 'fabricate him and may sometimes individualise him'.⁶⁴

This notion of space as always in process and a product of interrelations experienced subjectively corresponds to the contextual narrative of the decline of the British Empire; throughout the period in question and illustrated by the novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, the spaces of empire are continually altered in relation to the power of the state and its own relative position in the shifting geopolitics of the era.

⁵⁹ Elden, *Mapping*, p. 94.

⁶⁰ Elden, *Mapping*, p. 120.

⁶¹ Whilst Foucault, Massey, Moretti and de Certeau have been the primary influences in defining a concept of space, Kim Dovey's *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (London: Routledge, 1999), Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (New York: Beacon Press, 1992), Karen Dale and Gibson Burrell's *The Spaces of Organisation and the Organisation of Space* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), Marc Augé's *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Super modernity* (London: Verso, 1995) and Stuart Elden's *Mapping the Present* have also been consulted in various chapters.

⁶² D. Massey. *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), p. 9.

⁶³ Massey, *For Space*, p. 107.

⁶⁴ M. Augé. *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Super modernity* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 100.

Though Massey and others rightly argue that spaces are always in flux, the perceived fixity of the Empire awarded British territories an apparent sense of stability; in the years of British decline occurring after the Second World War, this veneer of stability was consistently and increasingly eroded. This thesis examines the changing state and signification of spaces within this trajectory of decline, analysing how competing forces produce hybrid spaces and hybrid identities within post-war spy fiction; as the empire continues its transition from pre-eminence to dissolution, spaces alter and are altered accordingly.

Additionally, other dominant paradigms that combine analyses of space, identity and power have informed the use of these terms throughout this thesis. Michel de Certeau's notion of the interplay between strategies and tactics taken from *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) is applicable to the spatial composition of post-war Britain and the representation of space within spy novels as the various spaces of empire are repeatedly subverted by forces opposed to it.⁶⁵ However, whilst de Certeau's analysis is a major contribution to the field of spatial analysis and is acknowledged as such, it is largely concerned with resistance to the application of power within space and not its preservation. In terms of defining nationalism and national identity in relation to space and power, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) must also be acknowledged as a major work within the field. The significance of the novel in fostering notional kinship between the people of nation states is a key tenet of Anderson's research and has clear links to post-imperial literature such as espionage fiction of the 1950s and 1960s and the politics of the Cold War.⁶⁶ Anderson argues that the idea of simultaneity present in novels creates a depiction of fictional national space which affects the individual's perception of the world outside the novel.⁶⁷ Anderson's formulation of nationalism informs the theoretical basis of this thesis in so much as it stresses the relationship between space, sovereignty and national identity in the production of fiction.⁶⁸ This thesis draws on Anderson's theorisation of nationalism to explore the role of espionage fiction in

⁶⁵ M. de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xix.

⁶⁶ B. Anderson. *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 7.

⁶⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 24.

⁶⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6-7.

representation of the national self-image throughout the post-war period, however, does so in conjunction with a range of specific historical, contextual material.

Given that espionage and espionage fiction is fundamentally concerned with protecting the interests of sovereign nation states and that this thesis combines space and sovereignty, it has also proved necessary to form a similar definition of sovereignty and of power. The modern conception of sovereignty can be dated to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) in which Hobbes outlines a concept of social organisation based on a 'common-wealth' of men.⁶⁹ Hobbes argues for the formation of a social contract in order to elevate society from what he famously terms the 'state of nature' in which there is 'no society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish and short'.⁷⁰ In order to avoid such a state, Hobbes' tract recommends that the individual 'conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will'.⁷¹ Hobbes' common-wealth forms the basis for modern sovereign power whereby the interests of the individual are subordinated to those of the state in the interest of a general good; the sovereign, and his protection, is therefore placed at the centre of the nation state.

In the final chapter of *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1* (1978), Foucault explores the difference between the form of monarchical sovereign authority that Hobbes' system engendered and those of antiquity, arguing that in the Renaissance period the sovereign was only able to exercise his power in an absolute and unconditional way, namely by ordering death, in situations where 'the sovereign's very existence was in jeopardy'.⁷² However, Foucault argues that the composition of sovereignty altered radically throughout the twentieth century as a consequence of war and the growth of the state apparatus; in the modern age, as opposed to the Renaissance or the Classical ages, 'wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone'.⁷³ Instead of sovereign power being bound up within an sole individual or

⁶⁹ T. Hobbes. *Leviathan* (London, Penguin, 1985), p. 81.

⁷⁰ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 40-41.

⁷¹ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 227.

⁷² M. Foucault. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1* (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. 135.

⁷³ Foucault, *Sexuality*, p. 137.

kingdom, Foucault argues that the defence of sovereignty now meant the defence of a way of life; in effect, all members of a society or common-wealth become either active or passive combatants, representing a direct alignment of the state and the individual. Both Hobbes' and Foucault's definitions of sovereignty are central to this thesis and my analysis of sovereign power within espionage fiction. Hobbes' identification of sovereign power as representative of a 'greater good' and Foucault's alignment of the individual with the objectives of the nation state are directly transferrable to the clandestine prosecution of the Cold War. The Cold War prefigures two opposed states whose populations are tacitly coerced into supporting, either through direct application of force or through a range of regulatory social controls.⁷⁴

Giorgio Agamben addresses both Hobbes's and Foucault's formulations of sovereignty in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998) and *State of Exception* (2005). In *Homo Sacer* Agamben extends Foucault's analysis and argues that sovereignty operates by a process of subjectivisation which brings 'the individual to bind himself to his own identity and, at the same time, to an external power'.⁷⁵ In many of the literary examples used throughout this thesis, spies and other servants of the British government align their interests with those of the state, which in turn enables and produces their identity; the preservation and defence of British power, involving both the willingness to kill or die in the attempt, becomes in many instances a defence of the self. Sovereignty, enabled by the spy's service of the nation state, not only creates a way of life but continually coerces its citizens into perpetuating its rule.

The identity of the spy, however, differs to that of an ordinary citizen and requires further clarification. In order to define his formulation of sovereignty and biopolitics, Agamben's exploration of sovereign power also engages with the work of Carl Schmitt. Aside from adopting the implications of Schmitt's collocation of *Ortung* and *Ordnung* (space and order respectively), Agamben quotes Schmitt's dictum that 'sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception' in order to argue that the problem of sovereignty has been reduced to a question of who within the political order was invested with certain powers.⁷⁶ Agamben suggests that in order to fully

⁷⁴ Foucault, *Sexuality*, p. 139.

⁷⁵ G. Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereignty & Bare Life* (Stanford: University Press, 1998), p. 5.

⁷⁶ Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, p. 19; p. 11.

understand the problem of sovereignty, analysis must move beyond the question of who wields power and instead also identify where in the juridical order that power is situated. Agamben posits a sovereign paradox in which ‘the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order’.⁷⁷ Agamben states that in having the power to suspend the validity of law, the sovereign creates a paradox of inclusive exclusion; the sovereign is effectively inside and outside of law at once, authorising the suspension of law as a means of preserving it.

This paradoxical position of being simultaneously outside and inside the realm of legality can be applied to the figure of the spy; the spy is a vital component of sovereign power in so much as he seeks to uphold the rule of law and power, however, in order to do so, his actions are often those which are considered illegal by the state that he serves; for instance, murder and subversion. The spy’s actions exist as exceptions in the juridical order and are enacted by him when deemed necessary. The spy must then be understood both as an embodiment of sovereign power and the instrument of its reinforcement. For the purpose of this thesis, the central paradox inherent to the spy’s existence and function is that as he acts to preserve sovereign power he does so through actions which undermine the principles of that sovereignty. The preservative actions of the spy, as exceptions to law, instead do as much to dissolve British power as secure it.

In his later work *State of Exception*, Agamben contextualises his analysis of sovereign power in relation to various legislative shifts in the history of twentieth-century nation states and analyses the relationship between law and situations which are described as extra-legal, that which occurs outside of the boundaries of legality yet still engender a relationship with them. In doing so, Agamben further consolidates many of his earlier arguments on the formulation of sovereignty with regard to the suspension of law. Agamben states that ‘the power to suspend the laws can belong only to the same power that produces them’.⁷⁸ Though Agamben largely explores this idea in relation to parliaments and elected assemblies or officials, it bears relation to the maintenance of power within post-war spy fiction. Again, the inherent paradox to Cold War espionage is visible in the figure of the spy; this thesis identifies the spy, and his role

⁷⁷ Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, p. 15.

⁷⁸ G. Agamben. *State of Exception* (Chicago: University Press, 2005), p. 12.

as counter-spy, as vital to ensuring the integrity of sovereign space, however, the spy produces this sovereign integrity by repeatedly suspending it as dictated by necessity.⁷⁹

This thesis derives an understanding of sovereignty and power from the work of Hobbes, Schmitt, Foucault and Agamben. The power of the state is conferred onto representatives such as the spy, who infer their own sense of identity and being from the state which they serve. The traditional idea of sovereignty, the unobstructed or contested rule over territory, is undoubtedly still valid in Cold War espionage fiction, however, the process of preserving sovereign space is complicated by the pursuit of power through the licit and illicit actions of the spy.⁸⁰ The British nation state, its laws and its values are consistently undermined by those seeking to protect and preserve them.

Temporal Co-ordinates: Historical Context 1945-79.

In addition to close textual analysis as informed by my critical framework this thesis contrasts the values of espionage fiction against a range of relevant contextual material. My thesis is interdisciplinary in nature and often augments its focus on the primary novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré with sources from social history in order to demonstrate the influence of the wider cultural and political context on fiction that could be, and often has been, marginalised as fantastical, implausible or with an appeal and relevance confined only to their genre. The decision to include social history, elements of international relations and political philosophy is not just an aesthetic choice or a means of providing biographical or historical background on Greene, Fleming and le Carré. Rather, it is intended as an active and productive form of context designed to shed new light on the various social and cultural implications of espionage fiction and to show how these particular authors acknowledged and contributed to popular anxieties throughout the post-war era.

⁷⁹ Agamben, *State of Exception*, p. 24.

⁸⁰ The Peace of Westphalia (1648) outlined the basic principles of sovereignty thus: territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, supremacy of the state (rather than the Church) and that a sovereign is the supreme lawmaking authority within its jurisdiction. See M. Fulbrook. *A Concise History of Germany* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), pp. 61-65.

This thesis focuses on a thirty-four year period between 1945 and 1979. 1945 is widely perceived as a point of social and political watershed, occurring with the conclusion of one global conflict and the start of another; namely the end of the Second World War and the beginnings of the Cold War. The character, tone and scope of espionage fiction changes dramatically after 1945 in contrast to the predominantly patriotic novels produced during the Second World War.⁸¹ The lines of Western moral superiority, so clearly drawn with regard to the violent excesses of National Socialism, become far more difficult to define after this date, affecting the production and execution of espionage fiction.⁸² Similarly, the Second World War is the contextual point at which space, sovereignty and political ideology converge, beginning and ending with two events that combine the theoretical currents of my intervention; the German invasion of Poland in 1939 in pursuit of *lebensraum* and the division of post-war Europe into spheres of influence enacted by the Potsdam Conference held in 1945.⁸³ By foregrounding the importance and association of territory and ideology within both contemporary political debate and the language and practice of everyday life, the Second World War set a precedent for the subsequent Cold War that followed and, in the case of West and East Germany, for the following forty-four years.⁸⁴

In terms of historical and contextual relevance, it is difficult to overstate the defining effect that the Second World War had on the generation of adult Britons who experienced it. In his analysis of post-war British fiction, Andrew Crozier goes as far as to state that the ‘post-1920 generation (of authors) all began as survivors’,

⁸¹ Though a good deal of wartime spy fiction unsurprisingly focused on Nazi infiltration, the real fifth-column threat to British Intelligence during the war would, of course, be revealed as Soviet in nature upon Kim Philby’s defection to the Soviet Union in 1963. Greene’s major wartime espionage novel was *The Ministry of Fear* (1943) in which mild-mannered Arthur Rowe is drawn into a clandestine war of secrets and suspect baking.

⁸² Manning Coles’ series of novels, beginning with *Drink to Yesterday* (1940), introduced Thomas Elphinstone Hambleton; teacher, spy and double agent. Starting his career in World War I, Hambleton later worked his way up in the Nazi Party in an effort to subvert various Nazi schemes.

⁸³ See M. Gilbert. *The Second World War* (London: Phoenix, 2009).

⁸⁴ The division of space into zones of political influence occurred throughout the war in a variety of contexts, perhaps most notably in Vichy France. However, the war also restricted access to space on the home-front on an unprecedented scale; David Matless’ *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998) explores the changing representation of the British countryside as the military commands of various Allied nations requisitioned more and more land for bases, airfields and staging-grounds. Similarly, in Allied-occupied Germany and Austria the division of power into spatially-emplaced zones meant that the association of power with the control and production of space remained current for many years.

indicating the degree to which the conflict affected the mentality of civilians and active participants alike.⁸⁵ The effects that this preoccupation with the war has on spy fiction are similarly vivid, varied and long-lasting, and are explored at length throughout my thesis. Crozier's argument does not acknowledge the lasting effects of the war on British society at large, however, and the reciprocity that exists between public opinion and popular fiction; with ever increasing vigour over the past seventy years, the war has been memorialised, commemorated and repeatedly invoked in a variety of literary and ideological ways.⁸⁶

The consequent psychological, as well as material, impact of the degraded state of British power upon the national and literary consciousness of Britain is, like the war, equally difficult to exaggerate.⁸⁷ It is well-established that the post-war decline of the British Empire was both rapid and tumultuous. For instance, by 1947 there was no longer a Raj in India; by 1948 there was no longer a British mandate in Palestine, which led to the creation of the state of Israel.⁸⁸ Burma also gained independence that year. There were further struggles for independence in Malaya and Ghana, Egypt and Kenya to come.⁸⁹ Britain's swift international decline is made manifest in the writing of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, all of whom make direct reference to the loss of national prestige in their work. In domestic terms too, though the Labour government's programme of nationalisation enacted from 1948 reinvigorated British industry, it did so, in Peter Hennessy's words, 'by running existing plant and machinery and people flat out' at the expense of much needed infrastructural reconstruction.⁹⁰ The chronic housing shortage of the post-war years was a difficulty exacerbated by the most severe rationing to date, which for the first time included bread from 1946, and the coldest winter on record in 1947.⁹¹ Far from the bountiful vision of New Jerusalem that the Labour party and the mildly socialist reports of Beveridge and Abercrombie had proffered the reality was markedly different. The

⁸⁵ A. Crozier. 'Thrills and Frills: Poetry as figures of Empirical Lyricism' from A. Sinfield, Ed. *Society and Literature 1945-1970* (London: Methuen & Co., 1983), p. 225.

⁸⁶ See T. Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (London: Pimlico, 2002).

⁸⁷ See C. Barnett. *The Audit of War: The Illusion & Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (London: Macmillan, 1987) or D. Edgerton. *Warfare State: Britain 1920-1970* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006) for further analysis of British fortunes as a result of the Second World War.

⁸⁸ P. Brendon. *The Decline & Fall of the British Empire 1781- 1997* (London: Vintage, 2007), p. 477.

⁸⁹ L. James. *The Rise & Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 2001), pp. 559-588.

⁹⁰ P. Hennessy. *Never Again: Britain 1945-51* (London: Vintage, 1993), p. 7.

⁹¹ Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 477.

truth of New Jerusalem, as well as the dream, would find expression in a range of popular post-war fiction.

My thesis examines the cultural and literary preoccupation with the war and its after-effects through analysis of the understanding that 1945 was the beginning of a new era for Britain; the inauguration of 'New Jerusalem'.⁹² In the context of post-war ideology, the invention of New Jerusalem can be traced most immediately to its wartime origins as a production of various sources such as the Labour Party manifesto 'Let Us Face the Future', the Beveridge Report and the Abercrombie Plan.⁹³ However, as the chapters of this thesis demonstrate, the notion of New Jerusalem also built on a range of well-established myths of British nationhood and empire, as well as social demands that had been largely ignored since the First World War.⁹⁴ New Jerusalem was to feature better standards of living, full employment and social services designed to eliminate many of the 'great evils' that plagued British society; though many of these goals would be achieved, it came at a much higher cost and with a much greater struggle than anticipated.⁹⁵ The pursuit of New Jerusalem and the benefits it was to confer on the nation after the Second World War was the overriding concern of post-war Britain, becoming both a preoccupation of popular fiction and a central tenet of both Labour and Conservative government policy for decades to follow.⁹⁶ It is for this reason that I do not explicitly differentiate between 'post-war' and 'Cold War' periods but instead conflate the two throughout my analysis. This decision is not an attempt to homogenise or simplify a complex period of British history for the purpose of narrative clarity but rather to acknowledge and explore the extent to which the pursuit of New Jerusalem and British participation in the Cold War overlapped, interlinked and influenced one another.

The decision to conclude my analysis of post-war British espionage fiction in 1979 is similarly motivated by a number of contextual as well as practical considerations. As

⁹² Barnett, *Audit of War*, p. 11.

⁹³ K. Jeffreys. *War & Reform: British Politics During the Second World War* (Manchester: University Press, 1994), p. 88.

⁹⁴ R. Floud & D. N. McCloskey. *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700. Volume 3: 1939-1992* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), p. 285.

⁹⁵ D. Kynaston. *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 21.

⁹⁶ K. O. Morgan. *The People's Peace: British History Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 3-5.

later chapters illustrate, the shift in focus to symbolic space, from physical or territorial, represents an acknowledgement of how far British international interests had deteriorated in the three decades since the end of the war. Sociologists such as Francesca Carnevali and Julie Strange have argued that, until this point, it is possible to observe continuity in the conventions, material circumstances and political and social habits of British life.⁹⁷ After this date, however, the cultural landscape of Britain changes dramatically; Tom Nairn argues that by the late 1970s British cultural values had ‘decayed to the point of disintegration’.⁹⁸ In the thirty years since the end of the Second World War, the pursuit of New Jerusalem had irreparably altered the physical and social topography of Britain. In recognition of these changes, spy fiction alters to a similar extent after the 1970s; Greene publishes his last spy novel, *The Human Factor*, in 1978 whilst le Carré, after completing the *Karla* Trilogy with *Smiley’s People* (1979) turns his attentions to Israel and South America, returning only to the subject of the Soviet Union as the Cold War draws to a close in 1989.

The decision to conclude my analysis in 1979 is also influenced by contextual developments in British and international politics. The narrative that my thesis explores is one of post-war British decline as articulated by the espionage fiction of the time. In le Carré’s novels in particular, by the late 1970s British interests are marginalised by attempts at pursuing political parity with the United States; national efforts to remain an active participant in the Cold War alongside America results in Britain being forced to make further political and sovereign concessions. The transition to the 1980s, however, marked the beginning of a new era in Anglo-American relations. The election of Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government in 1979 reinvigorated the nationalist ethos of the post-war era; in the Falklands conflict of 1982, Thatcher sought to consolidate a revived sense of national martial spirit by portraying the values of the past as a progressive political position.⁹⁹ Thatcher would further exacerbate contradictory British attitudes towards class by proclaiming an end

⁹⁷ P. Johnson, F. Carnevali & J.M Strange. *20th Century Britain – Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, Second ed. (London: Pearson-Longman, 2007).

⁹⁸ T. Nairn. *The Break up of Britain: Crisis and Neoliberalism* (London: NLB, 1977), p. 62.

⁹⁹ As part of her speech to the Conservative rally that year, Thatcher included the following statement: ‘This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed. When the demands of war and the dangers to our own people call us to arms - then we British are as we have always been: competent, courageous and resolute’. Taken from www.margaretthatcher.org. Accessed 3/12/2011.

to class privilege whilst simultaneously endorsing ‘Victorian Values’; social mores that kept rigid class hierarchies in place.¹⁰⁰ Though many of the political positions and organisations of the Cold War persisted, the social and political matrix of the 1980s is very different to that of preceding decades and I would not have sufficient room to explore its effects on literature in this thesis.

The decision to give historical context such a prominent place in my analysis of post-war espionage fiction is borne out of various considerations, however, also comes with certain provisos. As popular fiction, spy novels are influenced by the contextual circumstances that surround them; in the twentieth century, spy fiction’s reactionary tendencies are most obvious in the period before the First World War, when tensions between British and German imperialism were at their peak, and throughout the Cold War.¹⁰¹ The popularity of spy novels in both periods is indicative of the contextual relevance of their subject matter, evoking widespread public concern over German militarism or Soviet espionage respectively. This sense of cultural validity leads Michael Denning to state that spy fiction and popular fiction in general has ‘a place in a particular society, a particular history, a particular culture and like newspapers, diaries or government documents, they can be used as evidence in reconstructing the lineaments of that history or culture’.¹⁰² The notion that espionage fiction transcends its origins as popular entertainment and functions instead as a social and cultural document contributes to existing critical debates over the historical and literary importance of spy fiction as well as literary studies of the Cold War and popular fiction in general.

Whilst popular fiction is often used to illuminate the study of history, historical context is of equal use to the study of popular fiction. My thesis considers spy fiction in conjunction with historical context as a means of transcending the traditional limitations of genre criticism. The popularity of espionage fiction and other best-selling forms of literature often works in a counterintuitive fashion, acting to obscure deeper analysis of the literary works in question; Mark Jancovich argues that ‘[o]ne of the central problems with genre criticism has been the tendency to view genres as

¹⁰⁰ R. Samuel. *Island Stories: Theatres of Memory Volume II* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 340.

¹⁰¹ Seed, ‘Spy Fiction’, p. 115.

¹⁰² Denning. *Cover Stories*, p. 3.

coherent and hermetically sealed objects'.¹⁰³ The consideration of historical material in conjunction with the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré breaks down the barriers of genre fiction in order to locate spy fiction within a social and cultural context; by illustrating how spy fiction remains responsive to contextual influences or not destabilises this idea of coherence and broadens the potential range of analyses that can be applied to espionage fiction. Rather than a self-contained genre, espionage fiction is revealed as an active component of cultural history.¹⁰⁴ Further, far from building up a portrait of espionage fiction as a cohesive form, examining the work of these particular authors against a range of historical and contextual information instead serves to illustrate the disjunctions, paradoxes and discontinuities present in the work of each author.

Chapter Outline: Plotting a Course.

The thesis is organised thematically and examines a variety of spaces in turn across its six chapters. Chapters one and two analyse spaces of vital importance both as physical and ideological signifiers within post-war spy fiction, especially when the nation was concerned with commemorating its wartime past and restoring its position of pre-war power. Chapter one examines the influence of the Second World War on the production of espionage fiction in relation to the memorial culture of post-war Britain. Memories of the Second World War are preserved and transformed in the spaces of spy fiction and grow in direct correlation to international decline; these spaces are thus configured to become productive sites of national identification. Developing this preoccupation with the past in the contemporary present, chapter two analyses how national identity, as informed by the Second World War, is created in the representations of divided spaces of Britain and occupied Europe during post-war spy fiction. In relation to the continued exercise of control over spatial borders and interiors throughout the espionage fiction genre, this chapter identifies how sovereign power attempts to affix a sense of stability to hybrid spaces that remain continually in flux.

¹⁰³ M. Jancovich, *Rational Fears: American Horror in the 1950s* (Manchester: University Press, 1996), p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ The role of espionage fiction as a medium in which the tensions and fears of the Cold War could be fictively explored has been analysed in the work of authors such as Michael Denning and, with emphasis on the broader implications of genre fiction, John Frow. See Denning, *Cover Stories*, or J. Frow. *Genre* (London: Routledge, 2006).

In conjunction with the development of the post-war national and memorial consciousness, chapters three and four examine the production of public and private spaces within spy fiction by focusing on representations of London and that of domestic spaces. In addition to contemporary British concerns over the nation's international position, these chapters focus on the efforts to improve peacetime standards of living through social and material development after the privations of war. Whilst the emphasis and recurrence of urban and domestic space with spy fiction is indicative of their importance within the genre, both spaces are, however, similarly illustrative of paradoxes whereby in his attempts to preserve and fortify both spaces the spy is responsible for their undoing.

Further to the physical spaces examined in chapters three and four, the final two chapters of this thesis largely address a range of emergent and transient spaces associated with post-war spy fiction, namely representations of travel and colonial space. These later chapters approach developing spaces within each author's work, contrasting attempts to reinvigorate colonial territory in the Cold War against contextual geopolitical events and technological innovations which influence post-war Britain. The final two chapters of the thesis illustrate how interrelated concerns of national identity, space and power are altered by a conjunction of travel, technology, social mobility and self-determination occurring during the post-war period. Structuring the thesis into these three pairings best enables the analysis and comparison of the extent to which the appropriation of various spaces permits or complicates the representation of sovereign power throughout espionage fiction.

Chapter One – History Emphasises Terminal Events: Spy Fiction, Memory and Myth in Post-war Britain.

The following chapter analyses the prevalence of war memory, imagery and iconography throughout espionage fiction. In this chapter I argue that the inclusion and repeated recurrence of war memory throughout the spy fiction of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming and John le Carré is an important trope of the genre that serves a variety of functions with regard to the formation, production and subversion of British national identity throughout the post-war period. Beyond simple jingoism, the emphasis placed on evocations of the Second World War in spy fiction are part of a more widespread post-war trend towards remembrance and memorial culture in space; when linked by each author to notions of history and heritage in order to produce identity and identification with national concerns, war memory becomes a means of creating consensus in the post-war world.

Introduction – Winning the Peace.

'It's really collective memory that makes a nation, its memory of what its past was, what it has done, what it has suffered, what it has endured' – Enoch Powell, 1989.¹

A consistent and recurrent theme of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming and John le Carré's spy fiction is the continual presence of the Second World War. The impact and influence of the war on a range of post-war attitudes and actions, from government policy to popular fiction, was widespread and long-lasting; war, in the first half of the twentieth century, was the defining experience in millions of people's lives. The upheaval caused by total war was near universal in Britain, with only some rural communities experiencing little disruption to routine. Consequently, many historians would later assert that the Second World War was to be celebrated as an ordinary peoples' triumph; after all, they were the ones who had done the fighting and the

¹ P. Hennessy. *Never Again: Britain 1945-51* (London: Vintage, 1992), p. xiv.

dying.² Winston Churchill regularly aggrandized the role of ordinary men and women throughout the conflict, and especially in his own history of the war published in serial volumes between 1948 and 1954.³ However, despite this high praise, it would not be until the mid-1950s that ordinary people would witness widespread improvement in their material circumstances; coming only after the post-war Labour and Conservative governments negotiated the raft of economic difficulties created by the transition from wartime to peacetime economy. Instead, the immediate reward for the people of Britain was the enshrining of contemporary myth at the heart of post-war British identity throughout a range of popular fiction.⁴

The place of the First World War is well established within a literary context. Much is made of the Men of 1914, those Modernist novelists, poets and dramatists of the generation that faced the war or, as Wyndham Lewis or the more high-profile war poets did, actually fought in it.⁵ Their memories and experiences of mechanised warfare hung shadow-like over their later works, shaping the course of a literary movement.⁶ However, there is little comparative study of the men of 1940, many of whom would come to dominate popular literature in the years after the Second World War. Greene, Fleming and le Carré were all involved in or affected by the war in some capacity; Greene worked for MI6 in England and Sierra Leone and Fleming was a Lieutenant (eventually Commander) in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve attached to a small, independent Commando unit known as 30AU.⁷ Le Carré, born in 1930, spent the war as a boarder at Sherborne School in Dorset, but the character of his writing would nonetheless be shaped by his wartime upbringing and his early-adulthood in the years immediately post-war.

² R. Samuel. *Theatres of Memory: Past & Present in Contemporary Culture Vol. I* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 160.

³ See D. Reynolds. *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War* (London: Penguin, 2004).

⁴ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 208. As a consequence of total mobilisation, the war acted as a social denominator; a method of popular appeal which found expression in various formats ranging from political manifestoes through to Ealing comedies; an example would be *Passport to Pimlico* (1949), in which the modern and the ancestral are eventually harmonized through social solidarity. See G. Perry. *Forever Ealing* (London: Pavilion Publishing, 1981).

⁵ The phrase, originally Wyndham Lewis', typically refers to the collection of Modernist authors writing at that time, such as T. S. Eliot or Ezra Pound, however, it was also used more generally. See M. Bradbury & J. McFarlane, *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature 1890-1930* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 187.

⁶ Also later ones – the popularity of war poets was resurgent in the 60s and 70s. See J. Silkin, *Out of Battle: The Poetry of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972).

⁷ A. Lycett. *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 1996), p. 127.

Lending themselves more readily to positive mythification than the slaughter of the Somme or Passchendaele, Second World War events such as the ‘deliverance’ of Dunkirk, the blackout and the Blitz, the so-called ‘Finest Hour’ of the Battle of Britain or the Normandy Landings, have been celebrated for decades as instances of desperate conflict and intense emotion among combatants and civilians alike.⁸ As a possible explanation for their place in popular consciousness, historian Raphael Samuel argues that it is in such instances, ‘period(s) of fear and tribulation’, that the deepest and longest-lasting memories are formed in the minds of individuals.⁹ The bonds of wartime unity then are less a product of consolidated resolve as much as they are a consequence of widespread fear; incidences of victory do not retain their power in the same way as threats to the nation do.¹⁰ Significantly, in 1945 when the Labour Manifesto entitled ‘Let Us Face The Future’ sought to draw upon the spirit of national unity it did so by evoking a past redolent of collective trauma and hardship, of Dunkirk and the Blitz.¹¹

In the uncertain years of the early atomic age and throughout the hesitant, often disastrous, actions of British military forces abroad during the post-war period, the need for a unifying national and martial perspective was vital.¹² Significantly, spy fiction, like the public with whom it proved so popular, returned again and again to the most recent site of collective memory and trauma, that of the war. Remembrance of the war recurs in nearly every spy novel by Greene, Fleming and le Carré included in this thesis; the frequency and significance of remembrance in the work of each author increased in direct correlation to the contemporary decline of Britain as an international power. Much of the existing criticism on espionage fiction argues that

⁸ Recent milestones of either 50, 60 and 65 years since the Normandy Landings have been celebrated with full BBC coverage. The war and associated historical events such as the Holocaust have been a mainstay of the national curriculum since the late 1980s; however, Second World War history was taught before this date but varied from school to school. See either D. Cannadine, J. Keating & N. Sheldon *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth Century England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) or L. Russell, *Teaching the Holocaust in School History: teachers or preachers?* (London: Continuum, 2006).

⁹ Samuel, *Theatres*, p. 6.

¹⁰ VE Day itself is widely regarded by a range of contemporary and modern historians as overwhelmingly anticlimactic, VJ Day (14th August 1945) even more so; see the introductory chapter of D. Kynaston. *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) for an account drawn from Mass Observation reports.

¹¹ Kynaston, *Austerity*, pp. 21-22.

¹² T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. *Bond & Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p. 18.

the genre's conjunction of war myth and memory was variously intended to be simultaneously comforting and corrective; that alongside the reassurances provided by the past in terms of the war's defined enemies and clear values, spy fiction traditionally asserts that only by framing contemporary action in relation to the litany of imperial myth and broader notions of national heritage could the collapse of British power be thrown into reverse.¹³ In the fraught social climate of post-war Britain, memories and events of the Second World War became imbued with near mythical significance across a range of media.

In this chapter I will argue that the increasingly popular spy fiction of Fleming, Greene and le Carré developed the significance of war memory further by coupling it with enduring characteristics of imperial mythology to variously warn against, perpetuate and subvert compensatory fantasy in the form of the post-war espionage novel. Spy fiction illustrates how the memory of war is preserved and transformed in space; these spaces of memory become productive sites of national identification; by associating contemporary Cold War actions with those of the wartime past, the espionage activity is morally justified and the spy is kept spying. Fleming celebrates the past and its supposedly enervating effect upon the present; however, for Greene and le Carré, the memorial culture of Britain becomes that which hastens national decline.

1. **The Battle for Greenland:** Memory and the Legacy of War in the Novels of Graham Greene.

Victory in Europe Day (VE Day), May 8th 1945, was by all accounts a day of mixed emotions; the tone of radio broadcasts and the atmosphere outside Buckingham Palace combined memories of recent hardship and collective hope for the future in equal measure.¹⁴ The widespread mood of public opinion, as gauged by Mass Observation (MO) reporters, was that Britain was on the verge of a new age.¹⁵ The end of the war in Europe had provoked spontaneous celebrations of relief throughout

¹³ T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. 'The Moments of Bond' from C. Lindner, Ed. *The James Bond Phenomenon*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ M. Waller. *London 1945* (London: John Murray, 2004), pp. 291-293.

¹⁵ D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 31.

the nation as those fortunate enough to have survived believed that the wartime struggles through which they had suffered were to be finally rewarded in a new era of great political and social change.

However, in the years that followed, belief in such an epochal view of history proved to be incorrect. The change that the British public desired in the summer of 1945 could never be accomplished by a single hammer-blow of immediate social shift; a range of prejudices, divisions and modes of thinking would inevitably endure. Indeed, in *A History of Post-War Britain 1945-74*, C. J. Bartlett states that ‘in many respects the years of peace were a continuation of the years of war in different circumstances’.¹⁶ The view that with the cessation of hostilities a new world would suddenly burst into existence overlooked the desires of the people of Britain, the power of their memories and their attachment to the myths of the recent past.

Greene’s decision to place the events of *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) in a wartime setting is indicative of the contextual immediacy of war memory. In the years following the end of the war, evocations of conflict were ‘everywhere’; an inevitability given that out of a population of approximately forty-eight million people nearly six million men saw active service in the armed forces whilst an equal number or more women performed auxiliary roles.¹⁷ Memory of war, as a consequence of total mobilisation, becomes one of the most familiar aspects of social memory, one given form and meaning by active means such as “memorialisation, commemoration, sanctification, formal record, informal reminiscence, and remembrance”.¹⁸ Similarly, the social preoccupation with the past was intensified by a number of foreign and domestic events. The rapid decline of British power overseas, such as in India, Palestine and Malaya, made a past in which Britannia ruled the waves ever more appealing.¹⁹

¹⁶ C J Bartlett. *A History of Post-War Britain 1945-74*, (New York: Longman, 1977), p. 1.

¹⁷ Roger Broad states that in addition to 910,000 regulars the British army conscripted 2.25 million men between 1939-45 and attracted 685,000 volunteers totalling almost 4 million men under arms. Alongside the Army figures, Broad also records nearly a million men serving in both the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force. See R. Broad. *Conscription in Britain, 1939-1964: The Militarisation of a Generation* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 147.

¹⁸ B. Bushaway, ‘The Obligation of Remembrance or the Remembrance of Obligation: society and memory of World War’, from J. Bourne, P. Liddle and I. Whitehead (Eds), *The Great World War Vol. 2: Who Won? Who Lost?* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 490.

¹⁹ P. Hennessy. *Having it So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 41.

Unlike his contemporaries such as Richard Hillary and his later Cold War competitors such as Fleming who would celebrate the lost romance of the Second World War, Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* is a hot-war novel written from a distinctly pessimistic post-war perspective. A mix of exotic locale and wartime anxiety, *Heart of the Matter* concerns the actions of Major Henry Scobie, chief of police in Freetown, Sierra Leone and its surrounding territory during the Second World War. Primarily, it is a novel about Scobie's attempts to prevent the network of criminality, corruption and smuggling run by the colony's Syrian community whilst maintaining his unhappy marriage and fending off the social snobberies of the other English residents.²⁰ As perhaps befitting its date of publication, *The Heart of the Matter* deals with the aftermath of action, the consequences of conflict and the difficulties faced by those left remaining; the novel features no battle scenes or dramatisations of war, only the results. In part two of the novel, colonial policeman and protagonist Scobie oversees the repatriation of recently shipwrecked civilian casualties from Vichy French territory:

Wilson said, 'Were they sailing without an escort?'

'They started out in convoy, but they had some engine trouble...they were twelve hours behind the convoy and trying to pick up when they were sniped. The submarine commander surfaced and gave them direction. He would have given them a tow, but there was a naval patrol out looking for him. You see, you really can blame nobody for this sort of thing'.²¹

Greene's dialogue draws on familiar tropes of heroism associated with the war at sea during the Second World War; the evocative scenario of survivors adrift in open boats is immediately reminiscent of a range of contemporary media from Noël Coward's *In Which We Serve* (1942) to Evelyn Waugh's *Sword of Honour* (1952) but here is robbed of its typical gravity. Scobie's account is instead detached and impersonal, expressing little in the way of sympathy for the survivors or any great interest in their plight; for Scobie, the details of the incident are administrative and not emotive. Whilst he recognises the enormity of their ordeal, Scobie's focus is on the

²⁰ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

²¹ G. Greene. *The Heart of the Matter* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 122. (Hereafter, *HOM*).

rehabilitation of the survivors and not the event that lead them to West Africa. Greene's tone is also notably fatalistic; Scobie's account hinges on actions left undone or opportunities missed, suggested by the use of terms such as 'would have' or 'trying to'. Greene associates the supposedly blameless shipwreck in *The Heart of the Matter* with the declining state of contemporary Britain, criticising the argument that the nation is sinking purely due to similarly unfavourable circumstances.

Despite the detached and unsympathetic tone of Scobie's dialogue with Wilson, Greene nonetheless acknowledges the wastefulness of war. However, he does so to destabilise the perception of participants as heroic or their actions glorious; through Scobie, Greene's novel does not acknowledge survival as a triumph but rather as a further example of failure prolonged, similarly casting doubt on the status of British victory in the war. Greene uses the shipwreck in order to draw together his criticism of both the contemporary British political outlook and colonial space.²² The values of the wartime Empire, those of dutiful sacrifice, are equated with those of colonial oppression, also out of date in the post-war world of Britain's shrinking global position; just as there is nothing glorious in surviving the shipwreck, there is no glory to be found in the values of colonial space. Similarly, the site of the sacrifice, the sea, is an important part of Greene's criticism of the war and its values. The sea in *The Heart of the Matter* acts as an ill-determined liminal space between the two opposing nations, Britain and Vichy France; a no-man's land in which British subjects lose their lives and the place of British power is subverted.²³ Greene describes the sea with elision; the port in which the British and Vichy French meet is characterised by the 'flat cold light, too feeble to clear the morning haze'.²⁴ Greene suggests that memory of the war is also opaque, able to obscure details in a similar haze.

Throughout the episode of the shipwreck and indeed the entire novel, Greene presents a continual disconnection between past and present. For example, Scobie's account is delivered in the past tense; Greene chooses not to illustrate the sinking itself as it happens but instead reveals it retrospectively, implying discontinuity between the experience of war and the way in which war stories are reported, recorded or passed

²² Greene's assessment of colonial space is discussed at length in Chapter Six of this study.

²³ The traditional perception of British maritime power is analysed in Chapter Five.

²⁴ Greene, *HOM*, p. 116.

on. Similarly, Greene's use of the past tense places wartime actions and their encoded values firmly in the chronological and moral past; the sacrifice made by British subjects appears redundant in a contemporary and present context. Scobie himself is later subject to the same process when Greene describes the differing attitudes he and his wife have towards the past:

If home to him meant the reduction of things to a friendly unchanging minimum, home to her was an accumulation. The dressing table was crammed with pots and photographs – himself as a young man in the curiously dated officer's uniform of the last war...their only child who had died at school in England three years ago.²⁵

Greene immediately associates Scobie with the values and conventions of the First World War, outmoded both in the contemporary setting of the novel and the post-war world in which the novel was written. The 'curiously dated' appearance of the uniform suggests how things that seemed natural in the recent past can quickly become old-fashioned or irrelevant in the present. Greene draws another direct parallel with the setting of the novel and the contextual date of its publication by illustrating how Scobie and his wife engage in the production and perpetuation of memory in differing ways; whilst Scobie implicitly criticises his wife's accumulation of mementoes, he also contributes to remembrance by passing on the story of the shipwreck. Through he and his wife's differing attitudes towards recollection, Greene suggests that Scobie, and post-war British society, is caught in a paradox whereby individuals feel obliged to remember events or actions they do not necessarily wish to. Greene places this paradox at the centre of his narrative drawing a comparison between Scobie's guilt over his affair and the death of his child and the national guilt over the dead of two world wars.²⁶ The individual and the nation are compelled to remember that which they would rather forget.

Greene repeatedly consigns the world of *The Heart of the Matter*, encompassing its values, spaces and identities, to history where he believes it belongs. In the rapidly

²⁵ Greene, *HOM*, pp. 21-22.

²⁶ Michel Foucault argues that this paradox is central to the enlightenment tradition. Michel Foucault. *Technologies of the Self*. (Massachusetts: University Press, 1998), p. 119.

changing geopolitics of the post-war world, Greene subverts the commonly perceived moral absolutes of the Second World War, the ‘essential soundness’ of empire as propagated by the British establishment, by enacting Scobie’s breakdown and spiritual crisis in colonial space.²⁷ In depicting British colonial space as riddled with infidelities, social disharmony and racism, Greene implies that the empire the British fought to protect and preserve was already rotten.²⁸ Despite Greene’s subversion of wartime values in this novel, however, he does not go as far as to openly criticise its participants; aside from his guilt over his adultery, Scobie is presented as a fundamentally compassionate and decent man, above the petty jealousies of colonial society. Greene’s next work, the novella *The Third Man* (1949), would further criticise the actions and inaction of British subjects as a result of their over-emphasis on the past, though this time in the very different space of post-war Europe.

Compact, fast-paced and not given to sentimental detail, Greene’s original novella was, in his own words, ‘never intended to be more than raw material for a picture’.²⁹ Yet in comparison to Greene’s other novels from the same period and the geopolitical themes it explores, the significance of *The Third Man* in terms of Greene’s developing political position and the scope of his subject matter is abundantly clear.³⁰ Neil Sinyard argues that ‘*The Third Man* is as richly resonant a comment on the aftermath of World War Two as is Eliot’s *The Waste Land* on World War One’.³¹ Again unlike many of his contemporaries, Greene recognised the potential implications that the settlements at Yalta and Potsdam would have for Britain.³² However, beyond the immediate contextual relevance to the post-war power struggle in central Europe between Russia and America that *The Third Man* fictionalises, the novel is part of Greene’s more general criticism of British attitudes to the past after the Second World War.³³ Even though their settings and subject matter are typically very current, when considered in conjunction with one another Greene’s novels of the post and Cold war

²⁷ Hennessy. *Never Again*, p. 433.

²⁸ As Scobie reminds himself at one point in the novel, “this isn’t a climate for emotion. It’s a climate for meanness, malice, snobbery’. Greene, *The Heart of the Matter*, p. 31.

²⁹ G. Greene, *The Third Man* (London: Penguin, 1983), p. 10.

³⁰ See chapter two for further analysis of *The Third Man*.

³¹ N. Sinyard. ‘The Craft of Graham Greene’ (Berkhamstead: Graham Greene Birthplace Trust, Occasional Paper No. 4, 2001), p. 7.

³² N. Davies, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico Press, 1997), p. 1061. These conferences and their outcomes are discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

³³ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

periods present a novelist overwhelmingly concerned with long-lasting effects of the recent past. Though not as overt as other novelists of the period, Greene's exploration of the legacies of war in the first half of the twentieth century run throughout his post-war work; the result of contemporary British history, for Greene, is presented first as tragedy and then as farce.

In *The Heart of the Matter*, Greene makes it apparent that Scobie's tragedy is his inability to reconcile his guilty conscience and changing outlook with the world he inhabits; in *The Third Man*, however, Greene illustrates how the static, wartime values of characters such as Rollo Martins or Captain Calloway were no longer relevant in a changing post-war world. Reminders of the all-too-recent war run throughout the novel, either in the form of the 'smashed, dreary city' of Vienna or the 'rusting iron of smashed tanks which nobody had cleared away'.³⁴ Greene illustrates the efforts of British characters to negotiate their nation's altered political position in this space through the often unequal interactions between British and Russian or American soldiers. For example, when Anna, Harry Lime's girlfriend, is under threat of imprisonment by the Russians, the American, British and French representatives argue over who will escort her: 'The trouble about you British is you never know when to make a stand.' 'Oh well,' Starling said; he had been at Dunkirk, but he knew when to be quiet'.³⁵ Greene makes a direct comparison between the defeat disguised-as-victory of Dunkirk and the post-war British position in occupied Europe. Though the mention of Dunkirk appears initially positive, associated with British resolve and endurance by wartime propaganda, Greene is instead suggesting the possibility of another British retreat from Europe in the face of American and Russian belligerence.³⁶

Sensitive to both the paradoxes inherent to the prosecution of the Cold War and the glamorising of clandestinity occurring in spy fiction throughout the 1950s, Greene's *Our Man In Havana* (1958) presents war memory in a more openly farcical way to his prior novels. In *Our Man in Havana*, Wormold, an ex-pat vacuum salesman, is

³⁴ Greene. *The Third Man*, pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Greene. *The Third Man*, p. 94.

³⁶ P. M. Taylor. *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century: Selling Democracy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 182. It is significant that Greene chooses to illustrate his point with a defeat; were he suggesting that Britain was still capable of winning its battles he may have chosen the Battle of Britain (1940-41) or El-Alamein (1942).

recruited by the British secret service in Cuba; not possessing any knowledge or experience of espionage, he invents agents and fakes intelligence which convinces his London handlers that the Cuban rebels are assembling a nuclear device as a result of Soviet assistance.³⁷ The novel satirises not only the contemporary politics of the Cold War but also the nationalism that led to it. Greene again transplants war values to contemporary spaces in order to illustrate their redundancy. For example, Wormold calls on the elderly Dr. Hasselbacher, later revealed to be an East German spy:

Dr. Hasselbacher sat facing him wearing an old *pickelhaube* helmet, breastplate, boots, white gloves, what could only be the ancient uniform of a Uhlan. His eyes were closed and he seemed to be asleep. He was wearing a sword and looked like an extra in a film studio.³⁸

Greene signifies a very British fear, that of a resurgent Germany and associated militarism, but satirises it at the same time and exposes such fears to ridicule. Similarly, Greene illustrates how the preservation of war memory and representation of its values can cause misguided action in the present. Hasselbacher, haunted by memories of a Russian he killed at Tannenberg, becomes a Soviet spy; in trying to atone for his guilt, he helps perpetuate conflict.³⁹ Further, the anachronistic appearance of Hasselbacher recalls the ‘curiously dated’ photograph of Scobie in *The Heart of the Matter*; Greene suggests that the preoccupation with the First and Second World War has not diminished in the decade that separates both novels but has instead been strengthened. Whereas Scobie’s past is just signified by a photograph, Greene makes war-memory flesh in the form of Hasselbacher and his Uhlan uniform, emphasising how incongruous such a mentality is to the Cold War present.

In his analysis of Greene’s novels, Adam Piette repeatedly refers to the ‘nightmare’ scenario of the Cold War; far from a post-war dream, Greene’s novels in particular capture the rapid degeneration of peace into the nightmare illogic of the Cold War where, so soon after they had been united against Germany, Russia and the Western

³⁷ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

³⁸ G. Greene. *Our Man in Havana* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 138.

³⁹ Greene, *Havana*, p. 139. For information on the Battle of Tannenberg see J. Sweetman. *Tannenberg 1914* (London: Cassell, 2004). The 1914 Battle of Tannenberg was also subject to contemporary myth-making; the actual site of the battle is approx. 30km from Tannenberg, however, the German high-command chose the name to supersede the defeat of Teutonic knights at Tannenberg in 1410.

Allies were fighting each other.⁴⁰ Indeed, nearly all of Greene's post-war fiction features incidents of friends turning on each other; Lime and Martins from *The Third Man*, Fowler and Pyle from *The Quiet American* (1955) and Wormold and Hasselbacher from *Our Man in Havana*. Though these characters stand variously for conflicts or rifts between Britain and Russia, Britain and America or Britain and Europe, Greene's point is consistent throughout; emphasising that the shared and recent past of all these nations means little in the present climate. The events of Greene's fiction repeatedly reminds British characters of the need to not only acknowledge the irrevocable change in geopolitical circumstance but to adapt to it; instead of merely preserving the British preoccupation with the last war, the nation must concentrate on the current one in order to prevent the next. Though he is at times heavily critical, Greene does not dismiss the power of war memory or denigrate the importance of the war itself; instead Greene attacks or lampoons the British obsession with it as that which obscures the correct course of action in the present.

In exposing the dated values that drive various characters throughout his novels, Greene calls into question the ideology driving the Cold War, suggesting that at some point in the future it too will seem as distant as the values of the First World War. Despite Greene's early criticism of the British national obsession with war, the post-war preservation of war memory increased dramatically during the 1950s. Whereas in Greene's immediate post-war novels war memory is present though not yet didactic, the work of authors such as Ian Fleming would position the values of the war as wholly instructive in a contemporary context. Over the following decade, Fleming, himself influenced by contextual political and social developments, would seek to mythologise the Second World War by associating it with wider evocations of British history throughout his fiction. Whereas Greene questioned the veneration of the wartime generation of Britain, Fleming and his novels would place the men of 1940 on a memorial par with those of 1914.

⁴⁰ A. Piette. *The Literary Cold War: 1945 – Vietnam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 13. Piette similarly explores what he calls 'the logic of a political nightmare' in relation to le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1963).

2. ‘*Dulce et decorum est...and all that jazz!*’: National Identity & Spaces of Memory in the Novels of Ian Fleming.⁴¹

It is well documented by Ian Fleming’s biographers and critics alike that the character of James Bond bears a close resemblance to his creator, albeit one imbued with a good deal of artistic licence.⁴² As discussed in subsequent chapters of this thesis, Bond’s rank, service, habits and background are informed greatly by Fleming’s own personal tastes and experiences; for instance, both share Scottish ancestry, a love of Jamaica, good living and fine clothes and hold the rank of Commander in the RNVR.⁴³ Their war service, however, is somewhat different, with Bond acting as a form of ‘wish-fulfilment’ for Fleming.⁴⁴ Fleming was responsible for intelligence planning at the RNVR during the war and has been credited with various successes by his biographers; not least of these was the original idea for Operation Mincemeat, a ploy that some historians argue was vital to the success of the Sicily invasion.⁴⁵ Fleming’s London-based wartime service means that he was much more of an ‘M’ figure than a Bond, however, he experienced the Blitz and continued bombing of London and had observed his intelligence gathering unit, 30AU, in action in Dieppe in 1942 and Normandy in 1944.⁴⁶ The result of Fleming’s ‘good war’ is that his fiction preserves a sense of positive militarism; just as the war defined Fleming’s character by providing direction and structure, he similarly used memories of war to define the characters of his novels.⁴⁷

Memories and evocations of the Second World War recur often throughout Fleming’s fiction. In reflection of the total-war experience, the manner by which memories return to individual characters as well as the nature of the memories themselves varies

⁴¹ I. Fleming, *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 172.

⁴² Hennessy, *Having it So Good*, p. 166.

⁴³ See chapters Three, Four and Six for further discussion of Fleming’s characterisation of Bond.

⁴⁴ K. Amis, *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 16.

⁴⁵ B. Macintyre, *Operation Mincemeat. The True Spy Story that Changed the Course of World War II*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

⁴⁶ Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, p. 154.

⁴⁷ Some of the defining experiences of Fleming’s life were connected to war; for example, his father Valentine Fleming, MP for Henley, was killed opposite the Hindenburg line in 1917. The memory of Valentine Fleming as ‘the good soldier’ would be emphasised by Fleming’s mother for the rest of his life. See D. Cannadine, *In Churchill’s Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 282 or Lycett, pp. 10-13.

greatly from novel to novel, being either deliberately recalled or spontaneously forming with exposure to some external trigger. For example, in *From Russia with Love* (1957), Bond notices some wartime locomotives whilst travelling through Zagreb. Realising that they had been captured from the Germans during the war, noting the bullet marks along one of them sends Bond into sudden reminiscence: 'Bond heard the scream of the dive-bomber and saw the up-flung arms of the driver. For a moment he thought nostalgically and unreasonably of the excitement and turmoil of the hot war'.⁴⁸ The memory of conflict jolts Bond from his despondency during a lull in his mission, linking his Cold War operation to the purpose found in past actions, and the sense of purpose awarded by the Second World War in particular. Memory, though in this instance operating in an implicit capacity, is an active force that shapes the conduct of the individual, linking their present day functions inexorably to the past.

Though Fleming includes wartime memories throughout his entire series of novels, it is in *Moonraker* (1955) where his celebration of the war crystallises. *Moonraker* is a novel wholly preoccupied with the experiences, prejudices and legacies of the Second World War; indeed, the entire plot of the novel, a die-hard Nazi's revenge on Britain, is a product of wartime conflict.⁴⁹ Written and published a decade after the war ended, the novel illustrates Fleming's attempts to preserve the international standing of Britain through continual emphasis on memory and myth in a number of ways. Repeatedly throughout the novel, Fleming associates very contemporary fears, those of nuclear proliferation and Soviet intrigue, with the fears of the recent wartime past, specifically the V1 and V2 bombing campaigns of 1944-45.⁵⁰ Fleming continually weaves associative examples of the war into the novel; he references a mission at Peenemunde (the original launch site for the V1 and V2 programme), goes into detail when describing antagonist Hugo Drax's membership of the Brandenburg Division, names a chief henchman Krebs (a reference to German infantry General Hans Krebs) and indulges at length the character's 'joy' at mounting an infiltration operation

⁴⁸ I. Fleming, *From Russia with Love* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 220

⁴⁹ Fleming's preoccupation with the Second World War in *Moonraker* is discussed throughout various chapters of this thesis; see chapters two, three and five for further reference. See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

⁵⁰ Fleming's characterisation of Drax and his men is also illustrative of contemporary fears over German rearmament and the potential of resurgent Nazism.

reminiscent of his time in the Ardennes.⁵¹ Fleming includes memories of war within his narrative as a means of inviting a contemporary readership, potentially one with their own memories of war, to identify with his characters and the political agenda of his novel. The actions and experiences of the individual are transposed against the wartime metanarrative of shared adversity particular to post-war Britain but placed in a contemporary context to illustrate how the war is still relevant long after its conclusion.

As well as overt references to the war, *Moonraker* displays a number of incidences of memory active, yet largely unnoticed, in the present day actions of characters. In the opening chapter of the novel, Bond returns to his office from the shooting range in the basement of the Secret Service building. Fleming describes how:

(T)he liftman could smell the cordite on him. They always smelled like that when they came up from the shooting gallery. He liked it. It reminded him of the Army. He pressed the button for the eighth (floor) and rested the stump of his left arm against the control handle.⁵²

The short, casual observance reveals how far the memory and physical trauma of war affected post-war society, even after a decade has passed. The liftman's thoughts are initially innocuous, implying a sense of belonging found in his military service. However, the liftman's personal experience is inferred through his disability as a site of traumatic injury. Fleming suggests that the Britain of 1955 is composed of a public that still bears the scars of war, figuratively and physically, but deem their sacrifice worthwhile. At other points throughout the Bond novels, memory functions less obtrusively, silently at work beneath the mannerisms, demeanour and actions of characters. In the same chapter, after arriving in his office, Bond speaks to his secretary, Loelia Ponsonby, noting that: 'She was tall and dark with a reserved, unbroken beauty to which the war and five years in the service had lent a touch of sternness'.⁵³ The past is again recognised as an active force which shapes

⁵¹ I. Fleming, *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 9, 259, 126 and 250 respectively.

⁵² Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 5.

⁵³ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 007.

contemporary personality; despite ten years of peace, Loelia Ponsonby remains marked, if not defined, by her wartime experiences.

Fleming's novels also assert that the recollection of, and preoccupation with, the war are not a uniquely British phenomenon. In the closing chapters of *Moonraker*, Hugo Drax decides to reveal at length his motivations and personal history to a captive Bond:

‘I joined the party and almost immediately we were at war. I was twenty-eight and a lieutenant in the 140th Panzer Regiment. And we ran through the British Army in France like a knife through butter. Intoxicating’. For a moment Drax puffed luxuriously at his cigar and Bond guessed he was seeing the burning villages of Belgium in the smoke.⁵⁴

Drax is revealed to directly derive his identity and the motivation for his actions from his participation in the war, in much the same way as Bond does. Fleming transposes the character-defining effect of his own war service onto characters throughout all of his novels; though often engaged in destruction, the wartime experiences of characters are that which make them. Similarly, in an era in which America and Russia were politically dominant, the Anglo-European focus of Bond and Drax's memories return Britain and the other ‘old-world’ nations to the forefront of post-war geopolitics. The events and outcome of the war define not only the surviving individual participants but also influence collective post-war culture and space; personal, individual participation in war is linked to the wider communal sense of identification with the past present in the post-war world. For Bond, this influence amounts to veneration of war memory and celebration of national or personal heroics, however, for Drax it provides the impetus to continue the conflict by other means.

The connecting factors that unite the disparate recollections of war in Fleming's novel is not only the sense of purpose awarded by war but also the willingness with which characters make sacrifices in pursuit of a common goal. At the climax of *Moonraker*, Bond's willingness to sacrifice himself for the good of the nation supports Fleming's

⁵⁴ Fleming, *Moonraker*, pp. 258-259.

identification with the wartime myth of nationhood and his assessment of its relevance in a post-war context. Just as the rocket is about to take off, Bond states 'I shall walk out of here and shut the doors and light a last cigarette under the tail of the Moonraker...it's me or a million people in London'.⁵⁵ Displaying the stiff upper lip valorised by the wartime generation, Bond gladly accepts his fate: ennoblement with a place in history.⁵⁶ In a novel already full of Battle of Britain imagery through its Kentish setting, Fleming casts Bond as one of the 'few' to whom so much is owed by so many; intimating that a similar selfless attitude is needed to combat the nation's current enemies. Fleming further implies the importance of the role of the individual within the wider tableaux of the war-effort, emphasising the collective association evoked by war memory. *Moonraker* invokes the wartime self-sacrifice of the individual and the personal determination Fleming sees as integral to British identity. Historian Angus Calder's *The Myth of the Blitz* (1991) was not the first revisionist history to suggest the idea that national solidarity during adversity was little more than a shrewd conceit of propaganda.⁵⁷ Calder suggests that the root of post-war British identity is to be found in the celebration of the hardships of 1940 and not in the victory of 1945; a portrait of 'British or English Moral pre-eminence, buttressed by British Unity'.⁵⁸

In channelling individual memory through the prism of collective experience to secure national identification, Fleming acknowledges another wartime precedent. Alan Sinfield argues that the hierarchical divisions of British society were, in essence, rebranded and spatially reoriented during the early years of the war. Sinfield quotes a speech Churchill gave in Bradford from December 1942 where he praised the people of Britain for 'all standing together, all helping each other...some at the front, some under the sea...some in the air, some in the coal mines, great numbers in the shops, some in the homes – all doing their bit'.⁵⁹ In an effort to smooth over the divisions inherent to the pre-war world as a means of achieving total mobilization, Churchill

⁵⁵ Fleming, *Moonraker*, pp. 275-276.

⁵⁶ Critics such as David Newsome and John Tosh have argued that the wartime 'stiff upper lip' was itself a product of the Public school system of the late nineteenth century. See J. Tosh. *A Man's Place: Masculinity & the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (Bury St. Edmunds: St. Edmundsbury Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ A. Calder. *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸ Calder, *Myth of the Blitz*, p. 2.

⁵⁹ A. Sinfield. *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 11

collectivised the nation in relation to their sense of social emplacement, invoking social unity through attachment to space. Fleming's novels pursue a similar process of collectivisation in which the individual is encouraged not only to identify with the recent past of the Second World War but also with wider evocations of British history and heritage in space.

Fleming sets a great deal of his domestic writing in Kent, making it the setting for two major novels of the Bond series, *Moonraker* (1955) and the later *Goldfinger* (1959), as well as including passing references to the county elsewhere throughout the series.⁶⁰ Equally, Bond's biography, outlined in a fictional obituary in *You Only Live Twice* (1964), emphasises his Scottish and Swiss heritage, however, it also reveals that he grew up in Kent.⁶¹ The inclusion of Kent is indicative of the county's position in the post-war spatial consciousness of Britain. As a consequence of its geographical relation to London, Kent was part of the wartime 'Bomb Alley', subject to arbitrary area bombing from Luftwaffe aircraft returning to their bases in northern France. Similarly, Canterbury was a target of the Baedeker raids; subjected to approximately 135 bombing raids, the city was damaged considerably and then redeveloped after the war.⁶² Fleming's decision to set his novels in Kent implies the contemporary importance of the county as well as its historical significance.⁶³

Fleming's decision to set the majority of his domestic writing in the county of Kent is further indicative of how he derived and reinforced ideas of national identity from the spatial and memorial consciousness of Britain within his fiction. Whilst in *Moonraker* Kent is largely redolent of war-myth, Fleming also imbues the county with much wider historical and metaphorical significance. Fleming's Kent illustrates the paradoxical relation between stasis and development in the post-war world; though the creation of post-war British identity would be influenced by factors such

⁶⁰ Fleming himself lived at St. Margarets Bay (bought from Noel Coward) in Dover from 1949 until his death (on the nearby St. George's golf course) in 1964. He is also reputed to have based Bond's codename, 007, on the bus route near his home. See A. Lycett. *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix Press, 2002), p. 442-443

⁶¹ I. Fleming. *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 200-201.

⁶² See N. Lambourne. *War Damage in Western Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments during The Second World War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), pp. 54-55.

⁶³ Fleming's use of Kent as a signifier of post-war nationhood is further analysed in Chapter Two. Also, due to the docks at Chatham and Tilbury, Kent had long been a place of retirement for former naval personnel. See D. Hughes. *Chatham Naval Dockyard and Barracks* (London: The History Press, 2004).

as urban redevelopment or increased social mobility as a result of improvements to standards of living, it would be determined alongside continual veneration of recent British history and an acknowledgement of a wider, more general memorial culture consolidated through space.⁶⁴

Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott argue that ‘Bond also functioned in this period as a site for the elaboration – or more accurately, re-elaboration – of a mythic conception of nationhood’; Fleming’s novels adopt a Janus-like position in that they look to the past in order to secure the future, combining existing myths with attempts to create their own.⁶⁵ In *Moonraker* Fleming accomplishes this re-elaboration of myth not only through the characterisation of Bond but through the historical and memorial spaces that Bond encounters. The principal action of the novel takes place in the historically-charged location of the ‘bloody White Cliffs’ of Dover, as Bond, almost single-handedly, strives to protect the nation from destruction at the hands of Drax and his men.⁶⁶ Fleming continually illustrates throughout the novel how Dover is a space influenced by both past and present:

It was a wonderful afternoon of blue and green and gold. When they left the concrete apron through the guard gate near the empty firing point, now connected by a thick cable with the launching site, they stopped for a moment on the edge of the great chalk cliff and stood gazing over the whole corner of England where Caesar had first landed two thousand years before.⁶⁷

The battle for Britain’s future, a place alongside America in the Cold War arms race, is set in a space of great historical resonance, placing history and heritage firmly within a contemporary setting. In Fleming’s England, the technological developments of the present and future are able to sit side-by-side with the legacy of the past. By referencing Caesar’s landing Fleming emphasises Bond’s connection to historical space and myth; continuity is implied between Bond’s contemporary defence of the

⁶⁴ See chapters three and four for further analysis of increased material wealth and urban redevelopment.

⁶⁵ T. Bennett & J. Woollacott, ‘The Moments of Bond’ from C. Lindner. *The James Bond Phenomenon – A critical reader* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 18.

⁶⁶ I. Fleming, *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 263.

⁶⁷ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 178.

borders of England and those throughout history, stretching back through events such as the Battle of Britain, the Invasion scare of 1940-41, the Hundred Years War, the Norman conquest and the Romans.⁶⁸ Regardless of the invader, the preservation of English territory is what matters; Fleming reinforces these references by mentioning ‘Walmer and Deal...Sandwich...North Foreland and...the Thames’, all either Cinque Ports or the site of battles during the Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ The idyllic depiction of Dover, in seemingly natural hues of green and blue and golden sunlight, is a deliberately mythologised production of Englishness. In the same way that Bond is an everyman figure that metonymically embodies the hopes and desires of post-war Britain, the space of Dover performs a similar function for English history and heritage. By placing Bond in Dover, Fleming gives him a leading role in a much larger island story; in defending his ‘corner of England’, Bond contributes to the preservation of the entire nation.⁷⁰

By setting the events of *Moonraker* in such a historically resonant space as the white cliffs, Fleming seeks to associate contemporary action with the perceived glory of the past through the seamless linking of memory and history. Pierre Nora argues that ‘memory and history, far from being synonymous, are...in many ways opposed’, suggesting a problematic relation between the two terms.⁷¹ Memory, according to Nora, is ‘living’, being embodied in a particular society and consequentially in a state of permanent development, changing with the passage of time. By comparison, history is an incomplete reconstruction of what has ceased to be; always relative, always a representation. Nora writes of history as analytical and detached, far removed from the emotive nature of memory. This view is contradicted by Samuel, who writes of history not as incomplete and deficient but as an active, constantly evolving force subject to revision and reinterpretation.⁷² Fleming’s employment of space acts as a necessary mediating factor between memory and history, reconciling the inherent tension between the ‘living’ state of memory and the incomplete and

⁶⁸ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 178.

⁶⁹ See J.R Jones. *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1996).

⁷⁰ In terms of the novel’s preoccupation with wartime myth, it seems no accident that Bond should be on the White Cliffs of Dover; the song of the same name, as recorded by Vera Lynn in 1942, was one of the war’s most popular and widely-known songs. See V. Lynn. *Some Sunny Day* (London: Harper Collins, 2009). Also Calder, *Myth of the Blitz*, pp. 11-12.

⁷¹ P. Nora, *Realms of Memory* (New York: Columbia, 1996), p. 3.

⁷² Samuel, *Theatres*, p. x.

relative reconstruction of history.⁷³ Setting Bond's contemporary mission in the historical space of Dover means that Fleming's novel joins the emotive power of wartime memory with a number of associated and varied historical occurrences; individual involvement in events is then linked with the larger historical narrative by access to memorial space as a means of fostering national identification.

Fleming's use of the White Cliffs of Dover is illustrative of how Kent, and other spaces like it, can function as an access point for the individual to engage with British myth through a combination of personal memory and awareness of history. The cliffs are depicted as a liminal space; not only on the fringes of land and sea or Britain and Europe but as a portal between the present and at any point in the nation's history.⁷⁴ The individual is able to imagine an equal kinship with their forebears through access to memorial space. Nora states that the process of memorialisation is not innocent and that by 'defining the relation to the past...shapes the future'.⁷⁵ In Fleming's novel, the setting of the White Cliffs mediates the national relationship to the past, emphasising the heroics of recent history as a means of legitimating current actions; Fleming engages the individual in the new fight by associating it with the spirit of the old. Fleming suggests, using Nora's words, that such historical spaces become 'compounded of life and death, of the temporal and the eternal'; the temporal, namely the war, becomes a contemporary guide for prosecuting the eternal, namely the continuance of the fight to defend England from its enemies.⁷⁶

Recalling Churchill's Bradford speech, Fleming flattens the hierarchical, vertical social structure of relations in *Moonraker* a decade and a half later when a similar sense of national solidarity was required to detract from material or political shortcomings. There are a number of spaces throughout *Moonraker* which illustrate Bond's connection to the nation and his identification with its values in spatial and historical ways. Samuel writes that heritage appears to offer 'more points of access to ordinary people and a wider form of belonging' but remains a way of using

⁷³ Nora, *Realms*, p. 3.

⁷⁴ The name 'Kent' derives from the ancient British for border, 'cantus', further emphasising its liminal qualities. See J. Glover. *The Place Names of Kent* (London: Batsford, 1976).

⁷⁵ Nora. *Realms*, p. 11.

⁷⁶ Nora, *Realms*, p. 15.

knowledge in the service of power.⁷⁷ Similarly, beyond the exclusive spaces of the secret services offices and the Moonraker's guarded launch-pad, Bond accesses a variety of spaces representative of all Britons of any class or standing; in the course of the novel Bond visits his office in Regent's Park, Scotland Yard, the rural space of Kent, a country pub, the city of London and motorways and service stations in-between. By placing Bond in these spaces and configuring the spy as an 'everyman' figure, Fleming suggests that the responsibility to defend Britain is transcendent of existing social divisions; by 'all doing their bit', as Bond does, the people of Britain could find the collective fortitude necessary to overcome the struggles of the post-war world. A place in British history, no matter how small, is available to all provided the individual identifies with and pursues the values of that history.⁷⁸

Fleming's novel illustrates how history, like memory, can be revisited and revised, emphasising some elements and excluding others in order to create deliberate effects in the present. With Bond's eventual triumph over Drax and his men, Britain not only replays but re-wins the Second World War all over again. Fleming validates the myth that the British had fought a 'just' war; that an evil of truly monstrous proportions, personified in typical Fleming fashion by Drax's physical deformity and psychological theatrics, had been rightly confronted. In so doing, he reduces the moral complexities of the Cold War into a historically supported demarcation of right and wrong, furthering the profoundly imperial view that Britain's was an empire of just causes, an essential ingredient of its myth-making composition.⁷⁹ In a final gesture on Fleming's part, it is telling that Drax, the diehard Nazi, 'evolves' into an agent of Russia; it demonstrates how the origin of the threat may have changed but the prescribed remedy remains the same.

Aside from *Moonraker*, war-myth and war-memory appear throughout many of Fleming's novels. *Goldfinger*, published after the major political events of the late 1950s such as the Suez Crisis, is another of Fleming's novels which explore

⁷⁷ Samuel, *Theatres*, p. 160.

⁷⁸ When Blades reappears almost a decade later, Fleming describes this bastion of English tradition as in a state of disarray noting that 'there was painting to be done and there was dry-rot in the roof'. I. Fleming, *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 12.

⁷⁹ See P. Clarke. *The Last Thousand Days of the British Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

conceptions of nationhood in relation to the international standing of Britain.⁸⁰ However, *Goldfinger* also acts as a coda to Fleming's earlier evocations of history and myth in Kent. In the chapter 'Thoughts in a DBIII', Bond drives through Kent on the way to Goldfinger's mansion musing on the history of the county and on his own connection to Kent during the *Moonraker* mission. His journey also takes him past the now American-operated airbase at Manston. Fleming's inclusion of the airbase suggests a sense of hollowness to Fleming's mythologizing of the Second World War.

Fleming's repeated acknowledgement of Manston airfield is an integral part in his evocation of post-war myth. Manston is explicitly mentioned in Calder's *Myth of the Blitz*, in which he reports its 'twelve day martyrdom' during the Battle of Britain and its role as scenery to 'the finest and most abject in human nature'.⁸¹ Again, like *Moonraker*, Fleming ensures that Bond is present in the spaces that define and produce post-war British myth. As before, Fleming associates Bond with the staunch defence of the British Isles; Bond's lone presence is Fleming's way of again identifying him as one of the 'Few' of wartime Manston. However, despite Fleming's acknowledgement of the myth of Manston, here he serves only to illustrate the degraded position of British power since his earlier novel. In the same way that the intrusion of the American jets into the narrative in this fashion is at odds with Fleming's emphasis on pastoral, rural Britain throughout this chapter, they also undermine his inclusion of the wartime myths of Britain. The implication of Fleming's depiction of American servicemen in England is that in a Cold War setting the 'Martyrs of Manston' would no longer be British. The war myth of Britain 'standing alone', untenable in the Cold War, is superseded by the reality of Britain standing behind America; the equally much-mythologised 'Special Relationship' in action.⁸²

⁸⁰ See S. Lucas. *Britain & Suez: The Lion's Last Roar* (Manchester: University Press, 1996).

⁸¹ Calder, *Myth of the Blitz*, p. 103.

⁸² The phrase 'Special Relationship' was used originally by Winston Churchill in a 1945 speech but popularised in his 'Sinews of Peace' address at Fulton, Missouri in 1946. See J. W. Muller. *Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' Speech Fifty Years Later* (Missouri: University Press, 1999). Shared war service is also the means by which Leiter and Bond first develop their friendship; in *Casino Royale* (1953) Leiter states: 'I was regular in our Marine Corps before I joined this if that means anything to you'. He looked at Bond with a hint of self-deprecation. 'It does' said Bond'. I Fleming. *Casino Royale* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 55.

The American presence in Kent ensures the destruction of the wartime myth of 'standing alone' but helps preserve other, more contemporaneously relevant myths instead. The sudden American defence presence in Britain illustrated in *Goldfinger* reveals the influence of textual and contextual circumstances on Fleming's narrative.⁸³ After *Moonraker*, in which Britain attempts to develop an independent nuclear deterrent and fails, and after the unsuccessful real-life trials of Britain's first hydrogen bomb in 1958 as well as the geopolitical animosity after the Suez Crisis, refreshing the wartime relationship with America appeared a matter of necessity.⁸⁴ Fleming makes the advantages of American support plain to see; Bond's mission in *Goldfinger* is only successful because of American intervention at the novel's close; Britain, represented by Bond, is rescued from near certain destruction by the timely intervention of American military power and victory is snatched from the jaws of defeat. Both Bond and Britain can claim victory, sustaining myth by finding themselves, once again, on the winning side.

3. 'This Haunted Forest of Memory': John le Carré, Memorial Culture and Space.⁸⁵

Whilst it is easy to criticise the preoccupation with war memory and the widespread emphasis on myth in Fleming's novels, such a retrogressive outlook was as much a product of contextual influence as it was the design of its author. Contemporary celebrations of nationhood such as the Festival of Britain in 1951 and the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953 greatly contributed to the popular appreciation of both the recent and distant past of British history.⁸⁶ These various influences meant that Fleming's novels, similarly celebratory of former British glories, not only found a readily appreciative audience as the 1950s progressed but also helped produce one in turn.⁸⁷ Le Carré, born in 1930, experienced the rapid decline of empire during his early adulthood which would shape the political outlook of his novels. The world in

⁸³ Until this point in Fleming's series, Anglo-American interactions had been largely conducted either in Europe, the United States or the Caribbean, not in Britain.

⁸⁴ Hennessy. *Having it So Good*, pp. 136-137.

⁸⁵ Fleming, *You Only Live Twice*, p. 92.

⁸⁶ D. Kynaston. *Family Britain: 1951-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), pp. 1-16, 290-309.

⁸⁷ M. Denning. *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 92-93

which le Carré sets his espionage fiction is, like Fleming's and like Greene's, concerned with the remembrance of wartime experiences, however, le Carré seeks to react against the past as well as illustrate its influence on the present.⁸⁸

Wartime experience in le Carré's novels is often the way in which characters are defined and perceived by others. Le Carré's recurring character, George Smiley, is one such figure. Originally characterised to act as antithesis to Fleming's Bond, Smiley has become a similarly defining archetype of le Carré's espionage fiction.⁸⁹ Smiley is described as leaving Oxford with the intention of devoting his life to 'the literary obscurities of seventeenth-century Germany', however, he is inducted somewhat unwittingly into the Circus and posted to Germany in the mid-1930s.⁹⁰ Smiley's clandestine war is conducted undercover as the accredited agent of a Swiss small-arms manufacturer, in Germany, Sweden and Switzerland before returning to England and administrative duties late in the war.

Smiley's wartime experience, though punctuated by the occasional and temporary terrors of bombing, is characterised instead by the continual tension of prolonged conflict: 'He had never guessed it was possible to be frightened for so long. He developed a nervous irritation in his left eye which remained with him fifteen years later...he learned what it was never to sleep, never to relax'.⁹¹ The strains of wartime continue to affect Smiley in the years after its conclusion, shaping the way in which he conducts himself in his post-war espionage. Smiley's memories are seen as the reason for his caution and taciturn manner, earning him the respect of others. In le Carré's second novel, *A Murder of Quality* (1962), it is well known and stated with a note of admiration that Smiley '(H)ad a very nasty war. Very nasty indeed'.⁹² Once again, le Carré emphasises how war service can linger long into the post-war period, defining the identity of the individual and acting as a measure by which their character is judged.

⁸⁸ J. Atkins, *The British Spy Novel* (London: John Calder, 1984), pp. 170-171.

⁸⁹ See chapter three for a close comparison of both characters. Also, Atkins and Denning discuss differences and similarities between Bond and Smiley in *The British Spy Novel and Cover Stories*.

⁹⁰ J. le Carré, *Call for the Dead* (London: Penguin, 1964), p. 8.

⁹¹ Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, p. 11.

⁹² J. le Carré, *A Murder of Quality* (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 32.

Smiley's character and history are representative of le Carré's fiction; his novels illustrate a backward-looking post-war Britain in which the past is always present, both in a general national perspective and in the operational methods of its secret service. In *A Small Town In Germany* (1968) a British diplomat explains how it is 'much kinder to look *back*', revealing that awareness of how Britain's best days have passed is as strong in government as it is amongst the public.⁹³ However, it is in *The Looking Glass War* (1965) that le Carré directly engages with the issue of war memory and the preservation of wartime attitudes. A novel about inter-service rivalry that results in the staging of an ill-planned and ill-executed commando operation behind the East German border, *The Looking Glass War* concerns an unnamed branch of the secret service, known as the Department, which has not had a success since the end of the war.⁹⁴ Le Carré's characterisation of the Department clearly resembles the small, seemingly ad-hoc intelligence organisations prevalent during the Second World War, and of exactly the kind that Fleming worked for.⁹⁵

In *The Looking Glass War*, le Carré takes the moral values of Fleming's wartime world and applies the satiric and subversive approach of Greene, constituting a thematic and stylistic conjunction between the three authors.⁹⁶ The representation of remembrance and, in particular, the influence of war memory is informed by the stylistic differences that define each author's fiction. Of the three authors, Greene's fiction is typically the most stylistically variable and he uses a variety of forms and techniques in each period of his career; conversely, Fleming's writing style largely retained the same formula throughout.⁹⁷ Despite using a variety of form, the principles behind Greene's writing remained consistent. In a letter to Elizabeth Bowen of October 1948, Greene wrote that 'I fear there are at least two special duties the

⁹³ J. le Carré. *A Small Town in Germany* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 109.

⁹⁴ The department is never named but is most likely MI14, responsible during the war for German operations. Le Carré claims it is a combination of various experiences he had whilst working in the intelligence services. See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

⁹⁵ There were a variety of MI departments operating during the Second World War, from those that supported escapes from occupied territory (MI9) to those responsible for tracking illicit wireless transmissions (MI8). See M. R. D. Foot. *MI9: Escape and Evasion, 1939-1945* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2011) and G. Pidgeon. *The Secret Wireless War* (London: Arundel Books, 2003).

⁹⁶ Jon Thompson's *Fiction, Crime & Empire* (Illinois: University Press, 1993) in which he argues that le Carré's fiction is a direct descendent of Greene's is discussed in chapters three and six.

⁹⁷ Umberto Eco's structuralist analysis of Fleming's novels is considered in the literature review of this thesis. Fleming did occasionally employ different writing techniques: *From Russia, With Love* attempts to vary the form by beginning with an extended prologue and not introducing Bond until page 96. Also, *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1962) is the only Bond novel told in first-person narrative and by a female character.

novelist owes – to tell the truth as he sees it and accept no special privileges from the state'.⁹⁸ The black comedy and farce of *Our Man in Havana* with its comic German cavalymen and clandestine comedy of errors written a decade later not only satirises Fleming's spy novels and the effect of his writing on the form of the post-war espionage novel but also represents Greene's attempts to 'tell the truth' about a conflict riddled with illogical actions and improbable events. Developing this approach further, le Carré's fiction goes somewhat towards amalgamating Greene's two duties, resolving to present a true portrait of the State itself; one characterised by poor decisions and an attempt to discover a sense of purpose seemingly now lost.

With regards to the subject of war memory, the key difference in approach between the three authors is that where Fleming largely positions war memory and experience as empowering and energising and where Greene does so as typically negative, le Carré presents a more qualified and ambiguous portrait. In *The Looking Glass War*, the Department authorises a mission on slender intelligence in an effort to prove their worth, effectively sending a reactivated wartime agent to his death in East Germany through reliance on obsolete methods and equipment. Now supernumerary in light of the expansion of both MI5 and MI6, the staging of their operation temporarily reinvigorates the Department; however, its methods and existence are shown to be rooted firmly, and disastrously, in the past.

As a result, le Carré's fiction, like that of Greene and Fleming, suggests that the remembrance of the war can have both positive and negative effects in the present. Le Carré uses the social preoccupation with the war to illustrate how over-emphasising the actions of the past can obscure the shortcomings of the present. Comparison of *Moonraker* and *The Looking Glass War*, published ten and twenty years after the end of the war respectively, illustrates how the popular perception and effects of war veneration had altered across two decades. In *Moonraker* Bond's willingness to sacrifice himself in order to accomplish his mission confers on him an association with past heroism; agent Leiser's similar act of sacrifice in *The Looking Glass War* is presented as a futile and unnecessary gesture. Whilst Fleming's spy draws inspiration from the war that enables him to continue defending Queen and country, le Carré's

⁹⁸ R. Greene (ed). *Graham Greene: A Life in Letters* (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2007), p. 150.

characters are inhibited by their reliance on their former importance and purpose, to the point where their service is politically outmanoeuvred and ‘rolled up’ at the novel’s end.

Le Carré illustrates the preservation of war memory and war methods through the actions and characterisation of Leclerc, the head of the Department. Prior to his role in the secret service, Leclerc is revealed to have been either an RAF group-captain or senior staff officer, as the photographs which adorn his office suggest: ‘[he] was suddenly aware of the pictures round the room, of the boys who had fought in the war. They hung in two rows of six...one face was common to every picture...he was smaller than the rest, older’.⁹⁹ Leclerc’s position, demeanour and actions are entirely dictated by his wartime service; as the photographs suggest, he is obsessed with the men lost during his wartime command, particularly one pilot named Malherbe. Leclerc’s guilt over the loss of Malherbe is an open secret within the Department; ‘Don’t mention that name to the Boss. He was very cut up about young Malherbe’.¹⁰⁰ The combination of war memorabilia and Leclerc’s personal guilt create in him a responsibility to remember; he is the only one left to preserve the memory of those that died under his command.¹⁰¹ Cathy Caruth has argued that ‘this singular possession by the past...extends beyond the bounds of a marginal pathology and has become a central characteristic of the survivor experience of our time’.¹⁰² Leclerc’s obsession with the wartime past is not just about remembering those who died but also the guilt he feels for having lived.

Le Carré uses the character of Leclerc to criticise the broader imperative towards remembrance he perceives in post-war British culture; Leclerc’s personal recollections are placed in context against the wider social and political impact of deeply ingrained war-memory and are used to illustrate how personal recollection

⁹⁹ J. le Carré. *The Looking Glass War* (London: Pan, 1977), p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ Le Carré, *The Looking Glass War*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ Traumatic memories of war are acknowledged by both le Carré and Fleming. In le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, Alec Leamas is traumatised by his wartime experiences long after the actual event: ‘He had a vision...the bodies of the children, torn, like the murdered refugees on the road across the dunes’; J. le Carré *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (London: Pan, 1976), p. 114. Similarly, Bond recalls his killing of a Norwegian double-agent in Stockholm: ‘I chose the bedroom of his flat and a knife. And, well, he just didn’t die very quickly’; I. Fleming. *Casino Royale* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 159.

¹⁰² C. Caruth. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 151.

contributes to the creation of a backwards-looking, ultimately dangerous British world-view.¹⁰³ Le Carré's criticism of the British preoccupation with war memory is that remembrance is pursued to the point of imbalance and even irrelevance in a contemporary context. For example, Leclerc's overriding memory of the war is of the sacrifice necessary in pursuit of victory; sacrifice in material and moral terms. His operational conduct in the Cold War era is a continuation of this wartime ethos: 'You get instructions: find a man, put him in. So we did. And many didn't come back'.¹⁰⁴ In *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004), Paul Ricoeur suggests that '[A] memory with no gaps would be an unbearable burden'; in le Carré's novel, Leclerc's continual remembrance and his desire to honour the dead means not only that he carries a constant emotional burden but that he perceives an obligation to validate wartime sacrifice through his present actions.¹⁰⁵

Le Carré illustrates how the expectation to live up to Britain's past leads to unsound judgments in the present; Leclerc's wartime nostalgia is presented far more critically as a result of his enthusiasm for sending Leiser to his certain capture. Moreover, le Carré questions the continued and unswerving willingness to sacrifice lives in the pursuit of duty; in the morally ambiguous post-war landscape le Carré criticises the continued attempts to invoke the absolute values of the war against Nazism as a means of fighting Communism.¹⁰⁶ Further, of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, it is le Carré who most critically appraises the society born of the war; *The Looking Glass War* becomes an allegorical and cautionary tale intended to call attention to the dangers of contemporary British governmental thinking, drawing focus on the possible consequences of always looking back. Similarly, having renounced his own part in its defence in order to devote himself to writing, le Carré engages with the shortcomings of post-war Britain wherever possible, in terms of the slow decline of Britain as a global power.¹⁰⁷ The crux of le Carré's novels is not only to question if invoking the war as a means of justifying contemporary action is acceptable or even,

¹⁰³ The shifting world position of Britain is discussed at length in chapters two and six.

¹⁰⁴ Le Carré, *Looking Glass War*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ P. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Le Carré consistently draws close comparisons between the men, methods and ideologies of East and West; see chapter four for further analysis of this subject.

¹⁰⁷ See chapters three and four for further analysis of le Carré's criticism of British post-war society. Also, Myron J. Aronoff's *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999) provides further contextual detail on le Carré's writing career.

without the obvious moral vacuum of Nazism, justifiable in its own right but rather whether the war itself achieved anything positive at all.

Doubts such as those expressed by le Carré were not widely voiced until the 1970s, when it had become clear that much of the proposed post-war reform had failed to materialise or had been made manifest in ways markedly different to those originally intended.¹⁰⁸ For much of the 1940s and 50s, the prestige conferred by Britain's status as one of the 'Big Three' of the wartime alliance acted as a sop to national pride as the nation's territorial and political influence waned; as later discussed in chapter two, le Carré explores the difficulties caused by this belief in *A Small Town In Germany*. Although perhaps cold comfort when assessed from a modern perspective, the sense of belonging associated with war service exerted considerable unifying influence on the British popular consciousness in the immediate post-war period and one that compensated for a range of material shortcomings.¹⁰⁹ Personal remembrances of the conflict, widespread as a result of the necessities of 'total war', helped define and develop the post-war social consensus, contributing to the creation of contemporary myth and informing individual national identification.¹¹⁰

Le Carré's novels, like Fleming's, link the social ubiquity of war memory to space. Rarely as overtly nationalistic as Fleming or as disparate as Greene in his choice of locations, le Carré nonetheless illustrates the power of space as a means of evoking individual identification with the past. In *The Looking Glass War* the Department chooses to conduct Leiser's training in Oxford 'as they had done in the war'.¹¹¹ Oxford is ostensibly chosen for operational reasons such as its proximity to open country, however, more telling is that Oxford is 'a place they could understand'.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Historians and cultural critics such as Jerry White, Alan Sinfield and Angus Calder all criticise the gap between wartime planning and post-war fruition; see chapters two, three and four for more detailed analysis. Similarly, scholarship of the 1960s was largely uncritical of the accepted version of Britain's wartime conduct; Angus Calder's *The People's War* (1969) continued to reinforce the tropes of unity and shared adversity.

¹⁰⁹ Hennessy, *Having it So Good*, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ See R. Toye, & J. Gotlieb. (Eds). *Making Reputations: Power, Persuasion and the Individual in Modern British Politics* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005). Toye argues that the first common usage of the term 'consensus' dates from a *Times* article entitled 'Nation and Party'; *The Times*, Monday, May 25, 1942; pg. 5; Issue 49244; col B.

¹¹¹ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 118.

¹¹² Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 118. Le Carré, like Fleming and Kent, had a personal connection to Oxford; he was ordered to spy on left-wing students there whilst studying Modern Languages at Lincoln College in the 1950s. See A. Anthony. 'John le Carré: A Man of Great intelligence', *The*

With the same emphasis on replaying the past as in Fleming's *Moonraker*, the members of the Department return to the site of their wartime experience, rendered familiar through memory, seeking to associate contemporary action with the values of the past through their enactment in space.¹¹³ As Department agent Avery visits the house he shared with his wife whilst a student in Oxford '[H]e sought desperately, wanting to find the motive of youth', seeking contemporary guidance from the spaces of the past.¹¹⁴ Leiser's training in Oxford is conducted precisely to wartime specifications, using equipment, techniques and instructors drawn directly from the war. Again, the moral and operational complexities of the Cold War are placed in the spatial context of the past; British agents, marginalised by the post-war decline of their nation, are able to act as though their contemporary actions not only bear direct relation to those from British history but, through repetition, celebrate it also. Oxford, familiar and knowable because of its place in each of the character's personal histories, becomes a space in which to recall, indulge and replay memories of the war.

In addition to the place it occupies in *The Looking Glass War*, Oxford and indeed the world of public school education, takes on a much greater significance due to its widespread appearances throughout le Carré's fiction. Oxford recurs in a number of le Carré's novels, becoming much more than a site of wartime action and instead signifying a range of values relevant to characters and the social world they inhabit. Oxford for le Carré acts as a similar form of nationalistic shorthand as Kent does for Fleming, representative of a space that connects the contemporary endeavour of the individual with the unspecified yet still evocative glory of British history, however, with a crucial difference; whereas Kent is reconfigured as communal and accessible by all, Oxford represents the privilege of the governing elite, reinforcing links between the spy and the preservation of British power. The identification of the spy with the order and security of Oxford is emphasised from the first of le Carré's novels. In *Call for the Dead*, le Carré reveals that Smiley witnessed book-burnings and the growing Fascist movement in pre-war Germany whilst undercover: 'Smiley was a sentimental man and the long exile strengthened his deep love of England. He

Guardian, 1st November 2009. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/2009/nov/01/profile-john-le-carre>. Accessed 1/2/12.

¹¹³ Samuel calls attention to the 'comforting "'Brideshead-effect"' of...the timeless Oxford backdrop' in his chapter on heritage. See Samuel, *Theatres*, p. 260.

¹¹⁴ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 151.

fed hungrily on memories of Oxford; its beauty, its rational ease and the mature slowness of its judgements'.¹¹⁵ The contrast between the lawlessness and moral corruption of contemporary Germany and the orderly, measured state of England is accomplished via the space of Oxford. In both the world gone mad of Nazi Germany and the illogic of the Cold War, the 'rational' nature of Oxford and the essentially unchanging landscape of England that surrounds it provides Smiley with the moral guidance necessary to continue spying. Le Carré links the intelligence evoked by the mention of Oxford with those of the spy's efforts to outwit their enemies, suggesting that intelligent men are capable of making poor intelligence decisions.

Oxford is also the space within le Carré's novels where personal recollections of war memory and history and heritage combine. Again in *Call for the Dead*, Smiley muses on a gift given to him by Control, a painting by the Dresden Group. Dresden itself is the trigger for a range of memories within Smiley:

Dresden: of all German cities, Smiley's favourite. He had loved its architecture, its odd jumble of medieval and classical buildings, sometimes reminiscent of Oxford, its cupolas, towers and spires, its copper-green roofs shimmering under a hot sun.¹¹⁶

Dresden, like Oxford, bears memorial significance within the plot of the novel as the site of Smiley's personal war work as well as the birthplace and residence of his former agent turned East German spy, but the city also possesses a distinct historical resonance. The Allied saturation bombing and near total destruction of Dresden in February 1945 divided opinion immediately after the war and has continued to come under critical and historical scrutiny in the decades that followed.¹¹⁷ In the novel, le Carré evokes a parallel between individual guilt in memory, Smiley's loss of Dieter Frey to the Soviets, and collective historical guilt in relation to the destruction of an entire city; actions at odds with the values that Oxford and England convey. Le Carré questions the 'simple philosophy' that Smiley and his organisation indulge; one of looking back to a past in which their position was certain and secure, with distinct

¹¹⁵ Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, p. 10.

¹¹⁶ Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, p. 120.

¹¹⁷ See F. Taylor. *Dresden: 13th February 1945* (London: Perennial, 2005) or A.C Grayling, *Among the Dead Cities* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).

values signified by space. Rather than the architectural confusion alluded to in his memory, Dresden and Oxford are now characterised by the ‘odd jumble’ of values and morals they signify; the beauty of Dresden that Smiley remembers, as well as the network that he once operated, is obliterated by British actions.¹¹⁸

The repeated inclusion of Oxford throughout le Carré’s fiction is indicative of the importance the author places on the personal connection of the individual to the wider sense of historical belonging. Despite le Carré’s criticism of the British tendency towards the veneration of war-memory, his novels similarly validate the ubiquity of post-war memorial culture; though of a different kind to Fleming’s looking back, le Carré’s novels are, in many places, as equally celebratory of the pre-war world. Attendance of Oxford is an experience common to most of le Carré’s spies; consequently, the values of the establishment, typically communicated via memories of the space of Oxford, are those which instruct the contemporary conduct of le Carré’s characters. Steven Marcus argues that le Carré’s intelligence services are the embodiment of the traditional English class system struggling to remain relevant in the post-war world as social mobility encroached upon the power of Britain’s governing elites.¹¹⁹ Similarly, le Carré evokes the imagery of Evelyn Waugh’s *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), in which past recollections of Oxford take on new meaning as characters recall them years later in very different circumstances.¹²⁰ The actions of Smiley and many other characters throughout le Carré’s novels are, ironically, part of an effort to preserve values just as exclusive as Fleming’s.

Whilst le Carré is evidently dismissive of the post-war tendency towards emphasis on war memory, the Circus and other affiliated organisations work to maintain the existence of a hierarchy just as irrelevant in the contemporary political climate as over-reliance on the glory of the past. This support is at odds with le Carré’s more typical position; one critical of the government his fictional spies uphold. Whilst Smiley and the other Circus agents act fundamentally to protect the interests of the nation, le Carré repeatedly criticises the shortcomings, both practical and ideological,

¹¹⁸ Le Carré, *Call for the Dead*, p. 120.

¹¹⁹ Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John le Carré*, p. 143.

¹²⁰ Waugh writes of similar cupolas and quadrangles in *Brideshead Revisited*, remarking that ‘the bells rang out clear over her gables and cupolas, exhaled the soft vapours of a thousand years of learning’. E. Waugh. *Brideshead Revisited* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1949), p. 15.

of the British intelligence services. Additionally, such support calls into question the assessment of le Carré's as that of an 'anti-Bond' author, subverting the more egregious stereotypes of the genre and presenting a more socially realistic portrait of post-war spying.¹²¹ By upholding the exclusive values of the Oxbridge-educated 'establishment' Britain, le Carré's fiction is far more comparable to that of Fleming and other traditional spy fiction authors; though in his fictional biography he attended Eton and Fettes, Bond chose not to attend a university because of a wish to fight in the war.¹²² Similarly, in addition to their attendance of Oxford all of le Carré's spies are invariably members of a gentleman's club of some kind; again affirming their connection with the establishment, its class distinctions and its historical traditions.¹²³ Far from the polar opposite of Fleming's writing le Carré's novels also illustrate the way in which in an era of declining national prestige individual connection to the past is preserved through space.

Conclusion.

The emphasis on memory and myth in post-war Britain was, in hindsight, an inevitable consequence of total mobilization and near-universal communal experience in war service. Even after the 1970s, when developments in historiography subjected the wartime role of Britain to new scrutiny, exposing and reinterpreting some of its uglier secrets such as Dresden and Singapore, cultural and artistic evocations of the Second World War remained as popular as ever.¹²⁴ The novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré were all influenced by the cultural preoccupation with the war and sought to engage with it in a variety of ways. However, despite their differences, each

¹²¹ B. F. Woods. *Neutral Ground: A Political History of Espionage Fiction* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2008), p. 1.

¹²² Fleming, *You Only Live Twice*, p. 201.

¹²³ Bond, on the other hand, is not a member of a gentleman's club and only visits Blades, M's club, as a guest as stated above. Fleming modelled Blades on his own club, Boodle's. See Amis, *James Bond Dossier*, p. 107. Also, see Chapter Three for further analysis of gentlemen's clubs in spy fiction.

¹²⁴ Popular interest in the Second World War was sustained by a range of media throughout the 1970s and beyond; for example, films such as *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970) through to *A Bridge Too Far* (1977), the *Commando* series of comics (still in print) and novels by high, middle and lowbrow authors including J. G. Ballard (*Empire of the Sun*, 1984), J. G. Farrell (*The Singapore Grip*, 1978) and Frederick Forsyth (*The Odessa File*, 1972) respectively. The Second World War experienced a revival after Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), the latter produced in the wake of the 50th anniversary of the Normandy Landings; since then, a raft of media has led to the coining of the term 'the Greatest Generation' by author Tom Brokaw to describe participants of the Second World War. See T. Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (London: Pimlico, 2002).

novelist illustrates how the connection between individual memory and historical values of nationhood is accomplished via the production or perceived signification of space. For Bond, space acts as a portal through which either his particular experience or contemporary actions are connected to those of universal historical narrative. Greene and le Carré place the historical values of the past in contemporary space in order to illustrate the danger inherent to their preservation. Espionage fiction depicts a two-way process by which the past and present combine in the post-war period. By connecting memory and history through space, spies are induced to continue spying; their actions, though performed in an uncertain moral climate, are legitimated through association with the historic defence of the nation.

Greene, Fleming and le Carré's employment of the wartime myth of national unity in their novels reflected the general post-war zeitgeist. Greene's novels of the immediate post-war period recognise the growing British tendency towards emphasis on the nation's wartime role; both *Heart of the Matter* and *The Third Man* recognise the appeal of the past but suggest a danger in such complacency. For Fleming, writing a few years later, the social cohesion promised by accentuating the often very real bonds of war was to be the means by which Britain would overcome the challenges of the post-war political climate.¹²⁵ Fleming's repeated acknowledgement of Britain's wartime role was a reflection of the immense cultural value post-war society placed on participation in the Second World War; by the time Fleming had achieved popular success in the late 1950s, Britain's wartime record had been moulded into a saga of defiance, stoicism and ultimate moral victory.¹²⁶ However, le Carré would illustrate how such over-reliance on myth as a form of compensatory fantasy was more dangerous in the long term than anticipated; like the misguided actions of the security services in his novels, replaying their war experiences two decades later, the real-life expenditure of scarce resources in maintaining the myth of a territorial Empire would prove, in the long run, more damaging than empowering.

¹²⁵ Peter Hennessy describes the unity of men 'who had common membership of that tiny proportion of the human race who learnt to fly an aeroplane before driving a car'. *Having it So Good*, p. 6.

¹²⁶ Official historiography of the war would largely go unchallenged until the late 1960s; since the so-called 'cultural turn' much more critical academic works such as Corelli Barnett's *The Audit of War: The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (1986), David Edgerton's *Warfare State: Britain 1920-1970* (2005) and *Britain's War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War* (2011) have questioned Britain's war record.

Chapter Two – Lines in the Sand: Space, Identity and Sovereign Power in the Post-war Nation.

In this chapter I examine the conceptualisation of post-war British identity in relation to the exercise of control over spatial borders and interiors throughout spy fiction, analysing how sovereign power attempts to affix a sense of stability to spaces continually in flux. This chapter builds on analysis conducted in the preceding chapter to examine how the spatial and sovereign concerns of the Second World War also influenced changing representations of the home isles as well as areas of central Europe in British possession after the war. Through close attention to Graham Greene's *The Third Man* (1949), Ian Fleming's *Goldfinger* (1959) and John le Carré's *A Small Town In Germany* (1968) I will argue that British attempts to establish a sense of fixed identity and preserve control over space are revealed as impossible tasks; the efforts of British power to reassert dominance through the application of force leads ultimately to the detriment of its position.

Introduction and context: The Divided States of Europe.

Espionage fiction and the figure of the spy are readily associated with the defence of sovereign territory and preserving the integrity of spatial borders and boundaries. These concerns would come to be the defining characteristics of the British presence in Europe in the years immediately post-war and throughout the Cold War, as the nation sought to play the role of imperial superpower long after it was politically or financially viable it to do so; a desire made visibly manifest in contemporary spy fiction.¹ However, before approaching the fictional representations of post-war geopolitics, it is necessary to establish the circumstances which gave rise to their production. The post-war administration of Germany and Austria, the core of the Third Reich since the Anschluss of 1938, was formally determined by Britain, the

¹ E. Ingram. *The British Empire as a World Power* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), p. 35. A far more pejorative view is expressed by Correlli Barnett in *The Lost Victory: British Dreams, British Realities 1945-50* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 55.

Soviet Union and the United States at the Potsdam conference of July-August 1945, confirming tentative proposals made at Yalta earlier that same year.² The crucial decision made at Potsdam was that there would be no central German government, yet a form of recognised governmental body would exist in Austria. On the basis of the Moscow Declaration of 1943, it was decided that Austria would not be regarded as a key belligerent and would hold the status of a “liberated” territory; duly transforming the moral issue of the nation’s recent past into a legal one.³ The provisional Austrian government was formed in an ad hoc fashion in April 1945, and would be comprised of a variety of Social Democrats, Conservatives and Communists under the leadership of former Austrian Chancellor Karl Renner.⁴ Fittingly, both of these decisions, made in the circumstance of conflict characterised by the conjunction of space and sovereignty, effectively set the tone of the Cold War for many years to follow. The power sharing agreement implemented in Austria and Germany, under the control of their respective Allied Control Commission or Council, juxtaposed the competing sovereignties of three fundamentally different interpretations of governance, bringing their natural conflicting differences into immediate contact with one another. In many ways, the decisions made at Potsdam represent an appropriate coda to the Second World War, preserving its spatial and sovereign character and forming a bridge to the next phase of conflict; instead of liberating Europe, the occupying powers divided it instead.

The British, American and French military delegations arrived in their respective sovereign zones between the end of April and late May 1945, whilst the official four power rule came in effect on 1st September that year.⁵ The military nature of de facto rule in Austria and Germany over the summer of 1945 similarly created a competitive, and suspicious, atmosphere in which all future relations between the powers were conducted. The initial arbitrary divisions marked by notice boards, common to both

² N. Davies, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico Press, 1997), p. 1061.

³ E. Weinzierl, ‘The Origins of the Second Republic: A Retrospective View’ taken from K.R Luther & P. Pulzer (Eds.), *Austria 1945-95: Fifty Years of the Second Republic* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), pp. 4-5.

⁴ Weinzierl, ‘The Origins of the Second Republic: A Retrospective View’, pp. 10-12. The status of the Austrian government, formed quickly and under Soviet supervision, was regarded with a degree of suspicion by the Western Allies, who expected the Soviets to renege on promises made at earlier conferences. However, the agreed arrangements for the four powers to share control of Austria were honoured by all parties.

⁵ Weinzierl, ‘The Origins of the Second Republic: A Retrospective View’, pp. 20-21.

occupied Vienna and Berlin, would later develop into strict zonal divisions more commonly associated with popular memory of the Cold War. However, by the time the Berlin Wall was erected in 1962, Austria had been granted free, independent sovereignty for seven years, with the four-power agreement dissolved by the Austrian State Treaty in 1955. Unlike Allied and Soviet presence in Berlin, the decade-long occupation of Vienna can be understood as a spatial system in which seemingly open travel is permitted between controlling authorities but one in which a subterranean current of force and power is continually formed, implemented and reconfigured. Though open in appearance, space is regulated by subjectively arbitrated divisions implemented in opposition to one another and reinforced by espionage.

1. **The Nation State and the State of the Nation:** Space, Sovereignty and British Identity in Post-war Europe.

Perhaps as a result of the highly successful film adaptation released in 1949, Graham Greene's *The Third Man* remains for many the quintessential Cold War story of intrigue and espionage.⁶ The film's starkly depicted landscape and impoverished, wintry atmosphere would have seemed all too familiar to a British audience well acquainted with wartime devastation and deprivation exacerbated by two of the harshest winters in Britain since records began.⁷ Having the commanding presence of Orson Welles portraying a charmingly sinister Harry Lime also ensured that the film reached a large audience. Because of these qualities, the film attracted a far greater degree of attention than its source material, published after the film's release.

As noted in chapter one, Greene considered *The Third Man* as a minor piece of work.⁸ Despite a somewhat dismissive appraisal by its author, *The Third Man* remains of particular contextual relevance to both post-war British politics and the development of Greene's espionage fiction. Greene sets the events of *The Third Man* inextricably within a Cold War context. The background to the novel's immediate contextual

⁶ The association of the film's title with a variety of clandestine scandals, intrigues and suchlike over the past sixty years has also contributed to its longevity in public consciousness, as has its imitation within the thriller genre.

⁷ D. Kynaston. *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 190.

⁸ Greene's opinion was that *The Third Man* was 'nothing but raw material for a motion picture'. G. Greene, *The Third Man* (London: Penguin, 1983), p. 10.

reference is obvious enough, the presence of British, Russian, French and American troops in Vienna stemming from the Moscow Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Conference of 1945. However, to assess the novella's contemporary and cultural significance, other geopolitical policies require attention. The Truman Doctrine of 1947, though ostensibly a measure to effect the security of Greece, Cyprus and Turkey, was instead designed to contain the influence and spread of "aggressive" Communism in Europe and the near east; it was responsible for shaping the general operative conduct of American, and British, forces throughout the occupied zones and along the borders between Western and Eastern allied states.⁹ The rhetoric of containment emphasised by the Truman Doctrine was directly informed by the observations and opinions of American diplomat George Kennan in his 'Long Telegram' of 1946.¹⁰ Kennan, a representative of the state department in Moscow since 1933, gave an extensive assessment of Russian intentions in Europe that indicated a protracted struggle for influence and power, polarising in the formulation of two centres of dominance; a socialist sphere and a capitalist sphere. Kennan's assessment of the coming political turmoil was at once bleak and militant: 'Battle between these two centers for command of world economy will decide fate of capitalism and of communism in entire world' (sic).¹¹

The growing divisions within the wartime alliance between the western allies and the Soviet Union noted at Potsdam were dramatically militarised by this document.¹² Additionally, Kennan's observations and the Truman government's efforts to translate them into policy illustrate more acutely British and American attitudes towards their involvement in Europe. Beyond the concerns of protecting Greece and Turkey, the Truman Doctrine reduces the complications of ideological struggle to stark, basically adversarial terms. In stating that the spread of Communist influence would be thus contained, the spatial and sovereign dimensions of the Second World War were again

⁹ T. Judt. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Vintage, 2010), p. 127. Judt argues that the rhetoric of containment that forms the bulk of the Truman Doctrine was as much directed at Britain as it was the USSR.

¹⁰ J. Lukacs. *George F. Kennan and the Origins of Containment* (Missouri: University Press, 1997).

¹¹ T. S. Langston. *The Cold War Presidency: A Documentary History* (London: CQ Press, 2007), p. 31.

¹² Peter Hennessy in *Never Again: Britain 1945-51* (London: Vintage, 1992) details the particular difficulties of Soviet obstinacy experienced by the British delegation at various diplomatic meetings in the post-war period. Hennessy argues that although ideological and personal divisions within the wartime alliance were evident from its inception, Franklin Roosevelt's assertion that he could negotiate with Stalin meant that these divisions went largely unacknowledged and later, when Roosevelt's health was declining in 1944-45, unchallenged.

reiterated in a Cold War context.¹³ As a consequence of the Truman Doctrine and its influence upon the Western allies, the fragile nature of political sovereignty, established through agreements already reneged upon by the Soviet Union, would have to be backed by the flexing of covert military muscle.

It is in this competitive and increasingly militarised circumstance that Greene sets the events of *The Third Man*. The novella opens with a three page introductory chapter, later revealed to be narrated by Calloway, which questions the veracity of the narrative to follow. In briefing the reader by describing the background to the story, the opening chapter depicts the fashion by which the security of the British position is based on the changeable relationships between space and sovereignty and between Britain and America. The chapter begins with a declaration of uncertainty and a caveat to the events that are to follow. The opening line of ‘[O]ne never knows when the blow may fall’ sets the tone for the novel and reflects the context that produced it, indicating the constant uncertainty, latent threat of attack and possible escalation that hangs over the events of *The Third Man* and the Cold War at large.¹⁴ Calloway reveals the truth of the Allied position in occupied Austria, that despite the supposed mechanisms of control in place, the ‘blow’ of enemy action could occur at any point. The ostensible deterrent force that Britain has in Austria, at this point totalling some 60,000 men, is not enough to ensure that British sovereign space is inviolable.¹⁵

This opening line is a revealing example of spatial-sovereign shortcomings in Vienna and occupied Europe. Whilst Calloway’s narrative attempts to convey the appearance of control, especially through his mention of ‘security police files’, four-way power sharing and physical indications of power such as the military police, the British position is of a far more tenuous nature.¹⁶ The official line on the perpetuation of Allied sovereignty in Europe sought to present itself with a degree of permanence and necessity; the Chiefs of Staff of the British Military stated as late as March 1950 that

¹³ The final year of the war, especially the ‘race’ to Berlin, again re-emphasised the importance of territorial possession as both a catalyst for war and a means of obtaining power; the origins of the Second World War, namely the defence of Polish sovereignty and integrity of its borders, had largely been overlooked in pursuit of destroying Nazism. J. Isaacs & T. Downing, *The Cold War* (London: Bantam Press, 1998), pp. 44-45.

¹⁴ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Barnett, *The Lost Victory*, p. 50.

¹⁶ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

the defence of Western Europe was ‘vital to the security of these islands’ (Britain).¹⁷ In Greene’s novel however, the text reveals the reverse; the temporary nature of the British mission in Austria is betrayed through Calloway’s limited perception of his surroundings. He states that he hasn’t ‘enough imagination’ to picture a Vienna restored any more than he ‘can picture Sacher’s Hotel as other than a transit hotel for English Officers’.¹⁸ The British authority’s position on Austria is reminiscent of the old-fashioned colonial one; despite the rhetoric behind their presence, liberating Austria from the Nazi Anschluss, British self-interest is to be found at the heart of the occupation. However, the British presence in Austria is defined by a crucial difference from traditional territorial control; it is dictated by American policy. Calloway fails to recognise that his position is no longer based on pre-war imperial pre-eminence but rather that the actions of the British forces are now relative to those of their American allies. Calloway cannot imagine the hotel as anything other than a transitory space because, for the British and Americans in Austria, that is all it will be; their territorial sovereignty over occupied Vienna is only temporary, lasting as long as the four-power agreement remains in place.¹⁹

The temporary status of the British sovereign presence is reinforced by Greene’s description of the city in the opening chapter. The landscape of Vienna is one of a ‘smashed, dreary city’ of ruins overgrown with weeds.²⁰ Calloway’s narrative returns repeatedly to these descriptions of smashed buildings, landscape and objects indicating a disorderly situation at odds with the intentions of the occupying powers. The occupation of Vienna by Allied forces yields neither great reform nor a great force of liberation; instead, competing sovereignties disfigure Vienna and Austria, preserving their destructive efforts and turning it into a feral space fit only for further conflict as described in the novel. The triple repetition of ‘smashed’ refers directly to the three key events of contemporary Austrian history, namely the Anschluss, capture by the Red Army and then the occupation; three destructive phases each in turn disguised as a liberation from the last. Conflict, indicates Calloway, is the only

¹⁷ Barnett, *The Lost Victory*, p. 99

¹⁸ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 14.

¹⁹ This ‘transient’ quality of British power is further examined in chapter four in relation to the prevalence of hotels within espionage fiction.

²⁰ Greene, *The Third Man*, pp. 13-14. The ‘smashed, dreary city’ would have resonated with Greene’s domestic readership in Britain as even by 1949 little reconstruction of London and other major towns and cities had been achieved. For further analysis of the post-war city see chapter three.

possible result from a situation borne of conflict; whether that remains in its masked state of kidnappings and disappearances or will develop over time remains unknown to him. However, Greene's introduction explicitly mentions the detritus of war and the presence of the armed Russian soldier, which acts as a reminder that conflict is potentially never very far away.²¹

The paradox inherent to the four-way occupation is that despite the high-minded ideals of its member nations, occupation itself brings no benefit to the space of Vienna. Despite contemporary Allied policy on Europe, the occupation of Austria is constrained by its impermanence. No investment is made in the fabric of the Austrian nation because it presents no tangible benefit to occupying nations uncertain of their position in Europe and their ability to remain in a position of authority against growing Soviet belligerence. The territory that Calloway and Rollo Martins encounter is frozen, unyielding and static. Through mention of tanks and jackhammers in this section, Greene draws a parallel between the mechanised force used to break ground in the cemetery and that which divides the nation.²²

As well as simply illustrating the disunities of Vienna, Greene's first chapter indicates the effect these disunities have on British identity. Greene presents two starkly different characters in the opening chapter; the naïve, boyish Martins and the cynical but outwardly proper Calloway. Martins represents a British population in thrall to American culture. Greene later reveals that Martins is a writer of pulp-fiction, specifically cowboy novels, under the faux-Yankee name of Buck Dexter. Martins, as a satire of contemporary British attitudes, is the novel's everyman figure and one with a divided sense of identity. In the first instance, he is revealed to be genial and trusting, someone who 'believed in friendship' and the honest values such a belief signifies.²³ Greene utilises Martins to illustrate the large proportion of British society that still possessed faith in the wartime alliances between Britain, Russia and the United States.²⁴ As Buck Dexter, however, Martins is aligned with the distinct moral poles of his novels, in which the heroic cowboys (later to become himself and

²¹ The history of the power-sharing situation in Berlin records various flashpoints throughout its forty-five year history, most notably at Checkpoint Charlie in 1961. See F. W. Thackeray, *Events that changed Germany*, (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004).

²² Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

²³ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

²⁴ Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, p. 133.

Calloway, the sheriff with whom he forges an uneasy but necessary truce) defend themselves and their territory against the savages (here Lime and his Soviet ally Kurtz). However, Martins' experiences in Vienna present to him the truth of both positions; that they are impossible in a morally-ambiguous Cold War context.

The trust in Britain's wartime allies is revealed to be misplaced and Martins' beliefs as to the nature of American culture ring hollow. Martins is further unsettled by Calloway's revelations and the confrontation with Lime over his black-market activities; the realisation that he has been deceived by Lime causes a rupture from 'normal circumstances'.²⁵ The opening chapter indicates how the realities of Martins' situation repel him, 'as though his long gangly legs wanted to break into a run', with a readiness to rejoin the safety and security of home, far removed from the destructive environment of Europe.²⁶ Greene presents friendship betrayed as a thinly disguised political allegory. Martins' experiences in Vienna shatter his constructed image of a secure British position in Europe and cast doubt on his past relationship to Lime; a political revelation with personal implications. The qualities he perceives in Lime are an integral part of his understanding of what it means to be British, part of a shared upbringing and a dependency begun at boarding school.²⁷ Once Martins grasps Lime's betrayal, his sense of identity is similarly betrayed. In this context, his tears take on a dual significance, being at once shed for the loss of his friend and for the loss of self.

Calloway too is subject to a divided personality and compromised sense of identity. He begins the novella as the trusted voice of objective fact, solemnly intoning that what is to follow will be the most truthful account of events possible, practically giving his word as an officer and an English gentleman. Calloway's is a position of imperial cynicism. He regards Martins as a 'cheerful fool', degraded by his indolence and enjoyment of drink, finds nothing of interest in Vienna's 'Strauss music and its bogus easy charm' and imparts with weary omniscience his low opinion of the power-sharing arrangement.²⁸ However, in the course of the novella Calloway's identity is revealed to be in a similar process of fragmentation. It becomes apparent that

²⁵ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

²⁶ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 13.

²⁷ Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 24.

²⁸ Greene, *The Third Man*, pp. 13-15.

Calloway is torn between his peacetime, pre-war role as a policeman and his responsibilities as a soldier. Although he recognises the necessity of law, Calloway is required to subvert it. Greene uses Calloway to signify an Empire in turmoil; despite his early promises of objectivity and pursuit of lawful enquiry, he is gradually shown to be at first complacent in his duty and then later complicit in Martins' killing of Lime. Calloway's impartiality is eroded by the competitive sovereignty of the divided space of Vienna. He moves from a perception of imperial right, that Britain should naturally be internationally pre-eminent, to a position in which he realises that British position must be fought for, even if that means appropriating the methods of his enemy.²⁹

The logical endpoint of the developments in British identity abroad is revealed in the novella's conclusion. Greene's concluding chapter details the chase and eventual death of Lime in the sewers beneath Vienna's various zones of occupation. The episode provides a revealing juxtaposition of forces of identity and power in relation to space. Calloway and Martins decide that Lime, having dedicated himself to clandestine, subterranean political activity, must be confronted in such an environment.³⁰ They force Lime to retreat to the sewers after their sting operation goes wrong, whereupon he is pursued by police before his eventual death at the hands of Martins. The final chapter is significant for the clash of forces at play within it. The opposition of British power in Europe, signified by Calloway, against Lime's Soviet allegiances are set on the subterranean plane of conflict, echoing the terminology employed by George Kennan's 'Long Telegram' to describe clandestine warfare. Greene enacts this struggle literally, creating an environment where death emerges from unseen places to strike down those engaged in protecting British interests, such as the well-meaning but heavily stereotyped policeman, Bates. Greene's construction of the sewer space indicates the vulnerability of overt power in confrontations with subversive opposition. Despite the manpower exercised in pursuing him, Lime is able to kill Bates without difficulty. At odds with the façade presented by the extensive

²⁹ The action of mirroring one's enemy is something explicitly warned against in Kennan's 'Long Telegram'; however, later authors such as le Carré would stress parity in both Soviet and Anglo-American methods. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>. Accessed 1/2/12.

³⁰ Lime's subversion of the intended means of control over Vienna is suggestive of Michel de Certeau's analysis of strategies and tactics in the modern city. See M. De Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

Police presence, Lime's actions indicate a weakness inherent to displays of power. Paradoxically, instead of convincing assailants that resistance is impossible, applications of power such as this serve only to invite attack. The use of force provokes force in opposition. When pressured, Lime increases the aggressiveness of his actions which in turn leads to his own violent death.

In terms of context, there is a tangible sense of sovereign hubris to the actions of British power in dealing with the Soviet threat. Britain's decision to aggressively defend non-sovereign territory in the pre-nuclear age is a limited activity, indicative of outmoded strategic analysis. The later advent of Mutually Assured Destruction and massive escalation of force in instances of direct confrontation would technologically outdo the British policy of territorial control in the decades to follow.³¹ Greene alludes to the danger of limited political and strategic outlook through the characterisation of Bates. The role of Britain as world policeman, also signified by the soldier/policeman conglomerate of Calloway, is shown to be ineffective. Bates is representative of a bygone imperial age; secure in his position and office, his lack of perception is betrayed by his demotic language and dutiful demeanour: 'They know this place like I know the Tottenham Court Road. I wish my old woman could see me now'.³² The swift and violent death of Bates affirms the position of a weakened contemporary Britain, no longer a first rate power.

Of similar interest is the conflict presented by Greene's choice of oppositional character tropes and their eventual reconciliation throughout the chapter. The relationship between Calloway and Martins signifies the competitiveness between American and British influence; American novels are Martins' chief income and it takes a great deal of effort by Calloway to elicit his cooperation and remind him that he is British first.³³ However, the conflict between Calloway and Lime is demonstrative of a class-based struggle, as well as one with political ramifications. Calloway's officer persona and middle-class bearing is set against the black-marketeer meets political dissident characterisation of Lime. When considered from this perspective, Greene's terminal resolution to their confrontation is startling in its

³¹ See L. Freedman. *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 234.

³² Greene, *The Third Man*, p. 114

³³ Greene, *The Third Man*, pp. 25-26.

conservatism. The conclusion of the novel serves to illustrate that the successful characters are those who bend to the will of sovereign power, such as Martins and Calloway. The novel also emphasises that the figure of the communist-criminal and Cold War subversive must be eliminated through the presence of the sovereign policeman possessed of British grit and determination. Moreover, the novel points to the deficiency of liminal security. The very figure of the subversive such as Lime suggests that the enemy is able to affect free travel through seemingly fortified boundaries of British territory, and, further still, that he is often already resident within that territory.

The Third Man is a significant text despite its humble beginnings as a screen-treatment. In its exposition of power-sharing in post-war Europe it demonstrates the weariness with which Britain prosecuted her sovereign responsibilities. Calloway's numbed description of the difficulties in dealing with the Russian delegation, not to mention the French and American powers, reveal a deeper form of collective national ennui; the rights that Britain had become accustomed to now had to be fought for, politically and physically.³⁴ Beyond the effort necessary to protect British territory, Greene's depiction of Vienna indicates that such a pursuit is inevitably destined to fail. British space and sovereignty is either subverted by enemy action or diluted by the actions of her allies. When read in conjunction with developing economic and wider political concerns, the necessity of Marshall Aid to Britain and the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949, Greene's novel illustrates how the political power of Britain abroad is considerably diminished in comparison to America and the Soviet Union.³⁵ Though initially a nominal entity with more political muscle than military, the Korean War saw NATO become an American-led initiative, and one where Britain would surely follow. Realising the extent to which sovereign space is compromised and that the position of Britain abroad is subordinate to American authority, finances and military power, the focus of British security in the next phase of the Cold War turned inwards.

³⁴ Greene, *The Third Man*, pp. 90-91.

³⁵ L. James. *The Rise & Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1998), p. 530.

2. A Change of Heartlands: Space, Identity and Sovereignty in the British Isles.

“It does not matter who holds Somalia or Cyrenaica or controls the Suez Canal...we had better be thinking of the defence of England, for unless we can protect the home country no strategic positions elsewhere will avail” - Clement Atlee, Prime Minister 1945-51, Cabinet address.³⁶

Britain in the late 1950s had altered greatly from the austerity of the 1940s.³⁷ The period since the end of the war in Europe and in Asia had introduced many radical changes to the state of the nation; the structure of empire, which included territorial possession of Palestine, Sri Lanka, Singapore and others, was being dismantled with increasing earnest, especially after the partition of India in 1947, and domestic industry had been nationalised.³⁸ The rapid deterioration of relations between the Western Allies of France, Britain and the USA with the Soviet Union over territorial and sovereign disputes in central Europe had also ensured a dramatically altered political landscape for the British public to negotiate. However, despite these changes, Britons could also be forgiven for thinking that little had changed; there were just as many instances of cultural stasis as there were social or economic developments in the post-war period.³⁹ Corelli Barnett argues that Britain’s position on the winning side of the war meant that, to a large extent, ‘the institutional, ceremonial and architectural symbols of past greatness were still in place, giving the illusion that nothing had changed, when the reality was of shrinking power and waning vigour’.⁴⁰ This reality though, however obliquely it was acknowledged, remained inescapable at certain junctures.

³⁶ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 52.

³⁷ B. Miles *London Calling: A Countercultural History of London Since 1945* (London: Atlantic Books, 2010), p. 2.

³⁸ Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 26. Social reforms governing urban development and housing are discussed in greater detail in chapters three and four respectively.

³⁹ Indeed, when confronted with exceptional events the social fabric of Britain revealed itself as heavily reliant on inculcated tradition and identifiably Edwardian ritual. When George VI died in 1952 national mourning took the form of muted and deferential grief. The nation appeared to possess a uniform understanding of acceptable conduct and was disdainful of those who acted otherwise; two men who refused to observe the two minute’s silence in London required police protection from a crowd outraged by their behaviour. See Kynaston, *Family*, p. 67.

⁴⁰ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 179. Barnett and the other so-called ‘declinists’ make a number of valid points, and, as illustrated above, provide excellent contextualisation. However, their work is often couched in a particularly vehement anti-socialist rhetoric which requires a degree of caution.

The pursuit of the incompatibly expensive policies of both the welfare state and the illusion of global power led to a paradox of geopolitical and sovereign proportions. In accepting Marshall Aid in 1947/48 and negotiating the Keynes loan, Britain agreed to the next step in a series of concessions which had begun with the Lend-Lease Act of Congress in 1941, which had necessitated the ceding of territory to the US for the construction of airbases during the war, and which would culminate in the attenuation of British sovereignty and the collapse of Empire.⁴¹ As established above, the cost in both material and men of occupying forces in Europe was of particular strain on an already beleaguered national treasury, further strained by the clamour for social improvement, pretensions towards acting the global power (which would reach their climax in the Suez Crisis of 1956) and need for urban rebuilding at home. The double bind of financial and political necessity was coupled with that of American cultural hegemony, forcing a reaction within British national identity. The circumstances of the 1950s created a desire for demonstrative British agency on an international scale, even and perhaps especially when confronted with proof of their inability to do so. Not for the first time, the nation looked backwards to the pre-war securities of static and fixed social place.

The cultural gap created by the nation's sovereign and political vicissitudes was the ideal environment for the novels of Ian Fleming to flourish. In an era of frustrated martial ambition, the glamour and ability of a British agent to act with the confidence and directness of Fleming's character appeared compelling to a public in need of something to celebrate.⁴² Bond's exploits satisfy the combative element of British identity restricted by international allegiances, purporting to reassure the British that they could protect themselves without the assistance of allies. The same thirst for independence sought in the novels of Fleming is comparable to that found in the

⁴¹ The stark choice of the post-war period was plainly summed up by contemporary playwright and Labour politician Benn Levy: 'There is no longer a third choice. We must travel the Russian road or the American road' However, Levy's comment, made in 1948, chose to ignore that for all practical purposes Britain had been travelling the American road from as early as 1941 with the advent of Lend Lease, a key component of the much-celebrated 'Special Relationship'. See Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 223. Similarly, when reviewing the state of British finances against projected government spending in 1946 Keynes is reported to have exclaimed: 'Where on earth is all this money to come from?' Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 41.

⁴² T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. 'The Moments of Bond' from C. Lindner, Ed. *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 16. It is important to note that sales figures of Fleming's novels began modestly; Bennett & Woollacott argue that the Bond series grew ever more popular in conjunction with serialisation and other media. However, they recognise that it is no coincidence that as British international standing declined Bond's popularity increased.

contemporary development of the British independent nuclear deterrent, Blue Danube, and one of a potentially equal level of illusory danger.⁴³ In a further irony, these examples are as hubristic as they are conciliatory; by creating and investing in a world of imaginary, illusionary power, reality, when it does not follow the plot accordingly, becomes all the more dangerous.

Fleming's novels are occasionally less about the act of espionage abroad than the provision of counter-espionage within the British Isles.⁴⁴ Though designed to convince the British public that they are protected, setting such large sections of the novels in England reveals far more about the contemporary vulnerability of the nation state than initially recognised or intended. *Goldfinger*, published after the major political events of the decade, is a culmination of 1950s national, economic and political decline.⁴⁵ The novel reveals the paradoxical state of stasis and development in simultaneity inherent to space; *Goldfinger* is inescapably a product of imperial misfortune but reads as though the Empire is still entirely extant. It reveals at once how much in Britain had changed whilst denying that any change had indeed occurred. The policy of the Labour government upon election in 1945 was to pursue a major programme of industrial reassessment resulting in the nationalisation of British heavy industry by 1948.⁴⁶ The traditionally industrial areas of the north of England, viewed as the Victorian 'Workshop of the World', were no longer associated with constructions of Britishness as they had been in preceding decades.⁴⁷ Instead, the identity of Britain was being cast out of the Labour government's emphasis on social welfare and increased standards of living; the promise of a better quality of life was thus fulfilled through the reorganisation of the British economy and the reprioritisation of space. The British identity of the 1950s, the public that comprised

⁴³ A full detailed account of British Nuclear development can be found in Margaret Gowing's *Independence and Deterrence: Britain and Atomic Energy, 1945-52*. Volume 1: *Policy Making*. (London: Macmillan, 1974).

⁴⁴ Kingsley Amis' *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965) was one of the first critical texts on Bond to question his spying abilities and not just his creator's lack of morals.

⁴⁵ As above, the events of the novel transpire after Suez, after the Mau Mau uprising and in the final years of the Malayan Emergency.

⁴⁶ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 222. Barnett describes the subsequent mismanagement of industry under a panel of government directors he views as either unqualified or too inexperienced in their operations as instrumental in the post-war decline of British manufacture and production.

⁴⁷ P. S. Bagwell. *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 89. Also, Patrick Joyce's *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) illustrates that British national identity in the nineteenth century was the product of regional manufacturing cultures which together formed a continuum of identities incorporated under the banner of empire.

Fleming's eager readership, experienced a far greater affinity with spaces of leisure and social development than those of Victorian manufacture. Fleming's novels would champion a new English heartland in the post-war world.

As noted in chapter one, Bond's biography reveals that he grew up in Kent in southern England.⁴⁸ Combining post-war ambitions and strong links to British history and heritage, in *Moonraker* Fleming's Kent embodies the desire to venerate the past whilst simultaneously developing the means of remaining relevant in a contemporary context. In *Goldfinger*, Kent is reconfigured once more as a space of privilege and distinctly modern relevance. The new post-war British identity would be created through the enjoyment of developing spaces such as Kent, and therefore would be defended with the requisite prejudice. Though the largely conservative Fleming would not have cared to admit it, Clement Atlee's dual concerns of creating a more prosperous society and then ensuring its defence are exemplified through the events of *Goldfinger*.

Split between England, Europe and America, *Goldfinger* represents the diametric opposition of two spatial and sovereign entities: the western sphere comprised of the USA and Britain (with reference to their NATO commitments) and the eastern one of the Soviet Union.⁴⁹ Fleming's novel suggests that protection of British territory and political interests is best pursued through aggressive action, in space both foreign and domestic. As mentioned in chapter one, 'Thoughts in a DBIII' is crucial to the novel both for its advancement in plot and its description of espionage activity on British soil. The function of Bond's service is well established throughout the series as being exclusively to operate abroad and not against or among the citizens of Britain; for instance, in the earlier *Moonraker* Bond explains how he has to seek express permission from the Prime Minister in order to operate within the British Isles.⁵⁰ However, in *Goldfinger* no concern is paid to such details; the necessity of protecting the nation overrides a key tenet of British sovereignty in order to uphold it. The justification for using counter-espionage operatives within Britain is the preservation of Britain itself.

⁴⁸ I. Fleming, *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 200-201.

⁴⁹ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

⁵⁰ I. Fleming, *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 130.

To emphasise the importance of national preservation, Fleming describes Bond's journey from London into the Kentish countryside in detail. Bond is provided with an Aston Martin DBIII as a part of his cover, which suggests 'a well-to-do, rather adventurous young man with a taste for the good, the fast things of life'.⁵¹ The Aston Martin here acts as a fitting indicator of his status and his access to a space of affluence and privilege, via 'the sprawl of Rochester and Chatham'.⁵² The fringes of suburban Kent eventually give way to an idealised portrait of ancestral England as Bond escapes the influence of London. In Kent, Bond is described as 'running through the endless orchards of the Faversham growers. The sun had come out from behind the smog of London. There was the distant gleam of the Thames on his left'.⁵³ Bond emerges from the darkness of the city into a veritable 'Garden of England', replete with pastoral images of natural growth and reminiscent of the river trade of previous centuries. It represents a necessary fiction written at a time of uncompromising reality for British identity. The passage is intended to satisfy the intense need for certainty in such an uncertain age; a response to the imperial, economic and international humiliations of the previous half-decade. Kent once again becomes the epitome of an essentialist construct of English identity, evoking by association the history of Chaucer, Dickens, the river culture of the Thames estuary, the Cinque Ports and more recent concerns of the county's wartime role. In this sense, the 'endless' nature of the landscape suggest an unbroken stretch of British identity which must be defended from Goldfinger's clandestine Soviet influence.⁵⁴

The emphasis on this sense of unchanging, static identity through historical space is revealed to be fallacious. The journey that Bond must make to reach this pastoral fairy-tale version of England is far more revealing than the destination. When driving through the sprawl of the larger towns of the county, he indirectly reflects upon the effects of modernisation. Bond recognises how Rochester and Chatham and the

⁵¹ I. Fleming, *Goldfinger* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 68.

⁵² Fleming, *Goldfinger*, p. 69. For more on Bond's automotive tastes see chapter five.

⁵³ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, p. 71.

⁵⁴ Fleming's assessment of the English countryside as 'endless' is comparable to the near contemporary currents of Anti/Intermodernism. According to both Blake Morrison and Kristen Bluemel, Anti/Intermodernism placed great emphasis on the longevity and continuity inherent to the English pastoral imaginary. See K. Bluemel, *Intermodernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) and B. Morrison, *The Movement English Poetry & Fiction of the 1950s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Medway Towns have grown to form an almost indistinct entity.⁵⁵ The development of the post-war period and the extension of suburbia has forced spaces together, causing a loss of individual character. Despite the organised sense of order that the presence of the Secret Services are meant to convey, the reality is one of disordered, unmanaged and uncontrollable growth.⁵⁶ As much as Kent is asserted to be represented by the beauty of the Faversham orchards, it is equally revealed as the 'melancholy, forsaken reaches of the Thames'.⁵⁷ Far from the unity presented in the romantic vision of historic Britain as discussed in the previous chapter, the county and the country are divided into spheres of privilege and lack thereof. Bond himself helps to reinforce the confusion and distortion through the form of his cover. Despite his appearance being that of post-war frivolity and affluence he instead reveals himself to be a perpetual outsider intruding on the spaces of privilege he encounters. In rekindling his pre-war friendship with a caddy at Royal St. Mark's golf course, Bond is guilty of the same self-delusions as those that cause him to view Kent as overwhelmingly pastoral. In an uncertain time, he retreats from the harsh gaze of modernity to the comfort and known environs of the past and the symbolic states of Britain.

Alongside its deliberate evocations of war myth and British history, 'Thoughts in a DBIII' reveals a number of contradictions and disunities inherent to concerns of British sovereignty. The chapter indicates how the desire to fortify space through displays of overt force leads to the paradoxical undermining of British sovereign power. Both the chapter in question and the novel as a whole concern the proximity and co-operation of British and American forces as a means of preserving control over space. The contradictory nature of Kent is again revealed through the description of the American Airbase at Manston:

Another five miles and Bond was through the dainty tele-world of Herne Bay. The howl of Manston sounded away on his right. A flight of three Super Sabres came in to land. They skimmed below his right-hand horizon as if they were diving into the earth. With half his mind, Bond heard the

⁵⁵ See chapter three for further information on suburban growth in the post-war period.

⁵⁶ See chapter four for a more detailed analysis of the post-war development in suburban housing.

⁵⁷ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, p. 69.

roar of their jets catch up to them as they landed and taxied in to the hangars.⁵⁸

The passage is revealing for a number of reasons. It immediately presents the contradictory images of a quaint, traditional Britain juxtaposed against the might of an American military installation. The fantasy-like construct of the 'dainty' Herne Bay is at odds with the equally unimaginable nuclear power of the jets and the political superpower they signify. The conspicuous presence of American power within Kent also uncovers the more pressing realities of geopolitical allegiance.⁵⁹ The passage indicates that the arcadian 'tele-world' of Kent is impossible to maintain without the fortification of space through military means. The privilege of leisure space and prosperity must be fought for if it is to be enjoyed. Like the events in *The Third Man*, individuals cannot afford to be passive and must serve, or be made to serve, the will of power. However, the preservation of British sovereignty is paradoxically attained by relinquishing a proportion of it to American power. In order to preserve its ancestral homeland, post-war Britain cedes a portion of it to another sovereign nation. Attempting to preserve space in this fashion serves only to augment the process of change. By this, the US presence is intended as a means of alliance and protection, unity and solidarity but the reality is that as it seeks to do these things it changes the form and shape of what it tries to protect.

Merely by being present, the American intervention alters the original state of Britain and British identity. Despite intentions to the contrary, British territory has been invaded, defining the space and its inhabitants in unsuspected, unintended ways. Recognising the possible consequences of Anglo-American relations, Atlee wrote as early as February of 1946 that 'It may be we shall have to consider the British Isles as an easterly extension of a strategic area the centre of which is the American Continent than [sic] as a power looking eastwards through the Mediterranean and the East'.⁶⁰ The commanding presence of the airbase in *Goldfinger* affirms the position of Britain as an easterly military satellite of the United States. The passage reveals the subtle

⁵⁸ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, p. 73.

⁵⁹ The presence of American military bases would provoke widespread CND demonstrations and the famous Greenham Common protests in the 1980s. See D. Fairhall. *Common Ground: The Story of Greenham* (London: I.B Taurus, 2006).

⁶⁰ Barnett, *The Lost Victory*, p. 54.

extent to which this alteration has affected Britain. Bond is said to hear the jets with ‘half his mind’; though not bearing a direct influence upon him, the American presence remains latent in his consciousness. His identity as an independent British agent is permitted by the exercise of overt American power; again reminiscent of Attlee’s remarks, British forays into the Cold War are underwritten by the safety-net of American military might. Further, the intrusion of the jets into Bond’s mind in this fashion is at odds with his emphasis on pastoral, rural Britain as although they help pursue its preservation, they ensure its destruction.⁶¹ Space alters as a consequence of British sovereign concession for many of the same reasons Greene established a decade before. The sovereign territory of Britain is subdivided into zones and spaces of influence that effectively preclude any pure sovereign control. Rather than the gateway to England or British history, Kent becomes instead an example of the post-war spatial paradox in which space is preserved through change and development. Kent, lauded throughout Fleming’s novels for its quintessentially English, unchanging state, alters dramatically as a consequence of the Cold War.

The novel reveals that the erosion of British Sovereignty is not a recent occurrence, however. The operation Bond is charged with is designed to preserve British sovereign control within its national borders, but it becomes apparent that the sovereignty he seeks to preserve has been compromised repeatedly for a period of many years. Goldfinger is discovered to have first come to Britain in 1937 and has since assimilated into society. Moreover, the attempts to preserve the nation from harm serve only to invite attack. Bond is instructed to investigate Goldfinger’s operation and put an end to any activity that he discovers but rather than bring a swift end to Goldfinger’s gold-smuggling racket, the ineptness of Bond’s counter-espionage activities serve to make the situation worse. Instead of protecting Britain, the ongoing British desire to maintain the empire through espionage makes the nation more vulnerable to enemy action.

In *Goldfinger*, Fleming illustrates the inability of Britain to resolve threats to national security without reliance on others. The novel’s climax concerns the raid on Fort Knox, a symbol of American security and economic dominance. The political

⁶¹ The destruction of pastoral England is further discussed in chapter three in relation to the development of suburbs.

significance of SMERSH's attack on Fort Knox corresponds to the polarisation of capitalism and Communism that Fleming engages in, but the manner of its execution reveals more about the latent fear of total destruction that underwrites the period in general.⁶² Fleming describes a plot in which the entire population of Louisville are poisoned so that Goldfinger can affect free travel through the town to the fort. Fleming's writes that 'everywhere, down every street, on every sidewalk, there were the sprawling figures...Death! Dead people everywhere'.⁶³ With its abandoned buildings, smashed cars and general destruction, the chapter is a thinly-veiled rendering of the aftermath of a nuclear attack, revealing the inherent fears behind Fleming's counter-espionage novels.⁶⁴ These fears are mitigated by the novel's resolution, the timely arrival of martial aid in the shape of Felix Leiter and a contingent of US Marines, who save Bond from certain death and provide the means for him to fight on.⁶⁵ Once more echoing the wartime alliance between the two nations, America, personified by Leiter, allows Britain, personified by Bond, to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. Fleming acknowledges that American muscle is the means by which Britain can protect herself from the nuclear fears allegorically illustrated in *Goldfinger*.

The chapter, and the novel, reveals a fearful nation that seeks to justify its own aggressive activities. Moreover, the alignment of British identity in relation to American power is made explicitly clear; Bond serves the interests of the United States in perpetuity and as though they were his own. Fleming's novel implies that though much in post-war Britain was undergoing a process of alteration and that the Suez Crisis had illustrated the divisions in geopolitical policy within the 'Special Relationship', the essential cooperation between Britain and America remained sound. However, as the Suez Crisis had also illustrated, Britain had staked its future on that of the United States; a decision which may have offered the nation protection,

⁶² The fear of widespread destruction in Fleming's novel would also be emphasised in the 1965 film version of *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* where Alec Leamas observes that: 'Communism. Capitalism. It's the innocents who get slaughtered'.

⁶³ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, pp. 234-235.

⁶⁴ Nuclear anxieties underwrite spy fiction in general throughout the Cold War, however, Paul Williams notes that Bond is typically blasé towards nuclear scares and more concerned that with nuclear technology becoming cheaper and more compact, 'every little pipsqueak nation may get hold of them'. See P. Williams. *Race, Ethnicity & Nuclear War* (Liverpool: University Press, 2011) pp. 230-233.

⁶⁵ Fleming, *Goldfinger*, p. 240. In a reflection of Lend Lease, Leiter even provides Bond with the 'tools to finish the job', namely a bazooka, again making America the 'arsenal of democracy'.

but in a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, would also ensure its destruction.⁶⁶

3. **The Toothless Lion and the Travelling Circus:** British Identity and Post-occupation Germany in the Novels of John le Carré.

'The British lion...can't allow itself to be upset by the pinpricks of a few hooligans' - John le Carré, *A Small Town In Germany*.⁶⁷

The intervening decade between publication of Fleming's *Goldfinger* and le Carré's *A Small Town In Germany* was one in which the fortunes of Britain had continued to decline. The geopolitical situation had also been subject to considerable flux. Though the broadly defined oppositions of communism and capitalism had remained, the nature of those oppositions had become increasingly hostile and militarised. Britain's great ally, the United States, was by this point fully engaged in the Vietnam conflict, having recently fought protracted battles in the Tet Offensive such as at Khe Sahn and at Hué.⁶⁸ As the US and the Soviet Union fought an increasingly embittered proxy war in Asia, Europe too had developed beyond the signposted divisions of territorial control described in *The Third Man* and into something altogether more concrete. The political message of the Berlin Wall ensured that Europe remained divided, perhaps more so than ever before.⁶⁹ Similarly, the empire, quietly renamed as the Commonwealth in the early 1950s, had suffered the loss of many of its colonial dominions at an ever increasing rate since 1947.⁷⁰ The British economy had continued to suffer, with the further devaluation of Sterling in 1967 as well as the nation being refused entry to the European Economic Community for much of the 1960s under

⁶⁶ Dwight Eisenhower, a key figure in wartime ideals of the Special Relationship, had no compunction threatening the devaluation of the Pound when demanding British withdrawal from Suez. See K. Kyle. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I.B Taurus, 2011).

⁶⁷ J. le Carré, *A Small Town In Germany* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 31.

⁶⁸ Don McCullin's photographs of his time with the 10th Marines at Hué indicate the severity of the fighting experienced by American troops there. See D. McCullin. *Don McCullin* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003).

⁶⁹ Judt, *Postwar*, pp. 252-253. Judt states that whilst 'officially horrified' the western powers viewed the erection of the Berlin Wall with a degree of relief, noting that the permanent barrier largely resolved the perennial possibilities of conflict at checkpoints and borders in the city.

⁷⁰ Barnett. *The Lost Victory*, p. 51.

veto from France.⁷¹ The economic situation had deteriorated so much in fact that in 1968 the 'I'm Backing Britain' campaign became a national sensation. Initiated independently by a group of Surbiton secretaries before being picked up by national press and Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the main thrust of this programme urged all Britons in employment to work an extra half-hour per day without pay in order to improve production.⁷² The geopolitical world against which le Carré sets *A Small Town in Germany* as well as his succeeding novels is of a nation embattled from without as well as from within.⁷³

A Small Town In Germany illustrates the tenuous position that British authority in Europe occupied in the late 1960s; with neither enough power to maintain authority nor apparently the political skill to remain influential, the British presence in Germany, though constitutionally guaranteed, is beset from all sides, either by nationalists, socialists or internal conflicts. However, the novel is less about the story of intrigue at its core but more about an inescapable confrontation with the degraded British presence overseas. Le Carré describes a situation far removed from that of the militarily reinforced authority of the Four Power Sharing Committee in *The Third Man* or that of the American *deus ex machina* that resolves Operation Grand Slam in *Goldfinger*. The British presence in *A Small Town in Germany* is significantly, and noticeably, independent of support from its traditional allies.⁷⁴ Lacking the capability to ensure their own safety in the face of anti-British rioting, the diplomatic community in Bonn is shown to be rapidly fragmenting under pressure from a variety of political factions. Le Carré's positioning of the British embassy in the midst of a local and national crisis of influence establishes the relevance of spatial analysis to the novel, confirming the exceptional place of diplomatic communities within their host nations.⁷⁵ Throughout le Carré's novel it is revealed that the British diplomatic

⁷¹ G. Wilkes. *Britain's Failure to Enter the EEC in 1961-63* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1997), p. 180.

⁷² D. Sandbrook. *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Little, Brown Publishing, 2006), pp. 573-575. 'I'm Backing Britain' was, inevitably, a fad and did not survive much longer than the following month, ending acrimoniously under pressure from trade unions.

⁷³ See Appendix I for plot synopsis.

⁷⁴ The British economy and political position were long-compared to the Skylon Tower at the 1951 Festival of Britain as it and the nation were thought to have 'no visible means of support'. See Kynaston, *Family*, p. 124.

⁷⁵ The position of the British diplomatic community was secured under treaty at the close of the Second World War; the British presence in Germany was perceived as both representational but also influential in consideration of their status as 'victors'. See James Sperling's 'Berlin ist nicht Bonn: Continuity & Change in Postwar Germany' from J. Sperling (ed) *Germany At Fifty-Five* (Manchester: Manchester

enclave is both included and excluded from the country in which it is situated. Le Carré's novel instead entwines the three strands of power, identity and space around the British Embassy in Bonn to create a distinct sovereign entity.

The position and depiction of the embassy in the novel's first chapter proper, 'Mr. Meadows & Mr. Cork', is at odds with the dutiful, idealistically noble intentions of the British presence abroad established since the end of the war. The Moscow Declaration, as discussed above, laid the foundations of British policy in Europe for a period of thirty years.⁷⁶ The Morgenthau Plan to reduce Germany to a pastoral, ruralised state was sensibly rejected but elements of its punitive sentiments drew longevity from casual prejudice and the judgements of Moscow, Potsdam and Nuremberg.⁷⁷ Unlike the Austrians, the German nation was not legally absolved from responsibility for its actions in wartime; as a consequence, the British perception of Germany differed greatly to that of other formerly occupied nations, and post-war governments remained continually suspicious of a resurgent German threat. Tony Judt argues that it finally dawned on the four powers that the 'only way to keep Germany from being the problem was to change the terms of the debate and declare it the solution'.⁷⁸ It was not until the British entry into the EEC in 1973 that the moralistic mission of the British presence in Germany began to alter its perception of the German nation as potentially dangerous if left to their own devices.⁷⁹

Continual distrust of Germany proliferates in le Carré's novel, however, as if beneath the veneer of culture and politics the violent instincts of generations past are always present. The novel situates the British presence in Germany far from its beneficent intent:

University Press, 2004), p. 18. Incidentally, one of Greene's collaborations with Carol Reed, *The Fallen Idol*, was set in an embassy; though originally set in a large house in Belgravia, the embassy setting seems more appropriate for a tale of untruths and intrigue.

⁷⁶ Weinzierl, 'The Origins of the Second Republic: A Retrospective View', p. 4.

⁷⁷ For further information on the Morgenthau Plan see J. Dietrich, *The Morgenthau Plan: Soviet Influence on American Postwar Policy*. (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002).

⁷⁸ Judt, *Postwar*, p. 128. It seems ironic that British investment in Germany so successfully rejuvenated its economy whilst the British domestic market went into decline.

⁷⁹ D. Sandbrook. *State of Emergency: The Way We Were, Britain 1970-74* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), p. 527. Another example of openly anti-German sentiment is expressed in Fleming's *Moonraker* (1955) which perpetuates the stereotypes of 'Krauts' and German megalomania. See Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 204.

A blank Rhineland mist, like breath upon a mirror, lay over the whole developed wilderness of bureaucratic Bonn. Giant buildings, still unfinished, rose glumly out of the untilled fields. Ahead of him the British Embassy, all its windows lit, stood on its brown heathland like a makeshift hospital in the twilight of the battle. At the front gate, the Union Jack, mysteriously at half mast, drooped sadly over a cluster of German policemen.⁸⁰

The oppressive scene describes a presence as much at odds with its ostensible reasons for being as that of the British mission to Austria two decades before. The benefit to the host country is minimal, as evinced by the blankness of the surrounding territory. Le Carré describes the paradoxical state of a ‘developed wilderness’, indicative of the attempt to ensure a static character to the equilibrium of power tipped in British favour. Similarly, the ‘developed wilderness’ is a tacit acknowledgement that for all the efforts to re-brand Bonn as the political centre of post-war Germany, it is far from the site of the real action occurring in Berlin.⁸¹ Le Carré writes of the Embassy lit ‘like a makeshift hospital’, ready to harbour the casualties of the changing political landscape and nurse damaged British subjects seeking respite from contemporary misfortune.⁸² The British diplomatic community appears unprepared for the change in its fortunes, its ‘makeshift’ nature a reactionary state adopted out of necessity, suggesting either a lack of preparation or a lack of foresight.

‘Mr. Meadows & Mr. Cork’ addresses the status of Britain’s power and its perceived place in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Embassy stands as part of the landscape but also apart from it, its immediate surroundings left as empty heathland. The distancing is a deliberate affectation of a duplicitous mentality ‘permanently committed to the condition of impermanence’.⁸³ Though West German sovereignty was granted in 1955, the novel suggests a British identity yet to relinquish its position as an occupying power and willing to accept a truly diplomatic role.⁸⁴ Le Carré

⁸⁰ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Le Carré had little positive to report of his time in Bonn, noting how he ‘loathed the formalities and absurdities of diplomatic life’. From M. J. Bruccoli & J. S. Baughman. *Conversations with John le Carré* (Mississippi: University Press, 2005), p. 68.

⁸² Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 6.

⁸³ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, pp. 6-7

⁸⁴ Isaacs & Downing, *Cold War*, p. 133.

instead intimates that though occupation was inevitably a temporary measure, the British presence in Germany is maintained on a basis on indefinite tenure and sustained by the perception of the moral and political right of the victor. The British position in Germany appears as detached from the contemporary political reality of West Germany and Europe at large. The ‘force of England’ as le Carré calls it, here evocatively represented as akin to a traditional English oak, situated itself in a position of temporal and spatial delusion: ‘With one sprawling limb it holds down the past, with another it smoothes the present; while a third searches anxiously in the wet Rhenish earth to find what is buried for the future’.⁸⁵ Le Carré depicts Britain and British ideology struggling with the expectations of its history and the uncertainty of its future to remain a secure presence in the German state, enduring like the oak. However, Britain is unable to take root and the national presence always retains the characteristic uncertainty of the wary visitor, reluctant to let go of the past, choosing to ignore the shifting political climate of the present and fearful of inevitable, impending change.⁸⁶

Le Carré’s inclusion of the oak tree is immediately indicative of British national identity, redolent of the various oaks that appear in conceptions of nationhood since the Renaissance.⁸⁷ An example of how the oak is further suggestive of English identity is through its association with William Blake’s poem ‘The Echoing Green’ (1789). In this poem Blake uses the oak to signify longevity and identifies it with strength and permanence; two qualities ironically lacking in le Carré’s depiction of the British presence in Germany and in the contemporary state of British power abroad.⁸⁸ The British oak is meant to signify the distinct identity of British representatives in Germany and the position of the embassy as separated from the space surrounding it. However, instead of confirming this distinction the image of the

⁸⁵ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Myron J. Aronoff notes in *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999) that the novel exhibits ‘a British preference for looking to the past’ (p. 187) perhaps nowhere better expressed, as noted in chapter one, than by diplomat de Lisle’s remark that it is always ‘[M]uch kinder to look back’. *ASTIG*, p. 109.

⁸⁷ For more information see W. Bryant Logan. *Oak: The Frame of Civilisation* (London: Norton, 2006). The oak appears in multiple historical instances of nationhood from the fictional, such as Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (1603) and the Royal Navy’s marching hymn ‘Heart of Oak’ (1759) written by David Garrick, to the factual Boscobel oak that sheltered the future Charles II in 1651.

⁸⁸ W. Blake. *Songs of Innocence* (Toronto: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 15.

oak confuses it; the oak is the national tree of Britain but also of Germany.⁸⁹ Le Carré chooses his metaphor to illustrate the arbitrariness of such national distinctions and to emphasise the disparate state of identity in post-war Germany.

The effect of the spatial situation of the British diplomatic position is a fragmented sense of identity for Britons abroad. The characters in le Carré's novel all suffer from conflict caused by divisions of class and uncertainties of social place which result in a common sense of rootlessness. Le Carré populates his novel with a host of decentered subjects, being either stateless persons such as Leo Harting, upper-class incompetents fearful of social change such as the diplomat de Lisle, working-class stereotypes like John Gaunt or class misfits such as Alan Turner, educated but coarsened and brutalised by their experiences in the secret service.⁹⁰ No definitive sense of identity is possible because the circumstance in which they exist is subject to so many disunities and divisions. For example, the British Embassy is revealed as never categorically British or entirely German. The embassy is prefigured as sovereign British territory but remains indivisible from its German location; the two identities at play react and prevent the dominance of either opposite influence over the other. The internal divisions of the embassy reveal the failure of the British class system in the spatial context of Germany. Any attempt at exporting the rigidity inherent to British class division and its concurrent privilege is revealed as outmoded in the recently sovereign West German state.⁹¹ As Germany continues to develop its own political identity it affects the established position of British influence. The resultant animosity towards the British presence in Germany destabilises its ability to function, causing a loss of control. The spatial and ideological conjunction which converges on the British Embassy transforms it into a sub-sovereign lacuna in the landscape, devoid of definitive signification.

⁸⁹ A. Almusaed. *Biophilic and Bioclimatic Architecture: Analytical Therapy for the Next Generation of Passive Sustainable Architecture* (London: Springer, 2010), p. 64.

⁹⁰ Le Carré also fragments the professional identities of his characters; though they all work in the embassy, Turner is first and foremost a spy whilst de Lisle, as Minister Resident, would typically act as a point of contact for any spies operating in the region. Le Carré fictionalises his own experience of spying in Germany in the novel; during the period in which it is set (early 1960s) le Carré, though working for MI6, was Second Secretary at the British Embassy in Bonn. See T. Garton-Ash, 'Life and Letters: 'The Real le Carré'', *The New Yorker*, 15th March 1999.

⁹¹ West Germany was granted sovereignty in 1955. See D. Childs & J. Johnson. *West Germany, Politics & Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 206.

The fragmenting of identity in the novel is another reflection of the description of the English oak; each of the characters present bears the weight of personal and national tradition, attempts to adjust to the demands of the present and finds nothing appealing in the perceived future. The two most internally conflicted characters in the novel are the antagonist Leo Harting and protagonist Alan Turner, suggesting an affinity that crosses the rigidly perceived boundaries of national identity. Harting in particular is an example of spatial hybridity and transmutable identity. Whilst investigating his background, Turner discovers that Harting is a 'Professional expatriate', that he is originally German, having emigrated to Britain at some point in the 1930s to avoid National Socialist persecution.⁹² The exchange between Turner and Lumley, his superior, details Harting's progression from immigrant to valued citizen and then to political embarrassment:

There's a smell, that's all. A foreign smell. Refugee background, emigrated in the thirties. Farm school, Pioneer Corps, Bomb Disposal. He gravitated to Germany in forty-five. Temporary sergeant; Control Commission; one of the old carpet-baggers by the sound of it...Some survived, some drifted into the consulates. Quite a few of them reverted; went into the night or took up German citizenship again.⁹³

The description of Harting's biography indicates the fluidity and subjectivity of identity related to space. Harting endeavours to become British, joining the Army and performing in service of the sovereign. However, he is never fully assimilated, always retaining as much German identity as British. The duality of his identity is emphasised in the way he is perceived by others, particularly Lumley. Harting is subject to the same principles of inclusion and exclusion as the British Embassy is within Germany, being at once a part of his adopted country and irreconcilably separate from it. His tenure as a British subject is always considered temporary by those he works for and Harting is perceived in terms suggestive of a lack of purpose or direction; Le Carré's diction reinforces this sense of aimlessness and transience in his use of 'drifted', 'gravitated', 'emigrated' and 'reverted', his 'refugee smell' foreshadowing Harting's similarly short-lived life on the run. Le Carré's language

⁹² Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 36.

⁹³ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, pp. 35-36.

illustrates how Lumley regards Harting either with suspicion or on the understanding that he will one day cease to be British again and, consequently, cannot ever be trusted; his suspected role as a double-agent is seemingly confirmed by his hybrid national identity. The status of Harting as temporarily useful is illustrative of the principles by which identity is related to extension of sovereignty. Harting is temporarily co-opted within British identity whilst he performs a useful function but then dismissed when suspected of wrongdoing. National identity in this instance remains simultaneously open and closed; Harting is encouraged to identify with British identity but denied the fulfilment of complete acceptance. British power remains wary of the German, distancing itself from the potential danger it represents.⁹⁴

Alan Turner shares Harting's inability to assimilate into an acceptable form of British identity. Turner is presumed to be a member of the secret service but his actual role is treated with typical elision; he appears to act as a roving trouble-shooter, posted to areas in which the influence or control of British power is lacking. Like Harting, Turner is representative of a British identity created by a society in flux. A decade or so younger than those at the British Embassy, le Carré presents Turner as constantly conflicted; his appearance, history and actions never integrate in any cohesive fashion. Turner is described as 'a big, lumbering man, fair-haired, plain-faced and pale' with a 'broad, aggressive, policeman's walk, wilfully without finesse'.⁹⁵ He is described as a former fellow of 'St. Anthony's College, Oxford' but appears bereft of the refinement that such a background should imply. In contrast to the typically debonair demeanour of spies such as Bond, or the seductive glamour of Harry Lime, Turner's appearance is illustrative of his denigrated status and muddled identity. He is described as wearing shoes 'of a heavy brown brogue and much repaired at the welts. He wore a stained tropical suit and carried a stained canvas bag' implying the obviousness with which he carries his emotional baggage.⁹⁶ Le Carré characterises Turner as a misfit, clad in the outmoded dress of a faded class of Briton out of expectation, educated in spaces of privilege but uncomfortable in privileged circles.

⁹⁴ There is also an undercurrent of anti-Semitism present in Lumley's description of Harting, also alluded to by many other English and German characters throughout the novel. Harting's religious difference, along with his immigrant status and political background, are all used to emphasise his incompatibility with either nationality.

⁹⁵ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 28.

⁹⁶ Le Carré, *ASTIG*, p. 28.

He is revealed to be aggressive, short-tempered and with no deference to class; Turner is at once apart from and a part of the establishment, simultaneously included and excluded, uncomfortable in his surroundings. This description of Turner suggests that he possesses the attributes necessary to become a successful spy, however, he lacks the deference and identification with the establishment of a spy such as Bond. Instead, Turner is conflicted and contrary at every point; his profession demands a degree of unobtrusive conduct yet he cannot but help abrasively hector each of the people he interviews regarding Harting, resorting to violence when his demands are refused.

By characterising Turner in this way le Carré seeks to illustrate by analogy the misguided, post-imperial British foreign policy of the 1950s and 60s. In comparable fashion to aggressive British conduct in Malaya, Suez, Kenya, and Aden, when perceiving a threat or frustrated by shifting geopolitical circumstance, Turner, and Britain, violently lashes out.⁹⁷ Uncertain of their changing position in the world, the younger adult generation of Britons is unsure of who to be or how to act; this then leads to violent action, the mismanagement of conflict, alienation and vulnerability. Turner is also illustrative of the self-defeating nature of forceful action. In the same way that the fortification of borders and pursuit of spies through violent means serves to increase the probability of reciprocal attack, the attempt on Britain's part to seek justice through direct action ends only in failure. Turner takes on the superior force of Karfeld directly and is left badly beaten whilst Harting is swiftly killed. In each case, the attempts of British power to reassert dominance through application of force leads only to the detriment of its position; Turner is unsuccessful and Harting's attempt on Karfeld's life is perceived as part of a wider British intrigue designed to destabilise the political process in sovereign West Germany.

The decline of the British Empire in le Carré's novel results in a dissolution of conventional class boundaries, the fragmentation of national identity and the weakening of perceived British international position. However, to state that a singular British national identity existed before the end of the Empire would also be incorrect. Each novel in this chapter illustrates that no consensus of explicitly British identity exists, but there are parameters within which a spectrum of related character

⁹⁷ See R. J. Gavin. *Aden under British Rule 1839-1967* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1975), p. 318.

tropes can be contained. In Greene and Fleming's novels there are elements of certain shared qualities which indicate a definable taxonomy of class-based British identity. However, without the overarching surety of imperial metanarrative these distinctions fragment, exacerbating their difference and causing conflict. The only common characteristic of identity in le Carré's novel is that the different character tropes occupy a shared spatial position, either a part of Germany or of the British Embassy. In contrast to Greene and Fleming, le Carré indicates that identity is borne of difference and not similarity. Each character in *A Small Town in Germany* knows his or her place in relation to that of others; they define themselves through division, not national unity. The Germans view themselves through the lens of British occupation and continued presence, defining themselves against the outmoded politics of the denuded British Empire. The British meanwhile create a perception of themselves as the barrier to violent conflict in Europe but fail to realise that their very presence contributes to potential unrest. The Embassy in Bonn embodies the spatial and political circumstances surrounding it and reflects the metaphorical position of Britain; besieged, under political pressure from all angles as well as internally divided.

Conclusion

The Moscow Declaration of 1943 that divided Vienna and Berlin set the tone of British overseas actions for the three decades that followed it. Enacted amid circumstances of declining British influence as America and Russia took over the active prosecution of the war, the relegation of Britain from a position of pre-war prominence created an overriding concern for territorial control in the post-war years; the measure of British power was perceived to rest on the nation's ability to exert control over space and place. Consequently, the espionage fiction produced by Greene, Fleming and le Carré is inextricably bound to notions of protecting national interests through the control of various spaces, both at home and abroad.

In the case of an author such as Fleming, the James Bond series is typically assessed as a cultural space in which the shifting sands of the special relationship and the

changing role of the nation at home and abroad could be fictively addressed and resolved in favour of Britain and British interests. Rather than safety and security, however, the actions of the spy in Greene, le Carré and Fleming's novels produces varied and often detrimental effects. Greene, writing in a time of burgeoning concern over Soviet belligerence in occupied Europe, demonstrates the ineffective nature of British measures to preserve spatial boundaries; though his characters may win the battle, in terms of stopping Lime's penicillin racket, British territory is revealed as vulnerable and continually subject to threats as the Cold War continues. Greene's novel intimates that constant vigilance as exercised by Calloway and the British Security forces in Vienna can never totally eliminate the undermining of British control but rather react to it as and when it occurs. In Fleming's *Goldfinger*, the spatial integrity of Britain is perceived as under threat by both enemies and allies alike, further pushing Britain into a reliance on the support of other nations to maintain control. Le Carré's *A Small Town In Germany* explores the consequences of these post-war attitudes twenty years hence, illustrating how British actions conducted with the intention of avoiding conflict and preserving control create the opposite effect; the British presence in Germany, both clandestine and diplomatic, is shown to be divisive and detrimental to British interests.

Opinions as to how Britain could remain a strong nation on an international level were inherently spatial, linked either to the continued possession and fortification of overseas territory or through the militarisation of urban and pastoral landscapes at home. The prevalence and continued emphasis on the relationship between space and sovereignty in the early years of the Cold War meant that authors such as Greene, Fleming and le Carré would make them key components of their espionage fiction, in turn reinforcing their prevalence in contemporary discourse. However, the configuration of space was changing on a more local scale, manifest in terms of changing physical environments in spaces across the British nation. Along with the Russo-American dominated settlement of the Second World War, the political situation within British government also altered rapidly, with Clement Atlee's Labour party elected under a huge mandate for reform. Atlee and public figures like him recognised that for Britain to develop as well as rebuild after the war the nation would need to change on a much more localised level, as was already happening in towns and cities across the country; in a period of international decline, the Labour

government of 1945 would have to make good the overwhelming mandate for social reform on which it was elected. The obvious starting point for this reform would be the city of London.

Chapter Three – Between Battleground & Fairground: British Espionage Fiction and the Post-war City.

In the following chapter I examine the representation of London and city space in the novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré through focus on how the post-war programme of urban redevelopment alters the spatial configuration of the city as well as its place in spy fiction. In this chapter I argue that whilst cities are commonly identified as fixed spaces of national identity they are in fact aberrant to typical national experience, susceptible to influence and continuously undergoing change. Further, I will argue that the city space in espionage fiction is subject to a paradox whereby the centre of sovereign power, seemingly the most secure part of the nation, is revealed as porous, uncontrollable and always in process.

Introduction: Unreal City.

London matters in espionage fiction. The city is always the centre of operations in the spy novels of Ian Fleming, Graham Greene and John le Carré but, crucially, the representation of London varies greatly between each author, reflecting their subjective experiences of the city. Espionage fiction is typically concerned with the representation of urban environments; scenes of a rural nature, like Bond's journey to Kent in *Goldfinger* (1959) are rare and used in conjunction with or in contrast to urban space. Instead, as also illustrated in the novels of Greene and le Carré, spies often operate exclusively within city space, indicative of the city's status as a centre of intrigue and as an arena for clandestine activity. It is the designation of London as a centre for control that secures its place in espionage fiction and demands its continued defence. The identification of cities with all manner of secret services and cities as representative of the nation in which they are situated is illustrated by the way in which the names of capital cities are used as euphemisms for intelligence organisations. For instance, spies often refer to their orders or their allegiances being to 'London' or 'Moscow'; in this instance the city acts as a metonymic signifier of sovereign authority, embodying the governmental and ideological values of the nation

in a singular yet illusory form.¹ This supposed fixity with which spies refer to the city belies its notional and constructed composition; the war and the period of post-war redevelopment that followed, perhaps more than any other time in London's modern history, illustrates how nothing in the city is ever permanent or inviolable.

In this chapter I will argue two main points by approaching the differing representations of London in the novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré as both place, in terms of historical contextual detail relevant to the period in question, and as space, with regards to its production and mediation by forces of organisation and power. Firstly, I will argue that whilst cities are commonly identified as exemplary spaces of national identity they are in fact aberrant to typical national experience, susceptible to influence and continuously undergoing change. As part of this argument I will illustrate how various spaces of London are contextually and fictionally produced and how that production affects their inhabitants. Secondly, building on my analysis of liminal space in the preceding chapter, I will illustrate that the city space in espionage fiction is subject to a paradox whereby the centre of sovereign power, seemingly the most secure part of the nation, is revealed as unstable, disharmonious and uncontrollable. Far from a fixed signifier of national identity and authority, I will argue that the London of espionage fiction is a fractured space compounded by uncertainty and subjective interpretation; spies indeed fight to protect the city, but a version of the city unique to them.

1. **London Universal:** City, Ideology and National Identity in Post-war Spy Fiction.

Inter-war London was a city of contradictions. Though it lacked the artistic allure of Paris and the modern architecture of New York, London remained the world's greatest and most populous city, growing to nearly eight and a half million inhabitants

¹ M. Augé. *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2000), p. 64. As the title of Augé's volume suggests, whether or not these versions of 'London' or 'Moscow' really exist is debatable.

by 1939.² However, the inter-war years had also suffused the city with a feeling of late-Imperial ennui; birth-rates had lowered since the First World War, and the manufacturing output of London's industries appeared like much of the country to have entered a period of intense slumber with widespread unemployment and factory closures.³ George Orwell, whilst gathering material for what became *Down & Out in Paris and London* (1933) wrote that London was the 'corpse of a town', characterised as much by squalor and destitution as it was by privilege.⁴

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, however, changed London in a number of simultaneously material and symbolic ways. The mobilisation necessitated by total war meant that London was invigorated anew in terms of manufacturing, for instance becoming a centre for armaments production at factories in Woolwich, Enfield and Hackney, and in terms of its international cultural mix as combatants of various nations passed through the city on leave or on the way to postings across the country. Most significantly of all, the city also became a target; in two intense periods, the Blitz of 1940-41 and under the V1 and V2 bombing campaigns of 1943-45, London was effectively a front-line city.⁵ The result was to intensify the existing identification of London as a centre of power and influence, as it had been for centuries, with the symbolic badge of national resistance. The widespread destruction of the war allowed the coalition government to position London as central to projections of the British national character; geographically important as a centre of production and metaphorically vital to the construction of national identity.

Herbert Morrison, the wartime coalition Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, published a statement entitled 'A Tribute to London' in *The Times* on the 7th September 1944. Morrison wrote that 'London has been in the front line...of the greatest war that history has ever known. She was in the first battle and she is in the

² S. Inwood. *London: A History* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 708. Despite the gross population growth, Inwood notes that the population of inner-London had decreased by approximately eleven percent in the same period.

³ J. White. *London in the Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 22.

⁴ G. Orwell. *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell. Volume 1: An Age Like This* (London: Penguin, 1976), p. 76. Orwell was no fan of the suburbs either and wrote disparagingly of them in *Coming Up For Air* (1936).

⁵ The sustained aerial attacks on London resulted in approximately 60,000 fatalities and many thousands more injured. P. Hennessy. *Never Again: Britain 1945-51* (London: Vintage, 1993), p. 35.

last one – so far’.⁶ Morrison’s tribute contributed to the remaking of London and the Londoner; his statement equated the endurance of the city with the national will to fight, placing it alongside other examples of British war-myth such as the Battle of Britain and the Normandy Invasion.⁷ The intimation of Morrison’s tribute was that the cause of London was the cause of the country; in a nationwide conflict, the traditional primacy of regional identities fostered by industry was relegated in favour of a sense of collective national identity.⁸ For the duration of the war, the line would remain that the country was all ‘in it together’, an assertion substantiated in a variety of government literature and pamphlets.⁹ It is this wartime production of the ‘idea’ of London that was carried forth into the emergent Cold War not only in a raft of post-war civil publications but more readily in the spy fiction of Fleming, Greene and le Carré.¹⁰ All three authors engage with the concept of a collective British identity, either in their support of it or in illustration of its shortcomings as the empire entered a period of decline.

As a result of this identification with power, post-war spy fiction is a genre with a distinctly urban character. However, the portrayal of the spy and the construction of spy fiction as preoccupied with London are also as a result of the genealogy the genre shares with crime fiction.¹¹ David Seed argues that the genres of spy fiction and crime fiction have been linked since the first ‘real’ spy novels of the nineteenth century; moreover, in their use of similar tropes of imagery and narrative methodology, the genres remained inextricably bound throughout the twentieth century.¹² Espionage fiction of the twentieth century had nearly always concerned itself with threats to London, from early anarchist terrorism in Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* (1907)

⁶ M. Waller. *London 1945* (London: John Murray, 2004), p. 13. By speaking of London in such combative terms, Morrison simultaneously heightened the symbolism of the city’s resistance whilst elevating its profile as a signifier of national unity.

⁷ As historian Jerry White explains, the war had remade the image of the Londoner ‘literally overnight’ making the epithet of ‘Londoner’ a ‘badge of courage’ recognisable across the nation and the English-speaking world alike. White, *London*, pp. 102-3.

⁸ See P. Joyce. *Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991).

⁹ A. Calder. *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), p. 9.

¹⁰ Adam Piette argues in *Imagination at War: British Fiction & British Poetry 1939-45* (London: Papermac Macmillan, 1995) that London transformed itself in the war, being at once cut off from combat (being a large city on an island nation) but also just another theatre, destabilising its sense of safety for decades after, p. 3.

¹¹ J. Thompson. *Fiction, Crime & Empire* (Illinois: University Press, 1993), p. 85.

¹² D. Seed. ‘Spy Fiction’ from M. Priestman, *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), pp. 115-116.

through German militarism in John Buchan and William le Queux during the 1910s to Nazism in Greene's *The Ministry of Fear* (1943); the wartime intensification of London's importance cemented this relationship between the city and spy fiction further.¹³ David Stafford attributes the rise of espionage fiction to 'an underlying feeling of national insecurity in the face of changing international relations'; in the face of such grave circumstance, the nation would need a professional to protect its interests, both at home and abroad.¹⁴

Where espionage differs from other contemporary genres is in its choice of urban space over all others in Britain.¹⁵ Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott argue that in Ian Fleming's novels London is undoubtedly, and unsurprisingly, the ideological heart of Britain. They argue that James Bond, and by extension the spy in general, represents not only the interests of Britain but the West as a whole through fulfilling the wishes of London, the site of his controllers and the seat of power that he serves.¹⁶ However, rather than only acting as the ideological heart of the nation, Fleming's novels reveal that London is a site of ideological production, especially with regards to constructions of national identity. Much like in Morrison's 'Tribute to London', the interests of England in spy fiction are predicated on those of London, binding London to the nation in the same way that the spy is bound to the city. In the sense of serving Britain through the orders of London the spy fulfils their role as an instrument of national ideology; the spy's function is to preserve and protect both physical space in the form of territory and maintain political dominance.

As noted in the preceding chapter, *Moonraker* (1955) is the only novel where Bond operates exclusively within the British Isles stating that '[E]ven the Prime Minister had had to give permission for him to operate, for just this one assignment, inside

¹³ The early period of espionage fiction also cemented the role of the 'gentleman amateur' in protecting the nation from external threat; for instance, the novels of Buchan, Le Queux and Edgar Wallace all feature such protagonists. In the post-war period, however, the amateurism which had long been a hallmark of both crime and spy fiction began to decrease in favour of the professional spy.

¹⁴ In Seed, 'Spy Fiction', p. 116.

¹⁵ Many other contemporary literary schools, such as The Movement poets and novelists, were ardent provincialists and made no secret of their dislike for cities. See Dominic Head. 'Poisoned Minds: Suburbanites in Post-War British Fiction' from R. Webster, *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives* (Washington: Berghan Books, 2000), p. 72.

¹⁶ T. Bennett & J. Woollacott. *Bond & Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p. 99.

England'.¹⁷ The action is distinctly urban for much of the novel, largely set in London, but also features Dover and the Kent coast as the site of the Moonraker's launch-pad. The plot concerns Bond's mission to investigate a murder at the site of Britain's entry into the nuclear arms race, the eponymous 'Moonraker', developed by businessman and social-climber Hugo Drax. Drax is later revealed to be a former Nazi spy now engaged in a plot to destroy London as revenge for Germany losing the war.¹⁸ Drax's proposed revenge against England (as opposed to Britain) is significant for the reactions it inspires in Bond and Gala Brand, the Special Branch operative working with Bond in this novel. As Brand calculates the trajectory coordinates she finds in Drax's secret notebook she realises the true target of the Moonraker:

(T)hey would drop the Moonraker just about in the middle of London. But on London! On London!! So one's heart really does go into one's throat. How extraordinary. Such a commonplace and yet there it is and it really does stop one breathing... This would bring the rocket down within a hundred yards of Buckingham Palace.¹⁹

The extreme reaction to the knowledge that London is likely to be destroyed reveals the primacy of position that the city occupies in popular consciousness. Bringing the rocket down within a hundred yards of Buckingham Palace not only ensures the destruction of the political heart of the city in Whitehall and Westminster but encompasses the monarchy as well, thus obliterating two key components of London's physical and symbolic network of power. Realisation of Drax's intention provokes a similar feeling of dread in Bond too, though one with a slightly more masculine sense of self-control: 'To Bond the Moonraker was a giant hypodermic needle ready to be plunged into the heart of England'.²⁰ Bond's reaction, unlike Brand's, ascribes a clinical and precise character to Drax's intentions and one suffused with irony; rather than the shot in the arm that British geopolitics needs, the Moonraker becomes that which will send it permanently to sleep. In either reaction, however, as Bennett and Woollacott suggest, the ideological heart of the nation is located in its capital; to a nation still rebuilding the damage of war, the destruction of

¹⁷ I. Fleming *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 161.

¹⁸ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

¹⁹ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 223.

²⁰ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 254.

any other space in the British Isles could not possibly have such a comparably shocking effect.²¹

The potential destruction of a nation's capital is understandably shocking in any context. However, the depiction and threatened destruction of London has further implications within Fleming's fiction. In Umberto Eco's influential formalist analysis of the James Bond novels the space of the city is prefigured as vital to the plot and narrative construction of each work. Eco argues that the Bond novels are invariably structured in the same uniform fashion throughout Fleming's career, likening character functions within each plot to a series of 'moves' in a game.²² In Eco's analysis, either the first or second of these 'moves' involves Bond being given instruction by M in the secret Service building in Regent's Park.²³ By placing Bond's initial briefings in London, the city is awarded primacy over other novelistic locations by symbolising the centre of power and the staging ground from which the agents of the British Empire are despatched; Bond becomes a kind of 'global policeman', as argued by Christoph Lindner, operating out of London and willing to pursue criminals across the spaces of Empire and beyond.²⁴ Further, the city becomes the location from which Fleming's 'ideology of Englishness' is repeatedly articulated, reinforcing the commitment of the spy to preserving the codes of honour, duty and patriotism that Fleming's wartime and Cold War rhetoric embodies. The destruction or subversion of London is to threaten not only the power of the nation but the sense of Englishness it produces.

The routine by which Bond is summoned to M's office rarely deviates and along with the position of the Universal Exports building in London, signifies both the power and permanence of the Secret Service within the city. Fleming makes repeated references to the position of Bond's headquarters, describing how 'the gaunt, high building' looks out over the park and St. James's, aligning it with Westminster, the centre of

²¹ Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond & Beyond*, p.102. As the authors state, before London is identified as the target the prospect of the rocket landing in the North Sea or the provinces at least seems 'bearable'.

²² U. Eco. 'Narrative Structures in Fleming' taken from *The Role of the Reader* (Indiana: University Press, 1979), p. 155-156.

²³ Eco's analysis is not always accurate; In *From Russia With Love* Bond's briefing with M does not happen for over a hundred pages. Instead, the novel opens with an extended scene in which a KGB committee discuss the secret services of various nations.

²⁴ C. Lindner. *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 144.

political power and wider control of the nation.²⁵ The authoritative position of the British Secret Service building is similarly emphasised by the actions of its inhabitants. Various characters, including M and Bond, are often depicted standing at windows, their position of height and continued observation of London life indicative of the surveillance culture which acts as the basis of Fleming's ideology, acting as the watchful eye of the British establishment. Despite this watchfulness Fleming's writing just as often evokes a sense of detachment within his prose, signifying a contradictory disharmony present even in his supposedly unified urban vision; in *Moonraker* again Fleming writes that 'through the open window came the distant roar of London traffic'.²⁶ The 'distant' nature of the city emphasises the removal of Bond's city life as a spy from the lives of other Londoners, as well as awarding a contradictory character to the secret service itself, seemingly both inside and outside of the city and the nation. Fleming's novels indirectly acknowledge the declining relevance of his wartime ideology and the subtle way in which city life and its representation in espionage fiction was beginning to alter.

Apart from brief interludes told in flashback, le Carré sets his first novel *Call for the Dead* (1961) entirely in London. In using London to such a great extent and in such a different fashion to Fleming's Bond novels, le Carré shows London to be of less significance than contemporary novels make it out to be. In a deliberate parody of Fleming's conventional structure, when le Carré's protagonist, George Smiley, travels to the secret service building in Cambridge Circus he muses 'why was London the only capital in the world that lost its personality at night?'²⁷ In direct contrast to Bond's active, self-directed travels through Hyde Park in his Bentley, le Carré has Smiley passively transported through city space. Le Carré also sites his secret intelligence services with more ambiguity than Fleming. Whereas in Fleming's novel, Universal Exports is surrounded by parkland and open space, the Circus is surrounded and hemmed in by 'buildings [that] were gimcrack, cheaply fitted out with bits of empire: a Roman bank, a theatre like a vast desecrated mosque' all in close proximity to London's notoriously inveterate Soho.²⁸ The Circus is not the permanent and

²⁵ I. Fleming, *Live & Let Die* (Bungay: Triad/Granada, 1981), p. 11.

²⁶ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 18.

²⁷ J. le Carré *Call for the Dead* (London: Penguin, 1964), p. 15.

²⁸ J. le Carré. *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* (London: Octopus Group, 1988), p. 189.

prominent authority that Universal Exports is made out to be, but rather just another building, another ‘bit of empire’ in London’s many layered history.

The differing representations of the city illustrate how rather than the knowable community Fleming’s novels make it out to be, London is a fractured and disharmonious space. Smiley is no less loyal to his country and his employer than Bond is, though his disconnection to the urban space in which he operates is much more pronounced. The novels of Greene and le Carré illustrate the gap between the idea of London, namely the signification of urban space in relation to the determination of identity and belonging, and the quotidian experience of living there. When contrasted against Fleming’s novels, the contribution of London to the construction of national identity in the post-war period is one of paradox; the city is simultaneously inside and outside what it is purported to represent, part of the nation but also far more than just a mere component part. Fleming’s novels demonstrate how the perceived importance of London exercised a pull on the national imagination in excess of that of regional spaces. Whilst *Moonraker* supports this analysis, it renders the representation of London throughout Fleming’s series of novels problematic. Fleming’s novels describe a very particular configuration of London whereas the cultural mix of the city, in light of the perspectives offered by the novels of Greene and le Carré, appears to assert that London possesses no authentic or common identity of its own but is built up of layers of individual spatial experience.

2. **London Particular:** City Space and the Individual.

The use of London as a departure point for each of Bond’s missions allows Fleming the opportunity to narrate and develop Bond’s experience of city space. The London-based novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré illustrate a range of perspectives on the construction and production of urban experience. Whereas Greene is often more concerned with the interior lives of his characters as they move through various spatial environments, Michael Denning argues that Fleming nearly always documents Bond’s movements in minute detail in order to display both power and affluence;

Bond indulges because it is what his readers would wish to do themselves.²⁹ Le Carré, as part of his continued anti-Bond aesthetic, also engages in recording the minutiae of his characters' London lives, though to markedly different effect.³⁰

The notion of display is particularly important when considered against the novels of Fleming and le Carré, those whose central protagonists (and antagonists) are London-based but significantly not London-born. Both Bond and Smiley, a recurring Circus agent in le Carré's novels, live in the same borough of London, Chelsea, and perform a similar and contemporaneous function as counter-espionage operatives. Aside from this similarity, the two characters engage with entirely different forms of London. Fleming illustrates how the spaces of London that Bond accesses define his character and produce his identity. As befitting the popular tropes of espionage fiction and the ideology propagated by Fleming, space in Bond's London is a mixture of power, play and production. Fleming's novels variously illustrate how Bond is able to take advantage of all that post-rationing, increasingly affluent London is able to offer. For instance, London provides Bond with the opportunity for sexual encounters, either with prostitutes or other men's wives (*You only Live Twice* and *Moonraker* respectively), access to bespoke luxuries such as Morland cigarettes and hand-built Bentleys (*Moonraker*), entertainment through cards or gentleman's clubs (*Thunderball*), the medical expertise of Harley Street when the psychological toll of his missions becomes too much (*You Only Live Twice*) and the opportunity to serve his country via the Universal Export offices in Regents Park (*Diamonds Are Forever* and many others).³¹ The depiction of Bond's London supports the conflation of power and commerce in the capital, a combination reinforced by the fact that MI6 uses an export agency as its cover, exporting both the agents of British power and their politics.

In his essay 'Ian Fleming and the Realities of Escapism', David Cannadine argues that Fleming's novels 'glorified consumer spending and consumer culture' in ways distasteful to his critics and that the author was seen as 'encouraging individual greed

²⁹ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 104.

³⁰ See J. Atkins. *The British Spy Story* (London: John Calder, 1984), p. 170.

³¹ See I. Fleming. *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 19; *Moonraker*, p. 11; *Thunderball* (London: Penguin, 2004) p. 1; *Diamonds are Forever* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 22.

and personal gain'.³² Despite Fleming's assertions that the British secret service 'pay them (spies) little money' and that 'these agents have no special privileges...no relief from taxation and no special shops...from which they can buy cheap goods' Bond hardly lives an austere lifestyle.³³ Indeed, later in the same novel, Fleming describes how Bond breakfasts on an average day, writing that (in addition to the egg from French Marans hens) that 'there were two thick slices of whole-wheat toast, a large pat of yellow Jersey butter and three squat jars containing Tiptree 'Little Scarlet' Strawberry jam; Cooper's Vintage Oxford Marmalade and Norwegian Heather Honey from Fortnum's'; it seems an afterthought to mention that '[T]he coffee pot and the silver on the tray were Queen Anne, and the china was Minton'.³⁴ However, despite his character's extravagance, Fleming is able to declare in *Goldfinger* that 'Bond liked anonymity'.³⁵ In most environments, Bond's expensive lifestyle of consumer goods, Bentleys and gambling would make him a conspicuous figure but the urban space in which he lives means that his anonymity is preserved. White describes how a chief advantage of the city is that it strips away the 'petty scrutiny of provincial life'.³⁶ Bond is seemingly able to act how he pleases without fear of recrimination or identification.

Bond's London is very much that of the contemporary establishment he serves; the spaces he accesses and the actions he performs are identifiably those of aspirational conservatism dominant in the early 1950s, illustrative of a desire for privilege and luxury. However, the role of London in the Bond series is greater than simply the canvas against which Fleming can illustrate Bond's access to goods and services, instead acting to link the individual with the traditions and history of the city too.³⁷ Bond's experience of the gentlemen's club Blades is one such example. Blades club first appears in *Moonraker* but recurs throughout the series, most notably in *You Only Live Twice* (1964) and *The Man With The Golden Gun* (1965). On its first appearance, Fleming narrates the club's history in great detail, establishing its

³² D. Cannadine. *In Churchill's Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 300.

³³ I. Fleming. *From Russia, With Love* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 42.

³⁴ Fleming, *Russia*, p. 98.

³⁵ I. Fleming. *Goldfinger* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), p. 11. Similarly, in *The Man With the Golden Gun* (1965) when he refuses a knighthood Bond goes as far as to state that 'Eye am a Scottish peasant and will always feel at home being a Scottish peasant' (sic). I. Fleming. *The Man With the Golden Gun* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 180.

³⁶ White, *London*, p. 94.

³⁷ In many ways, Blades acts as a microcosm of the historical identification through space Fleming employs in Kent; see chapter one for more detail.

pedigree by placing it within the context of the British Empire and its traditions: 'Then in 1776, Horace Walpole wrote: 'A new club is opened off St James's street that piques itself in surpassing all its predecessors'...the club continued to flourish and remains to this day the home of some of the highest polite gambling in the world...'.³⁸ Through its heritage and position within 'high' society, Blades acts as a barometer and manufacturer of gentlemanly conduct, creating the identity it seeks to admit; Bond acknowledges that he '(D)oesn't look the sort of chap one usually sees in Blades' but seeks to alter his behaviour out of a desire to belong to the club's, and the nation's, privileged community.³⁹ This access to exclusive space reinforces Bond's identification with the nation, the city and the power he serves.

Fleming's London is thus characterised as the heart of a global matrix of power built up through a mixture of commerce, government and symbolic identification, very much as the Churchill and Macmillan governments wished the nation to be seen.⁴⁰ For Bond, London is a paradoxical space in which the individual is allowed to indulge in conspicuous acts of consumption whilst remaining inconspicuous. It is an inclusive and motivating space, simultaneously an arena for action and a driving force of it. Fleming uses London as an active environment; the use of the city as either a setting, starting point for the narrative or constant ideological motivator, inverts the understanding that the spy is always centre stage, and that the built environment is simply a backdrop. For Bond as an economic migrant, London becomes the extent of his experience of England, with only brief excursions into Kent as an alternative; the Englishness he fights to protect, and the values that Fleming's novels project, are of a particularly urban variety. In a later novel, *Dr No* (1958), Bond fantasises about London whilst on a mission in the Caribbean:

His mind drifted into a world of tennis courts and lily ponds and kings and queens, of London, of people being photographed with pigeons on their heads in Trafalgar Square, of the forsythia that would soon be blazing on the bypass roundabouts.⁴¹

³⁸ Fleming, *Moonraker*, pp. 33-34.

³⁹ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Cannadine, *Churchill's Shadow*, p. 308.

⁴¹ I. Fleming, *Dr. No* (London: Pan, 1965), p. 182.

Bond's 'England' is one constructed from the imagery of privilege and anonymity in urban space. He thinks of London immediately, placing the importance of urban above that of rural space, recognising power in the forms of monarchy and the military resonance of Trafalgar Square along with the anonymity of the crowds that flock to the city. Bond does not think of any individual connection, but rather it is his place within London society that captures his imagination. Moreover, he does not even go as far as naming the kings and queens he half-imagines; Bond's England is an unformed and porous idea of national identification, able to be shaped to any particular need and able to accept those who subscribe to its ideology. For Bennett and Woollacott, London in Fleming's fiction is used as an interpellative device, placing the reader into subject positions produced by the ideologies of Englishness that the capital extols.⁴² The imprecision of Bond's imaginings of the city renders them deliberately open and therefore able to include any outsider wishing to be part of London society.

Bond's imaginings of the English landscape, however, are of a distinctly post-war character and allude to the changes reconstruction has had on the urban environment, most notably replacing William Blake's English oak with roadside flowers on recently paved arterial highways and roundabouts.⁴³ Again like the Universal Exports building, rather than identification with England and London Bond's thoughts illustrate a sense of disconnection from it, experiencing the nation from his car window or specific set of London spaces. It is an image of England that aligns the spy with a particular portrait of the city and the nation, that of the establishment; a quintessentially Conservative view of the British Isles. Bond's recollections take on a distinctly impersonal character, as though they may have been glimpsed by any visitor to London. The preoccupation with what London and city space has to offer becomes Fleming's means of enhancing the vicarious pleasures of his novels and emphasising identification with his portrayal of national identity; his novels offer the reader equal enjoyment from pretending to be either a spy or a Londoner.⁴⁴

⁴² Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond & Beyond*, p. 104.

⁴³ Philip S. Bagwell addresses the transformative effects of the M1 motorway and other arterial roads in *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 207-209. The effect of the Abercrombie Plan on fictional representations of the city is further analysed in section two of this chapter.

⁴⁴ The inclusivity of London narratives is further emphasised by Bond's status as a London Scot, another in a long line of industrious immigrants to the city who seek to improve both London and their own status in the process. See White, *London*, p. 98.

As with their construction of the idea of London, the novels of John le Carré suggest that urban space and its inherent anonymity can have a very different effect on its inhabitants than those of Fleming's. At first glance the characters of Bond and George Smiley possess a number of similarities. For instance, neither is London born; Bond is a half-Swiss Scot and Smiley is revealed as having 'emerged from his unimpressive school and lumbered blinkingly into the murky cloisters of his unimpressive Oxford college' before moving to London in the late 1920s.⁴⁵ Both live in Chelsea as mentioned above, Bond off the King's Road and Smiley in Bywater Street, and both are bachelors. However, their character and experiences of the city diverge at this point. Le Carré makes Smiley physically unimpressive, without any fashion-sense or vice (beyond that of a love for seventeenth-century German manuscripts) and singularly unsuccessful with women.⁴⁶ Given the height of Fleming's popularity when the first of the Smiley novels were written in 1961, it is unsurprising that le Carré makes such deliberate choices of characterisation. However, le Carré does not intend Smiley to be parodic but rather makes him prosaic by comparison to Fleming's super-spy. He subverts the trappings of London life that Bond enjoys, placing Smiley in the same part of the city at the same time but experiencing an alternate configuration of urban space.

On a surface level, le Carré's London is not that dissimilar to Fleming's; their representations of London are recognisably alike, featuring all the landmarks and hallmarks of city living as part of their verisimilitude. However, the spaces Smiley accesses and actions he performs bear little resemblance to Bond's. Smiley splits his time between rare bookshops in Curzon Street (*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*), his club in Manchester Square (*Call For The Dead*), Fleet Street and the British Museum (*A Murder of Quality*) and the Circus offices in Cambridge Circus (*Call For The Dead* onwards).⁴⁷ Le Carré depicts Smiley's London as the counterpart to Bond's, characterised by club-life, the diversions of London's cultural attractions and his work. There are no extended scenes of indulgence or lavish dining in le Carré's

⁴⁵ J. le Carré. *Call For the Dead* (London: Penguin, 1964), p. 8. Smiley's back story is revised in *Tinker, Tailor* to avoid complications with the character's increasing age; as of this novel he joined the service in 1937, a decade later than le Carré's original date.

⁴⁶ Atkins. *The British Spy Novel*, p. 171.

⁴⁷ See J. le Carré. *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (London: Octopus Group, 1988), p. 18; *Call for the Dead*, p. 89; *A Murder of Quality* (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 18.

novels; le Carré's Smiley is characterised as the cerebral counterpart to Fleming's thoroughly physical Bond.⁴⁸ What links both representations of the city is their similar mix of power and production and the effect of this mix on the identity of the spy; Smiley, like Bond, is defined by the spaces of London he inhabits, namely those of intellectual curiosity and establishment connections. Bond draws a sense of empowerment and identity from his enjoyment of London society; Smiley, however, experiences the opposite.

Rather than drawing him in, the network that creates city space in le Carré's novel pushes Smiley out, leaving him isolated. Recognising the way in which the spaces he inhabits alter his behaviour, Smiley acknowledges the falsity of individuals produced by London, himself included:

One calls it politeness whereas in fact it is nothing but weakness...weakness', he resumed, 'and an inability to live a self-sufficient life independent of institutions...and emotional attachments which have long outlived their purpose. *Viz* my wife, *viz* the Circus, *viz* living in London. Taxi!⁴⁹

Far from the liberating or instructive effect that London has on Bond, le Carré illustrates the opposite effect that city life has on Smiley. Smiley recognises that his identity is derived from his connection to the spaces of power, but that these spaces bear little relation to common experience; rather they are insulated and detached from other ways of living he observes or imagines. Smiley's London life illustrates how the city can be as alienating as it is absorbing; despite having lived in London for much of his adult life, Smiley is familiar with institutions but not with his surroundings. The 'emotional attachments' Smiley mentions are as produced as the city space in which they are enacted.

⁴⁸ With the exception of the very first Smiley novel in which he kills Dieter Frey (discussed in section three of this chapter), Smiley is a distinctly non-violent, non-tactile, somewhat ascetic character; le Carré appears to have developed Smiley's persona as the series continued in opposition to more violent contemporary spy novels, such as those by Ken Follet and Len Deighton.

⁴⁹ Le Carré. *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 21.

The chief difference between Bond and Smiley's city life is one of identification; Fleming writes of the spy as central to the anima of the city, enjoying its pleasures and directly aligned with the preservation of national power and continuation of the empire. A decade later, le Carré's novels acknowledge a shift in priority and a decline in British power which marginalises both the spy and the validity of intelligence work in general. The difference in their descriptions of city life illustrates the contextual differences that separate Fleming and le Carré's novels and the geopolitical landscape their spies must negotiate. In *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* le Carré writes of how 'Smiley sat in the easy chair and Alleline stayed at the window resting his big elbows on the sill, staring over the rooftops to Nelson's Column and the spires of Whitehall'.⁵⁰ The discord between Smiley's service and the machinations of various Whitehall officials determined to undermine his operation is emphasised by the juxtaposition of space in this chapter. Unlike Bond's service, which aside from *Moonraker* appears to operate near independently of government, the Circus is set in opposition to the civil service that will later engineer Smiley's enforced resignation.⁵¹

Similarly, apart from some acknowledgement of diminished global power in his later novels, Fleming presents a picture of a harmonised, affluent post-war society enjoying access to greater standards of living.⁵² Le Carré's London is marked instead by disconnection, alienation and the effects of such individual pursuit of pleasure; for example, Smiley is quite literally pushed aside as he loses out on a taxi to '[T]wo girls, giggling under an umbrella, [who] clambered aboard in a flurry of arms and legs'.⁵³ Rather than perceiving himself to be part of the action like Bond who only ever drives in London, Smiley adopts the persona of a contemporary London flâneur, noting that 'from Cambridge Circus...he could take one of twenty routes and not cross the same path twice'.⁵⁴ Smiley walks to observe London life and, like the traditional flâneur, becomes part of the crowd as well as separate from it, recording

⁵⁰ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, pp. 81-82.

⁵¹ Further analysis of *The Honourable Schoolboy* in which this civil service plot is enacted can be found in chapter six. Both portraits of the British Secret Service emphasise the 'state within a state' nature of the organisation, connected to yet often operationally separate from the nation and government they serve. See Peter Hennessey's *The Secret State: Preparing for the Worst 1945-2010* (London: Penguin, 2010).

⁵² Fleming largely based Bond's London life on his own; Andrew Lycett's biography details the Fleming's long-term residence in Victoria and Piccadilly (Ebury Street and Athenaeum Court) and the fashionable circles in which he moved; p. 78 and p. 135 respectively.

⁵³ Le Carré, *Tinker Tailor*, p. 21.

⁵⁴ J. le Carré. *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London: Coronet Books, 2000), p. 132.

and observing to the point where he becomes a spectator even to his wife's infidelities: 'the curtains were open because she hated to be enclosed...to his surprise she had put out the light...the gap between the curtains was abruptly closed by other, impatient hands'.⁵⁵ Smiley experiences only estrangement and isolation whilst traversing city space. The spy, and the values that he represents, are pushed to the margins of London life.

Greene depicts a very different London in *The Human Factor*, and one where the spy, Maurice Castle, is marginalised to a far greater degree than Smiley. Central to Greene's depiction of London in both a contextual and textual sense is the district of Soho. Porter and White call attention to the transformation in character that an area of London originally home to an influx of artisans, authors, artists and musicians underwent in the twentieth century; the bars, musicians and artists remained but they were augmented by an increase in prostitution and later recreational drug use, particularly after the war.⁵⁶ Soho became identified with criminality in a variety of forms at different points throughout the century; the sex-trade, for instance, brought with it a popular association with the criminal underworld that the district has yet to entirely shake off.⁵⁷

Greene's representation of Soho as a space of illicit activity in *The Human Factor* is readily apparent. At the beginning of part two, Castle, a double-agent and again not a born-Londoner, goes to Soho early one morning in order to meet his contact, the proprietor of a bookshop:

Soho at this hour had still some of the glamour and innocence that he remembered from his youth. It was at this corner he had listened for the first time to a foreign tongue, at the small cheap restaurant next door he had drunk his first glass of wine...[A]t nine in the morning...the names against

⁵⁵ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, pp. 134-135

⁵⁶ R. Porter. *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 124-126. White, *London*, pp. 338-339.

⁵⁷ White, *London*, p. 329. Also: B. Miles. *London Calling: A Countercultural History of London Since 1945* (London: Atlantic Books, 2010). Miles devotes a large part of his book to the character of post-war Soho and its surrounding areas.

the flat-bells – Lulu, Mimi and the like – were all that indicated the afternoon and evening activities of Old Compton Street.⁵⁸

Greene suggests that beneath the initial exoticism of Soho, the traces of criminality are still visible. Greene's Soho is indicative of a space where illegality is an open secret and the reach of the law is curtailed; for instance he states that 'there was not a policeman in sight, though after dark they would be seen walking in pairs'.⁵⁹ Soho in Greene's novel is somehow separated yet connected from the rest of London and a space in which criminal and legitimate actions are conducted alongside one another. Greene also emphasises the illicit nature of Soho by placing Castle's communist contact there, intimating that there is a link between moral and political degeneracy.⁶⁰ Greene suggests a further reason that the spy should feel comfortable in Soho by suggesting the parallels between Castle and the prostitutes he notices during his walk. Greene implies that Castle is exploited in the same way as the prostitutes, drawing a comparison between prostitution and Castle's selling of secrets and knowledge; effectively selling himself for the benefits of his very own pimp: Halliday, his Communist handler.⁶¹ Similarly, by placing Castle's supposed contact in a pornographic bookshop, Greene juxtaposes the way in which information and bodies are commodified by both espionage and the city, illustrating how sexual, political and topographical knowledge converge in Soho.

In Greene's *The Human Factor*, spies often pursue their own interests yet end up equally unfulfilled. Similarly, in le Carré's London spies may pursue the interests of the nation, but at the cost of their own fulfilment. Whereas Fleming's novels align themselves with a very particular, traditional view of urban space, Greene and le Carré's London(s) are an illustration of how the unity of the nation and the capital

⁵⁸ Greene, *The Human Factor* (London: Bodley Head, 1978), p. 49.

⁵⁹ Greene, *Human Factor*, p. 49. The names of the prostitutes against doorbells is indicative of the effect that the Street Offences Act of 1959 had on Soho; according to Miles, it cleared the streets but by forcing them indoors made prostitutes largely dependent on pimps (*London Calling*, p. 29).

⁶⁰ Greene's novel suggests a further link to Conrad in its inclusion of a pornographic bookshop as the setting for Castle's duplicity; equally-reluctant spy Mr. Verloc is the proprietor of a pornographic book shop in *The Secret Agent*.

⁶¹ Castle believes he is working for the younger Halliday, who owns the pornographic bookshop; however, it transpires that the older Halliday who owns a 'respectable' second-hand bookshop across the road is in fact his handler. The comparison between spying and prostitution is also made by Fleming in *From Russia With Love*; when ordered to seduce Russian defector Tatiana Romanova Bond complains that he is effectively reduced to 'pimping for England'. Fleming, *Russia*, p. 115.

produced during wartime had been eroded by the very post-war urban development programmes designed to improve standards of living. Rather than being all in it together, Londoners appeared all in the same place yet isolated from one-another, further reflected by the inter-service rivalry that runs throughout le Carré's novels. Smiley's experiences on the streets of London suggest that as the wartime spaces of London were redeveloped so was the ideology that they extolled. London in the late 1950s was meant to have emerged from the post-war austerity and into a period of new social and economic freedoms, however, eradicating the problems of the old London whilst preserving wartime unities proved more complicated than any of the urban planners had anticipated.

3. **London Growing:** Reconstructing the Post-war City in Spy Fiction.

The feeling of disconnection and alienation from a 'new' London that characterises George Smiley's experience of London was not a phenomenon unique to le Carré's novel. Post-war London, despite the hopes of many, could never again be pre-war London; indeed, the zeal with which much of 'old' London was being pulled down to make space for redevelopment in the post-war years would be the motivation for John Betjeman's well-known defence of St. Pancras and his (unsuccessful) attempt to preserve Euston Arch.⁶² White argues that this process of destruction in order to make way for London's urban renewal was nothing new and was part of Victorian London's desire for constant improvement. Aside from the slum-clearances in St. Giles and elsewhere on the periphery of the City between the 1850s and 1880s, White notes that 'around two-thirds of its (London's) built-up area was just fifty years old or younger in 1900'.⁶³ To a large extent, however, there was little need to pull down buildings for redevelopment in the years immediately after the war. For despite the tribute that Herbert Morrison had paid London, there was no denying the material and physical destruction that the war had brought to the capital. With destruction came the opportunity to reshape London in the form of necessity; this process would ensure

⁶² See A.N Wilson. *Betjeman* (London: Random House, 2007), p. 274.

⁶³ White *London*, p. 6. For information on the slum-clearances and destruction of the rookeries in Victorian London see J. White. *A Human Awful Wonder of God: London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007).

that in the twenty years that followed the war, some areas of London would be rendered almost unrecognisable by material change.

Conscious of the shortcomings of social reform after the First World War, many on both sides of the wartime coalition government were aware that having won the war, the vital task ahead would be to win the peace.⁶⁴ In order to do so, post-war planners such as William Beveridge declared a further war on ‘five giant evils’ – named, in terms reminiscent of Victorian philanthropists, as want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.⁶⁵ Perhaps the most pressing issue for the many who had been displaced by bombing was the question of housing, and this would be addressed as a matter of urgency by the then Minister of Labour Ernest Bevin in the years immediately following the war.⁶⁶ However, whilst perhaps foremost in the minds of those who had been ‘bombed out’, housing was seen as a part of an opportunity for urban redevelopment on an unprecedented scale.⁶⁷ Planning for the aftermath of war began as early as January 1941 with *Picture Post*’s special issue entitled ‘A Plan for Britain’.⁶⁸ A variety of further plans were proposed and published over the next four years, culminating in the Abercrombie plan. Named after its chief developer, Patrick Abercrombie, surveys and other preparations had begun in 1943 and by 1945 proposed the creation of four concentric rings within the greater London area; these would be the inner urban, suburban, green belt and outer country.⁶⁹ A range of architects had attempted to remould London before, on a much smaller scale, to varying results but Abercrombie was the first since Christopher Wren to suggest such an extensive redesign of the capital.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 71.

⁶⁵ D. Kynaston. *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 21.

⁶⁶ The contextual and symbolic importance of housing in post-war Britain is discussed at length in chapter four.

⁶⁷ As a consequence of the so-called Baedeker Raids carried out between April and June of 1942 alongside that of conventional bombing raids carried out against factories and national infrastructure, many of the nation’s urban centres were extensively damaged by the close of the war. Despite higher proportional damage done to Exeter, Coventry, York and others, London received the most prolonged bombing and widespread damage during the course of the six years of war.

⁶⁸ Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 20.

⁶⁹ Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ Pre-war development largely consisted of localised rebuilding within central London, typically in the form of ‘hard’ modernist style. Reactions were often split; for example, Fleming took such exception to the penchant for reinforced concrete of Erno Goldfinger that he used his name for one of his most celebrated villains. For further information see A. Lycett. *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 1996), pp. 328-9 or D. Kynaston, *Family Britain: 1951-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), p. 9.

The redevelopment of London, however, was hampered by another paradox of the post-war period. As outlined in chapter one, whilst public opinion as gathered through Gallup and Mass Observation was for reform, it was for reform within pre-existing limits and of a preservative rather than utopian character; put simply, Londoners didn't want change. Peter Ackroyd argues that '[I]f one natural reaction after the war lay in the desire to create a 'new world', as the urban planners wished, then another was to reconstruct the old world as if nothing particular had happened'; it was this same spirit, continues Ackroyd, that was subtly reinforced by the resurgence of orthodox values and conventional activities' after the war.⁷¹ Or, in the same way as C. J. Bartlett writes that there was no great reappraisal of British world view after the war, no radical overhaul of London was ultimately forthcoming or financially viable, given the circumstances of the contemporary British economy, even with Marshall Aid.⁷² Instead, London was subject to piecemeal redevelopment programmes, as disordered and unruly, in some areas, as ever. White states that Abercrombie's plan had 'little effect' on the capital's redevelopment and, by the time it was fully legitimised with the backing of a planning authority in 1965, had become largely 'dated, irrelevant or wrong'; whatever rebuilding occurred was done slowly, with evidence of bombsites discernable for the rest of the century.⁷³

Far from the harmoniously running city of Abercrombie's multi-levelled walkways and arterial ring-roads, the post-war city of the 1950s and 60s was by turns drab, brash, exciting, vulgar and chaotic. This disharmonious portrait of the city is one illustrated in Greene, Fleming and le Carré; as the narrative of post-war redevelopment continues, the fictional representation of city space alters accordingly. For Fleming and Bond it is most often a celebration of London's spaces of privilege such as Chelsea, Regent's Park and Trafalgar Square interspersed with the occasional bypass roundabout; for le Carré it is a far more nuanced, and much less favourable, portrait.⁷⁴ Though *Call For the Dead* was published in 1961, the novel was written earlier whilst le Carré was still working for MI5 and illustrates the effects of the

⁷¹ P. Ackroyd. *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001), p. 753

⁷² C. J. Bartlett. *Postwar Britain 1945-74* (New York: Longman, 1977), p. 4.

⁷³ White, *London*, p. 42. Don McCullin's well-known photographs of the mentally ill homeless of Spitalfields in the 1960s also illustrate the abundance of waste ground and bombsites still in evidence throughout the city.

⁷⁴ Fleming is so concerned with the spaces of privilege that he fails to acknowledge any contemporary new builds in his London-based chapters beyond that discussed in chapter one.

varied constraints on urban redevelopment in the late 1950s. In his efforts to depict 'realistic' espionage fiction, le Carré set his novels in spaces typical of his own clandestine experience; London in le Carré's novel appears caught between a sooty, befogged and grimy quasi-Victorian metropolis and one of uneven modern development.

Both le Carré's first two novels, *Call For the Dead* and *A Murder of Quality* (1962), are essentially murder mystery novels either set against the background of secret intelligence services or, in the case of *A Murder of Quality*, those that directly transpose a spy into the role of detective. *Call for the Dead* concerns Smiley's efforts to discover the truth of fellow Circus agent Samuel Fennan's apparent suicide; after an accusation of treachery is made against Fennan, Smiley conducts a vetting interview in which Fennan is cleared. However, a few days later he is found dead. During his investigation, Smiley discovers that Fennan's wife, Elsa, is in fact an East German spy working for Dieter Frey, a former agent of Smiley's during the war, now a senior East German spymaster. Eventually, they confront one another on Battersea Bridge and Smiley kills Frey by pushing him into the river during a struggle.

The London in which Smiley's pursuit of Frey takes place is dark, hostile and unwelcoming. Le Carré writes of the city as imposing and disorientating:

He walked slowly down the road, still uncertain of his bearings. After about five minutes the pavement took him suddenly to the right and the ground rose gradually...Somewhere above him and to his right the four massive chimneys of Fulham Power Station stood hidden in the fog...The place where he now stood marked the dividing line between the smart and the squalid, where Cheyne Walk meets Lots Road, one of the ugliest streets in London.⁷⁵

Le Carré depicts the city as a contradictory space that is both decayed and desirable at the same time; the juxtaposition of the smart and the squalid in London is indicative of the invisible demarcation of space, suggesting that the city is divided regardless of

⁷⁵ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 136.

proximity. Le Carré sets the action of his novel at the intersection of Cheyne Walk and Lots Road illustrating the way in which the post-war city is still caught in the grip of its past; despite the programme of redevelopment, the long-standing division between the two streets remains intact, with Lots Road consisting of ‘warehouses, wharves and mills’ whilst Cheyne Walk continues to suggest the privilege it had long been associated with.⁷⁶ The social and architectural mix of le Carré’s London creates a city able to confuse its inhabitants, even those like Mendel, a detective of Scotland Yard and the subject of this passage, who have lived and worked in the city for much of their adult lives.⁷⁷ In this extract, Mendel is an agent devoid of agency; le Carré writes how the ‘pavement took him’, dictating his movements and giving him no option but to passively follow the flow of city traffic. Even to policemen and spies, subjects to whom knowledge of the city is vital, London remains by turns labyrinthine and unknowable.

What further defines city space in le Carré’s early novels, however, is not what it owes to the modernising of London after the war but rather what it preserves from the pre-war and popular conception of the city. A recurrent characteristic of le Carré’s London is the fog that pervades the narrative. In *Call For the Dead* the fog is seemingly constant, hampering the characters’ movements and actions. For example, when Mendel, assisting Smiley, is pursuing Frey the fog is described as ‘thick and yellow’, ‘bitter, rank’ and capable of bringing the city ‘almost to a standstill’.⁷⁸ In *A Murder of Quality*, a character opens a window in Fleet Street to be met with ‘[T]he quick cold...the angry surge of noise...and the insidious fog’; elsewhere the fog is ‘incandescent’ and described as being ‘made yellow from the stolen light of London’s streets’.⁷⁹ The fog, especially when so close to Chancery, is reminiscent of the opening chapter of Charles Dickens’ *Bleak House* (1853), obscuring the city beneath it and alienating its inhabitants from one another; as Smiley muses in *Call For the Dead*, ‘What did Hesse write? ‘Strange to wander in the mist, each is alone. No tree

⁷⁶ Cheyne Walk is well known for the variety famous residents who have lived there over the past two hundred years including George Eliot, Whistler, J. M. W. Turner and Dante Gabriel Rossetti; incidentally, Erskine Childers also once lived at number 20.

⁷⁷ Le Carré (perhaps deliberately in order to reinforce Mendel’s disorientation) incorrectly labels Lots Road power station as Fulham power station, actually a mile upriver.

⁷⁸ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 135, p. 140.

⁷⁹ Le Carré. *A Murder of Quality*, p. 22. Le Carré uses fog as a recurring motif in much of his work, notably in *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1963), *The Looking Glass War* (1965) and *The Honourable Schoolboy* (1977).

knows his neighbour. Each is alone'.⁸⁰ London, especially by night, is portrayed as distinctly unwelcoming, unknowable and isolating.⁸¹

Yet the all-pervasive fog is also le Carré's way of mocking the superficial divisions of London such as Cheyne Walk and Lots Road; there are some problems which are not so neatly confined to certain boroughs. The inclusion of the power station at Battersea Bridge in a scene of thick fog is particularly representative of contemporary London's failure to comprehensively modernise after the war. Whilst great attention was paid to easing traffic congestion and improving living conditions, London's industry was largely ignored beyond the plans for nationalisation drawn up in the late 1940s. Le Carré's use of fog illustrates the popular conception of London in winter and the powerful social memory of fog and smog in the 1950s when London's electricity supply came from soft-coal fuelled inner-city power plants.⁸² Hennessy records that 'pea-souper' fog continued in 1957 despite the passing of the Clean Air Act in 1956; again, the banishment of London's polluted past would take far longer than Abercrombie and the other planners anticipated.⁸³ Indeed, in *The Honourable Schoolboy* set in 1974, Smiley still notes that 'the air was damp and cold with a harsh fog that had never seen the sun'.⁸⁴ The legacy of old London remained despite modernising efforts.

Further, le Carré's repeated use of fog calls attention to another London legacy significant to espionage fiction, namely the codes and conventions of Victorian crime fiction. In much the same way as the positioning of London as centre of empire is one drawn from preceding genres and authors, le Carré's attention to the pervasive nature of London fog evokes the similarly opaque streets of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock

⁸⁰ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 39.

⁸¹ H.V Morton also writes about fog in the early twentieth century stating that fog creates an 'incredible underworld...men who sell things in the street become more than ever deliciously horrible...they loom; they appear, delightfully freezing the blood'. H. V. Morton. *The Heart of London* (London: Methuen, 1945), p. 34.

⁸² Kynaston, *Family*, pp. 255-256. Kynaston quotes a range of diarists who state that in the winter of 1952 fog paralysed large parts of London's transport infrastructure and, perhaps just as inconveniently, meant that in Sadler's Wells a performance of *La Traviata* had to be stopped 'because the audience could no longer see the stage'.

⁸³ P. Hennessy. *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 120-121.

⁸⁴ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 133. Later London weather scares would include worries over acid rain and smog. See T. Cooper. 'Modernity and the politics of waste in Britain', in P. Warde, S. Soerlin (Eds), *Nature's End: Reconsidering Environmental History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009), pp. 247-72.

Holmes novels. In *Fiction, Crime & Empire* (1993) Jon Thompson argues that ‘the London of Sherlock Holmes is almost as famous as Holmes himself’ and calls particular attention to *The Sign of Four* (1890) which features ‘dense drizzly fog...down the Strand the lamps were but misty splotches of diffused light...’.⁸⁵ Le Carré’s novel, though some seventy years hence, preserves the potential danger and sense of intrigue particular to Conan Doyle’s writing through its use of equally impenetrable fog. The genealogy of spy fiction is further cemented by the peculiarity of its London setting; le Carré preserves the recognisable tropes of crime fiction in the same way that London’s past intrudes on its present. Le Carré’s portrait of a modern London is undone by the continued presence of a Victorian problem, illustrating how the redevelopment of post-war London continued to contradict and frustrate itself long into the 1960s and beyond.

As part of his contradictory portrait of ‘modern’ London, le Carré’s description of Chelsea is as a genteel space forever on the edge of violence and dilapidation. For example, when Smiley and Dieter Frey meet on Battersea Bridge Smiley is unarmed; le Carré describes how ‘Smiley ran at him blindly, forgetting what little skill he had ever possessed, swinging with his short arms’.⁸⁶ After a brief struggle, Smiley manages to force Frey over the railings of the bridge where he is described as ‘falling, falling into the swirling fog beneath the bridge...offered like a human sacrifice to the London fog and the foul black river beneath it’.⁸⁷ Smiley is able to utilise the dangers of the city as a weapon, using the river to kill Frey and the fog to mask it. Though spies such as Smiley and Mendel must overcome the dangers and difficulties posed by city space, in many instances they are able to do so by using the space of the city itself to affect success. In much the same way as the anonymity of the city ensures the secrecy of the intelligence services, it also provides cover for their actions.

The use of Battersea Bridge is part of a consistent thread of urban juxtaposition in le Carré’s novels, allowing him to consider the signification of the opposite banks of Chelsea and Battersea both within the text and the wider genre of espionage fiction. For all the spaces of privilege open to Smiley such as the gentleman’s clubs of

⁸⁵ Thompson, *Fiction*, p. 61.

⁸⁶ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 140.

⁸⁷ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 141.

Manchester Square, le Carré retains focus on the more down-at-heel areas of the capital, more often than not located south of the river. In a story of inter-service rivalry such as *The Looking Glass War* (1965), le Carré places Avery, a young desk-bound officer in an unnamed branch of intelligence left over from the war, directly across the river from Smiley in Battersea. For all their supposed links, either by proximity in urban space or via the bonds of national ideology, le Carré emphasises the division between both services by placing their operatives on opposite sides of a conspicuous social divide.

As well as stressing his difference to Smiley, le Carré's depiction of Avery's flat in Battersea acts as a comment on the tropes of conspicuous luxury associated with Bond and the genre of spy fiction at large. In the same way as Cheyne Walk and Lots Road are juxtaposed in *Call For the Dead*, le Carré examines the city spaces inhabited by Fleming's Bond and Avery against each other. Bond, in Chelsea, exhibits all the affectations and trappings of a socially-aspirant public; in the context of a nation rebuilding the devastation of war, the minor comforts of hot and cold running water let alone a range of foods from Fortnum's at breakfast represented a portrait of comparative luxury.⁸⁸ If Bond's flat in fashionable West London represents the ideal of post-war social development by harking back to the pre-war codes of privilege, Avery's flat near the Albert Bridge is the grim, unchanging reality of pre-war squalor as recorded by Orwell and others in the 1930s. The block of flats in which Avery lives is depicted as shrouded in a perpetual gloom and marred by an air of suspicion. Rather than the kindly, maternal attentions of May, Bond's Housekeeper, Avery only attracts the gaze of his neighbour, Mrs Yates, 'watching him from behind her curtain, as she watched everybody, night and day, holding her cat for comfort'.⁸⁹ The distinction between both Chelsea and Battersea serves to emphasise a dual point in le Carré's pursuit of 'realistic' espionage novels; the opposite sides of the river are the supposed reality and fiction of espionage, the ideal and actual of post-war domestic existence and the disappearance of any hope in widespread urban reform between the 1950s and the 1960s.

⁸⁸ Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 20. Kynaston discusses the number of houses in post-war London that suffered from a lack of any indoor facilities for many years after the war.

⁸⁹ J. le Carré, *The Looking Glass War* (London: Pan, 1977), p. 24.

The Looking Glass War continues in a similar vein of South London decay when Avery and his controller, Leclerc, visit the home of a recently deceased agent in Lambeth: 'They had found the address on the map. Thirty-Four Roxburgh Gardens; it was off Kennington High Street. The road soon became dingier, the houses more crowded. Gas lights burned yellow and flat like paper moons'.⁹⁰ Again, le Carré casts the scene in a quasi-Victorian manner with crowded, 'eyeless' houses lit with gas lamps. When they reach Roxburgh Gardens they find it as 'a single block of flats... the beginning of a new world, and at its feet lay the black rubble of the old'.⁹¹ The tower block at Roxburgh is again representative of post-war planning that had transpired, as White writes of Abercrombie's plan, to be simply wrong. Envisioned as 'icons of the new Britain emerging from the shades of war', by the 1960s most had degenerated into 'claustrophobic walkways, ill-lit living space and walls and roofs that sprang mysterious and obstinate leaks'.⁹² Elsewhere, le Carré describes flats as 'like the superstructure of permanently sinking ships'.⁹³ Avery notes that Roxburgh is 'no worse than Blackfriars Road' (the site of their service headquarters), implying that the feelings of decay and of frustrated redevelopment are more general across London.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the concrete, rubberized steps and pervasive smell of food do not conform to the vision of light and space as intended by Abercrombie and Beveridge; the estates in le Carré's novel instead serve only to localise and perpetuate the worst traits of pre-war slums.

4. **The Ends of the World:** The Spy and Suburban Space.

The post-war rebuilding of London was not restricted to the creation of sink estates in place of crowded nineteenth-century slums. Though the depiction of inner London in le Carré's novels is one of disorderly privation and uneven distribution of wealth, the

⁹⁰ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 37.

⁹¹ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 38

⁹² White, *London*, pp. 54-55. Though some estates came to be loathed by residents as sites of dilapidation and crime, many such as Churchill Gardens in Pimlico won widespread praise and are today coveted places to live. Even flats in the Barbican, built in the 1960s and largely derided, are now often on sale for upwards of £250,000.

⁹³ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 257.

⁹⁴ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 38.

outward growth of London resulted in a very different interpretation of space in the form of suburbia. The organising principles of suburbia are similar to those that informed the creation of high-rise flats, promising post-war equality through uniformity.⁹⁵ Though typically associated with the Labour government's affordable housing drive after the war, the expansion of suburban London was by no means exclusive to the post-war period; between the wars around 860,000 houses were built in the Greater London area.⁹⁶ However, after the Second World War suburban London was in receipt of a crucial catalyst; the industrial heart of London located in the east of the city and the docklands firstly underwent a programme of nationalisation and then embarked on what would become a process of terminal decline. In its place grew an 'office boom' as the 'centre of London moved outwards'.⁹⁷

As the trend for moving labour out of London began in earnest from the early 1950s it intensified the growth of suburbia; Dominic Sandbrook describes how the term 'Metro land' had originated pre-war to publicise the expansion of suburban housing estates in the North West of London but had become a symbol of 'the middle classes and of middle England, of suburban gentility and material ambition'.⁹⁸ The most obvious way in which the post-war redevelopment policy contributed to the growth of suburban London was through the eight 'New Towns' built around London after the New Towns Act of 1946.⁹⁹ The appeal of suburbia and the New Towns was enhanced by transport networks of road or rail which facilitated the daily commute to the offices of central London or offered the advantages of the city without the unpleasantness of having to live there. However, Andy Medhurst has argued that suburbia had long been perceived as a trap predicated on conformism; in the immediate post-war years, many

⁹⁵ D. Gilbert, D. Matless, B. Short. *Geographies of British Modernity: Space & Society in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 190.

⁹⁶ Inwood, *A History of London*, pp. 718-719.

⁹⁷ White, *London*, p. 58.

⁹⁸ D. Sandbrook. *State Of Emergency: The Way We Were, Britain 1970-74* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), pp. 329-330. See also D. N. Rothblatt & D. J. Garr. *Suburbia: An International Assessment* (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1986).

⁹⁹ Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 172. Hennessy acknowledges the lineage of New Towns, stating that they were the descendents of other experimental housing projects such as Cadbury's Bourneville estate and others.

London residents were reluctant to be relocated to New Towns, fearing isolation and loss of individuality.¹⁰⁰

In *Call For the Dead*, le Carré places Samuel Fennan's 'low, Tudor-Style house' in Walliston, Surrey, near Kingston on Thames and just outside of the metropolitan boundary.¹⁰¹ Suburbia in le Carré's novel is presented as unnatural space in which attempts have been made to mask the origins of its production. For example, le Carré calls attention to its artificiality by stating that its trees are 'cajoled into being in every front garden' in order to ensure that the 'rusticity of the environment is enhanced'; the planting of trees in every garden suggests a paradox in the use of natural objects to create an unnatural uniformity. The production of natural space also extends to the local park; le Carré writes that 'Merries Field is neither developed nor preserved by the three steel pylons, placed at regular intervals across it'.¹⁰² Suburban space in the novel is caught between stasis and development. Walliston, like many other suburbs, tries to appear simultaneously modern and yet unspoilt, offering the convenience of the city with the aesthetic of the countryside; to develop one would be at the expense of the other. The artificiality of the suburbs is further emphasised by the demarcation of an area to remain undeveloped, designed to imply a natural looking spread of houses around the parkland. Le Carré presents Walliston as a space held uncertainly between its relative arterial newness and a desire to authenticate itself through the creation of age via its bucolic appearance.

Le Carré indicates a further paradox suggesting that Walliston, and suburbs in general, seek to appear both connected to the city and distinct from it offering the advantages of city infrastructure and an escape from it at once.¹⁰³ For example, the growth of suburbia is indicated by the unfinished state of the Kingston by-pass which 'dwindles nervously into a gravel path which in turn degenerates into a sad little mud track'; rather than lead to the town church, signifying the traditional heart of the pastoral community, the path leads to the London Road and Cadogan Road recasting

¹⁰⁰ A. Medhurst. 'Negotiating the Gnome Zone: Versions of Suburbia in British Popular Culture' from R. Silverstone (Ed.). *Visions of Suburbia* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 240.

¹⁰¹ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 24.

¹⁰² Le Carré, *Call*, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Silverstone, *Visions of Suburbia*, p. 5.

the suburb as a satellite of London and not a community in its own right.¹⁰⁴

Walliston's gradually developing connection to London is evident, but marked by a tacit acknowledgement of its 'end of the road' status.

The unnatural production of space in the suburbs also extends to the identities of its inhabitants. In the same way that le Carré describes how the residents of Merridale Lane attempt to make their recently produced homes appear natural Elsa Fennan cultivates her cover as a suburban housewife to mask her activity as a spy.¹⁰⁵ In this sense, le Carré suggests that the flow of suburbanites and their values into London also works in the opposite direction, bringing violence, deceit and decay to the supposedly safe suburbs. Further, the anonymity of city life is similarly applicable to suburbia, a direct result of the uniformity and conformity produced as a social leveller. Le Carré illustrates how suburbia is a more advantageous environment for engaging in clandestine activity than the city as a result of this widespread anonymity; the languor of Walliston provides the perfect cover as no-one would ever suspect anything of consequence to occur there.

As the suburbs grew, manufacture and industry similarly relocated to outer London and the New Towns, reciprocally contributing to the growth of suburbia. Whilst this spread of the commuter belt may have satisfied much of the public desire for space and home-ownership, it also accelerated a process of social atomisation which culminated in the breakdown of the extended family and the dispersal of existing communities.¹⁰⁶ Further, the dislocation of London's population into suburbs threatened the imagined ideological bonds of kinship associated with urban space over the previous two decades. The London that Bond conjures for himself, one of 'kings and queens...people being photographed with pigeons on their heads in Trafalgar Square', is dispensed with in favour of suburban living from which increased individual status and standing can be derived.¹⁰⁷ The physical distance from the city, far shorter a distance than imagined, is superseded by a much greater

¹⁰⁴ Le Carré, *Call*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁵ Le Carré's plot foreshadows the Melita Norwood scandal of 1999. See J. Cunningham. 'Melita Norwood'. *The Guardian*, 28 June 2005, English edition, print.

¹⁰⁶ Kynaston, *Family*, p. 147. Also, White, *London*, pp. 198-199.

¹⁰⁷ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 182.

symbolic one; the combination of physical and psychic barriers detracting from individual identification with city space and the nation at large.¹⁰⁸

Greene's *The Human Factor* is one such example of the shift in priority from the outward facing culture of redevelopment and rebuilding propagated immediately post-war to one concerned wholly with personal and material circumstance. *The Human Factor* concerns a member of MI6's Africa Section, Maurice Castle, and a sensitive security plan developed between Britain, South Africa and the United States to use tactical nuclear weapons in sub-Saharan Africa in the event of war. Castle, a former field operative forced to flee apartheid South Africa with his black African wife Sarah and her child, is eventually revealed as a double agent reporting to the KGB; his family's safe passage out of Africa having been part of the deal that 'turned' him.

Castle lives in Berkhamstead, north-west of the greater London area in Hertfordshire. His location represents the continual spread of Metro-Land in the post-war years in that as the London suburbs spread outwards, the Home Counties become less and less distant from the capital enabling Castle to 'catch the six-thirty-five train from Euston (which) brought him to Berkhamstead punctually at seven-twelve'.¹⁰⁹ The compartmentalisation of Castle's life into a division of work and home leads to an imbalance whereby his focus, as a spy, turns inwards and not outwards; Castle doesn't align himself with London, and therefore the nation, but instead serves his own desires.¹¹⁰ Rather than the ills of the nation, Castle is more greatly concerned with the petty scrutiny of suburbia and Greene adds a layer of irony to his desire to 'fit in' with his neighbours:

He had bought his house with the help of a building society after his return to England. He could have easily saved money by paying cash, but he had no wish to appear different from the schoolmasters on either side...for the

¹⁰⁸ Medhurst argues that though the distance between Ealing and Tottenham Court Road is greater than that of the south eastern suburbs and London Bridge, the symbolic journey is greater. Medhurst, 'Negotiating the Gnome Zone', p. 243.

¹⁰⁹ Greene, *Human Factor*, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Bennett & Woollacott, *Bond & Beyond*, p. 104.

same reason he had kept the rather gaudy stained glass of the Laughing Cavalier over the front door.¹¹¹

Greene knowingly plays with the expectations and conventions of suburban living; Castle is not so much keeping up with his neighbours but instead emulating them seamlessly in order to keep them at all. Like le Carré's Elsa Fennan, Castle uses the suburban space of London to mask his true activities; in doing so he becomes as middle-class as any of Berkhamstead's other inhabitants, a further irony for a communist agent to endure. Castle is subject to the compulsion of suburban space without wishing to acknowledge it; his evasion as to precisely why he keeps the stained glass window is one of many, emphasising that Castle is not only living a façade for his controllers and his neighbours but also for himself. The defector concerned only with preserving his family sanctity finds he must do so through building societies, snobbery and uniformity.

Despite self-awareness of his act, Castle develops an attachment to Berkhamstead, his birthplace, and the routine associated with living there. Whereas Castle's office in London is described as a 'great, anonymous building' when he returns to Berkhamstead he catalogues the history of the town in his head, entwining his own family history with it; Greene suggests that the anonymity of city space as opposed to the personal connection found in a small town environment alienates Castle from his profession and the values he supposedly upholds.¹¹² Further, rather than providing cover as it does for Bond, the particular conformity and obscurity of suburban space facilitates his opportunity to deceive his controllers, not serve them. Disconnected from the values of the city and rendered similarly insular by suburbia, Castle is left rootless and alienated. Ultimately, suburban living becomes a trap for him too; when Castle is eventually unmasked, his controllers know exactly where to look for him.

The suburban spread of London that Greene and le Carré describe in their novels is of a very different character to that which Fleming has Bond encounter. Whilst in Greene and le Carré arterial roads and transport infrastructure takes spies into the 'petty scrutiny' found in the suburban spaces of Greater London, Bond's experience

¹¹¹ Greene, *Human Factor*, pp. 20-21.

¹¹² Greene, *Human Factor*, p. 161.

of the England he protects is either wholly urban or confined to its ancestral heartlands. As opposed to the gabled suburban semis of Mitcham, Walliston or Berkhamstead, when Bond does operate in England, as in *Moonraker* and *Goldfinger*, he only ever sets foot in country houses. For instance in *Moonraker*, Hugo Drax is able to affect an approximation of a Kentish ‘big house’ complete with a ‘manservant in a white jacket’ for himself, even inside an RAF base.¹¹³ Rather than the hidden-in-plain-view subversion that occurs in le Carré’s *Call for the Dead* or Greene’s *Human Factor*, Fleming’s choice for his novel is the remoteness of a private estate, once again evoking crime fiction with a murder mystery setting and the sense of social cohesion to be found in a ‘big house’ novel he views as lacking in the late 1950s.¹¹⁴ Fleming’s use of the country house in his fiction grows in direct correlation to the expansion of suburbia; the more the dream of New Jerusalem goes unrealised, the more Fleming’s novels feature the iconography and trappings of the past. However, he is ultimately critical of both; when in *Goldfinger*’s Victorian mansion Bond assesses it as ‘a dump! What a bloody awful deathly place to live in’.¹¹⁵ For Bond only the inner-city environment will do.

The outward development of London in the post-war period scatters the networks of industry and community which had for the preceding hundred years given central London its urban identity, and in turn, enabled London to project a sense of national identity outwards into the nation. The disadvantages and dangers of London were then intermingled with the surrounding suburbs, breaking down the spatial distinctions Fleming makes in his novels. The post-war planning of Abercrombie and others sought to eradicate a range of social blights, but instead spread them over a much wider metropolitan area. With the growth of London, the job of the spy in an urban setting becomes immeasurably harder; the city space is rendered unknowable over a much greater area, even to those whose professional function it is to protect it.

¹¹³ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 117.

¹¹⁴ V. Kreilkamp. *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House* (Syracuse: University Press, 1998), p. 2. Though Kreilkamp focuses on Anglo-Irish representations of the big house, the principles of social cohesion she identifies are applicable to a more wholly English context.

¹¹⁵ I. Fleming. *Goldfinger* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 113.

Conclusion.

London and the representation of city space are vital components in the post-war espionage fiction of Fleming, Greene and le Carré. The significance of the city in espionage fiction is based on the perception of London as the centre of government and location of British power. The traditional ideology that the spy seeks to preserve is produced and perpetuated in London, site of monarchy, industry and social hegemony. Beginning with the gentleman adventurers of early espionage, this perception of the spy as defender of English values as embodied by London was preserved, at least superficially, in the largely traditional and often backwards-looking novels of Fleming. Fleming's spy, Bond, enters into London society with alacrity, becoming its greatest proponent as well as its staunchest defender; however, Fleming's configuration of London space is a particular one, emphasising the social circles in which Fleming himself moved. Similarly, the spy fiction of Greene and le Carré also reveals that London is not the singular, knowable community that the typical critical assessment of Fleming's novels and world view assert. Rather, city space is a production comprised of various layers of experience; as a result, London is no singular entity but a multiplicity of individual perceptions. The secret services in each author's fiction, typically associated with defence of the realm, are rendered at odds with the city they are entrusted to protect, being at once within London and outside of it also.

The preoccupation with the metaphorical significance and physical space of London in espionage fiction reflects not only the textual importance of the urban environment in the construction of spy novel narrative but also the contextual position of London in the decades following the Second World War. The efforts to package London as an exemplar space of national resistance and British identity during the war awarded the city an inevitable primacy in popular consciousness, a perception preserved through a range of literature and other media in peacetime. Similarly, the post-war reconstruction of London meant that the city possessed a fluid and changeable character throughout the decades in which Fleming, Greene and le Carré wrote their fiction. Each author illustrates how the spies in their work encounter disconnection, alienation and confusion within the city as its physical and metaphorical configuration

alters around them. Faced with the prospect of British international decline and domestic disintegration, spies in the work of Greene, le Carré and Fleming would find that as opposed to their traditional overseas assignments, there would be demand for their skills much closer to home. As the Cold War developed, the sanctity of urban space was far from secure and instead subject to subversion and destabilisation; just as the city was in constant process so was the struggle for power over it. London, and the domestic space of the nation, was far from safe; again, like in the Second World War, battles would also be fought on the home front.

Chapter Four – Safe as Houses: Domestic space, Identity and Power in Post-war Espionage Fiction.

In this chapter I argue that the house occupied a position of vital importance as a physical and ideological construct in the post-war period. In contrast to the public space of the city, this chapter analyses the depictions of domestic space in spy fiction, their mediation by and reflection of social hierarchies and the extent to which they are deliberately hybridised to perform a variety of functions. This chapter argues that there is a tension between the spy's professional role and his desire to lead a private, domestic existence in which results in the destruction of privacy and the reconfiguration of domestic space as an arena for clandestine action. The spy is induced to protect the domestic security of the nation, but at the expense of attaining it himself. Further, in seeking to preserve or obtain domestic peace, the spy instead dissolves it.

Introduction: Behind closed doors.

Espionage fiction is primarily associated with international action and threats to the nation's global political interests. However, as demonstrated throughout chapter three, the genre is also attuned to the character of the urban environment, as well as to the roles that exist within the domestic sphere. Constructions of the house and the home act as unifying images within espionage fiction, as well as in a wider cultural sense; imaginings of home are at once both particular and universal. In this respect, espionage fiction shapes the popular concerns of its audience and is shaped by them in the process, reflecting and stressing the importance of home in its many forms.¹ As a result of the Second World War and continued Cold War tensions the symbolic significance of the house intensifies during this period, becoming greater than its

¹ My usage of the terms 'domestic' and 'domesticity' is to suggest a clear correspondence between the two; that notions of 'home' can conjure images of both the house and the nation at the same time. Similarly, 'house' and 'home' require definition; Kim Dovey clarifies the combination of a basic physical presence coupled with an emotional investment as that which qualifies the house as a home. See K. Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, 2nd Edn. (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 139-140.

physical construction by signifying sanctuary and safety during global conflict. However, rather than supporting the popular conception of the house as the 'Englishman's castle' of popular aphorism this chapter will demonstrate that the house is supremely vulnerable to attack from outside forces.² The house becomes a shelter that provides protection in exchange for protection itself; whilst the house constructs a physical limit between the inside world and the outside world, it is a barrier that must be defended.

This chapter will analyse the relationship between the domestic existence of the spy and his professional function, arguing that there is a circular flow of forces that ensure the subordination of domesticity and personal existence in favour of social and professional responsibility. Michael Denning identifies a prevalent ideology within culture that creates a commitment to work and social responsibility through the idealising of home.³ I will argue that the same process of idealisation is conducted within espionage fiction, however on a much larger, national scale; the spy is induced to protect the domestic security of the nation, but at the expense of attaining it himself. The cultural construction of home becomes a Tantalus-like method of control; the spy and his interactions with the domestic sphere become as much about the impossibility of home as they do its security. Through analysis of spy fiction tropes such as safe-houses, hotels and enemy hideouts or lairs, I will illustrate how the novels of Fleming, Greene and le Carré suggest that the spy is repeatedly required to undo and undermine the domestic security of others; however, by doing so, spies are continually denied secure domestic space themselves. Instead, private space in spy fiction is revealed as always subject to attack and dissolution, eradicating both its security and privacy.

² S. Marcus. *Apartment stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 236. Also, D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 158.

³ M. Denning. *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 131.

1. **Ideal Homes:** Post-war Espionage Fiction and the Pursuit of Domestic Security.

‘We are telling them that they are heroes for the way they are standing up to the strain of mighty bombardment...but when the war is over they will demand the rewards of heroism’ - Lord Woolton, diary entry, 1st November 1940.⁴

The importance of the house in the cultural landscape of post-war Britain cannot be overlooked. Commitment to improving social conditions in post-war Britain had been a mainstay of the wartime coalition government’s propaganda, exhorted almost from the aftermath of the very first air raids and supported by a range of contemporary publications, surveys, government White Papers and opinion polls on the subject.⁵ However, as Lord Woolton observed in 1940, these wartime promises would one day have to be made good. Alan Sinfield notes in *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (1997) that by the end of the war only one in ten houses had escaped bomb-damage.⁶ Such widespread destruction of property and shared common experience meant that governmental assurances over housing had a post-war physical imperative that went far beyond their rhetorical currency in wartime.⁷

Recognising the shifting mood of the nation, Peter Hennessy asserts that ‘Labour promised the earth’ in the election campaign of 1945, with then Minister of Labour Ernest Bevin guaranteeing construction of ‘five million homes in quick time’.⁸ Despite an extensive redevelopment programme conducted over the six years of Labour government between 1945-51 Bevin’s promise went unfulfilled. In *Austerity Britain: 1945-51* (2007) David Kynaston records that the official government estimates based on the census of 1951 reported a shortage of 700,000 properties or dwellings, though subsequent independent analysis increased this estimate to

⁴ P. Hennessy. *Never Again: Britain 1945-51* (London: Vintage, 1992), p. 163.

⁵ For a full breakdown of these documents, see D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, pp. 592-3.

⁶ A. Sinfield. *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 7. Rural areas, according to Angus Calder in *The People’s War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), were also subject to proportional damage on a similar scale.

⁷ That re-housing those made homeless by bomb damage during the war was a major concern is not in doubt, as the work of the War Damage Commission and the Ministry of Health demonstrated. See M. Waller, *London 1945: Life in the Debris of War* (London: John Murray Publishing, 2004), p. 118; p. 122-131.

⁸ Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 169.

approximately double the original figure.⁹ Similarly, and long after the war's end, many areas remained, as Maureen Waller describes them, 'acres of bomb sites and bricks, bricks meticulously counted and piled up'.¹⁰ With the evident physical traces of war damage and a surfeit of statistical data, personal testimony and government literature, the reason for a preoccupation with sufficient housing in post-war Britain becomes clear. Above all, an overwhelming longing for a return to domestic stability seeped into the public consciousness during and after the war years.¹¹

The shortage of available housing affected post-war fiction, and, in equally significant terms, fictional representations of living spaces resonated greatly with its readership. Kynaston, Sinfield and Hennessy's analyses suggest that the attitude to housing in this period diverges into two distinct yet contiguous branches of development: the desire to rebuild, whilst improving on previous conditions, and the need to create and preserve domestic stability. Amidst the desire to rebuild also lies an undeniable sense of upward social mobility, the urge to graduate from tenement or slum to a position of greater material standing. *Patterns of British Life*, a survey conducted in 1950, drew the conclusion that 'most people like living in houses rather than flats...they like their own private domain which can be locked against the outside world'.¹² In *The Lost Victory* (1995), Correlli Barnett records that the efforts of the post-war Labour Government to provide a more revised and realistic '4-5 million houses in the first ten years of peace' they had promised resulted in the creation of high-rise blocks in high-density urban centres such as Birmingham, Coventry and Sheffield.¹³ Whilst not universally disliked (the Churchill Gardens Estate in Pimlico, London won

⁹ Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 592-3. Kynaston also quotes further findings which indicated severe overcrowding, for example up to nine people of three generations sharing a property designed for two people.

¹⁰ Waller, *London 1945*, p. 1.

¹¹ D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-51*, pp. 592-3. Though Kynaston barely mentions it, the public preoccupation with housing was fuelled by the Squatter's movement of 1946. Paul Addison's *Now the War is Over* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985) and James Hinton's 'Self Help & Socialism: The Squatter's Movement of 1946' in *History Workshop Journal* (No. 25, Spring 1988) agree that 45,000, mainly ex-servicemen and their families, took over abandoned or disused military camps across Britain.

¹² Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 607.

¹³ C. Barnett, *The Lost Victory*, (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 1. Though Barnett's critical agenda means that his work is to be treated with caution, his figures are accurate.

widespread praise for its design), Kynaston records that the preference of most people, especially families, would remain for that of houses.¹⁴

Patterns of British Life is similarly suggestive of another development in contemporary attitudes towards housing: a desire for protection. A prevailing concern, once housing had been obtained, would be to ensure a means of continued possession and defence of both the property and the status it awarded. *Patterns of British Life* also reveals a latent fear of the threat perceived in the 'outside'. Evoking fresh memories of the war, these remarks demonstrate an acute awareness of how events in the wider geopolitical sphere can affect the peace of domesticity. The survey further demonstrates the belief that houses are important; beyond the social signification, they provide shelter and security. The building itself offers a barrier against natural conditions and places perceptible boundaries between the individual and the outside world, creating a sense of physical protection.

Although traditionally conservative in his political background, Fleming's novels repeatedly reveal evidence of a progressive social conscience particular to the post-war period.¹⁵ Bond is privy to the spaces of power and privilege, in particular the Secret Service building in Regents Park, and often mixes with members of high society, but he also remains a perpetual outsider. For example, his presence in upmarket resorts such as the fictional Royale les Eaux in *Casino Royale* (1953) is made possible by his profession and not his social standing.¹⁶ Fleming characterises Bond as one who appreciates the finer things in life but does not necessarily possess them. In doing so, Fleming uses Bond to reflect the desire for improved material circumstance crucial to the period. Sinfield identifies a shift in British national politics after the war towards what he titles the 'ideology of welfare-capitalism'.¹⁷ Welfare-capitalism is unique in Sinfield's view in that it 'aspires to legitimate itself by claiming it is what people want' rather than relying on the traditional approaches of

¹⁴ Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 611. The creation of the twenty-five 'New Towns' is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

¹⁵ Fleming's father, Valentine Fleming (1882-1917) was a Conservative MP from 1910 to 1917. D. Cannadine. *In Churchill's Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 282.

¹⁶ Perhaps to clarify, in *Moonraker* (1955) Fleming gives details of Bond's net income of £2000 per year, which allows him to live comfortably but not to the point where he could afford a break in Royale les Eaux. See I. Fleming. *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 11.

¹⁷ Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture*, p. 17.

perpetuating power through religious authority or physical repression. Fleming's novels support Sinfield's assertion in their fictional indulgence of affluence but, crucially, never lose the underlying dimension of physical force. Beyond possession of new houses, the people of Britain wanted them protected.¹⁸ The spy remains present as the instrument of power that reinforces ideology.

Fleming's novels, along with those of Greene and le Carré, emphasise ordinary points of reference as often as they deal with extraordinary tales of adventure. As well as having a particular temporal relevance, the domestic experience is one that almost every reader, regardless of class, can identify with as it is culturally produced and reinforced. Whilst the idea of political and social consensus in post-war Britain is fraught with qualification, Fleming's novels essentially build on commonalities, accentuating them, and asserting their value through reinforcement.¹⁹ The necessity of common reference points is of dual importance within espionage fiction, vital both in terms of the narrative formation of spy fiction and in the motivation of its characters. The inclusion of ordinary points of reference and images of everyday life is instrumental in the creation of ideology; the so-called 'greater good' common in the Cold War politics of welfare capitalism is only able to be formed through emphasis on shared formative experience and identification of a threat to common interest, namely domestic space. Emphasis on shared experience reconciles differences of perspective within society and unites them.²⁰ Though partial, each separate entity is also connected within a larger framework; namely membership of the British nation.

As the first in Fleming's series, *Casino Royale* narrates Fleming's ideological basis regarding the sanctity of home and the nation; the spy endeavours to keep peace at home by acting almost exclusively abroad. The novel's second chapter takes the form of an intelligence dossier on prominent French Communist Le Chiffre and provides

¹⁸ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 5. Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 268. In the post-war world, protection typically meant through atomic means; Hennessy recounts Bevin's position regarding the need for a British atomic weapon as 'We've got to have this thing...and we've got to have a bloody Union Jack flying on top of it'.

¹⁹ Umberto Eco classifies this employment of universal reference points as the use of *Endoxa*; the set of commonly held values, opinions and prejudices pertaining to a particular society. See U. Eco, 'Narrative structures in Fleming' in *The James Bond Phenomenon – A critical reader*, Ed. by C. Lindner (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2003), p. 45.

²⁰ Sinfield quite understandably identifies the most pressing contextual common experience as the Second World War. See Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture*, pp. 26-27.

clear justification for the international operation of the secret service: 'It would be greatly in the interest of this country (Britain) and the other nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that this powerful Soviet agent should be ridiculed and destroyed, that his Communist trade union should be bankrupted...and this potential fifth column...lose faith and cohesion'.²¹ Though the principal action of the operation will take place abroad and the major impact of success would be felt in France, the statement begins and ends with national self-interest. The fear of 'fifth column' infiltration, the breach of domestic security, is left until last, emphasising its significance and providing the justification for Bond's involvement; the protection of the British Isles by eliminating a potential domestic threat whilst it is still safely overseas.²² In *The Myth of the Blitz* (1991) Angus Calder establishes how fear of the 'fifth column' permeated wartime propaganda, threatening to strike directly at the heart of the nation from within domestic space.²³ Though a fifth column may strictly be the preserve of MI5, Fleming reinvigorates this fear in the circumstance of the Cold War to propagate a continued popular identification with concerns of national security. By beginning his series of novels with a mission that intersects and interlinks both the domestic and professional sphere Fleming suggests that, for the spy, social responsibility must come before personal luxury.²⁴

The prospect of domestic sanctity is again emphasised at the conclusion of the novel after Le Chiffre has been dispatched by SMERSH and Bond is recuperating from his injuries. As a reward for their efforts, Bond and Vesper are permitted a short holiday; rather than the luxury and opulence of the casinos and hotels described throughout the rest of the novel, they instead engage in the pursuit of simpler, more homely pleasure and go to a small villa overlooking a nearby bay. By rewarding Bond and Vesper in

²¹ I. Fleming, *Casino Royale* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 15. See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

²² Fifth-columnists would typically be the responsibility of domestic intelligence, namely MI5. However, in a typical case of Fleming deferral it is France and not Britain that is subject to infiltration; Bond is therefore able to not only secure France's domestic security but also that of Britain as part of NATO. Moreover, Fleming does not tend to observe such operational distinctions; Bond is very much the counter-spy, a role associated more readily with MI5.

²³ A. Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), p. 110. Calder discusses the origin of the phrase in further detail, its use in everyday speech as well as propaganda and the combination of fear and perceived necessity that resulted in the internment of 'enemy aliens' throughout the war. Churchill also used it in his 'Sinews of Peace' address from 1946 regarding Communism in Europe, indicating a wider cultural cachet than just Britain.

²⁴ If personal luxuries can be enjoyed in the course of a mission, however, then that is perfectly acceptable; Bond reveals in *Moonraker* that when 'on a job he could spend as much as he liked', p. 11. Further, argues that a taste of fine living is largely Bond's reward for serving his country. See Macintyre, B. *For Your Eyes Only: Ian Fleming and James Bond* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), p. 173.

such a way, Fleming suggests that the fulfilment of domestic and social security functions as an ideological motivator; the spy shares in the desire to experience a secure, unthreatened home environment like the nation he protects. At one point Bond muses on the seaside inn that he and Vesper Lynd share:

Bond loved the place at first sight – the terrace leading almost to the high-tide mark, the low, two-storied house with gay brick-red awnings over the windows and the crescent-shaped bay of blue water and golden sands... In his mind he fingered the necklace of the days to come.²⁵

The prospect of even a few days of untroubled domestic existence appear as a precious, tantalising object to the spy, no matter how temporary or fleeting it may be. The inn becomes a fantasy object, described in the clichéd terms of picture postcards, and the ‘high tide mark’ of Bond’s domestic happiness. The house is traditional in construction, with only two stories, and clearly not of post-war development. Fleming also deftly reconciles the fact that it is in France and not England by the hints of quintessentially English brick, by further suggesting that none of them appear to be speaking French but rather that all conversation takes place in English and creating a sense of national kinship by briefly mentioning the proprietor’s admirable war record and sacrifice (the loss of an arm). However, Fleming is ultimately constrained by logic of his own making; Bond has ensured the domestic security of England but France remains unsafe. The domestic setting of the inn becomes the site of Bond’s betrayal by Vesper, one that Fleming cites as the reason for his henceforth mistrust and general mistreatment of women.²⁶ By enacting his betrayal within their temporary home, Fleming simultaneously suggests the fragile construction of home as well as the fear of dissolution that drives its need for continual defence.

Moreover, Fleming suggests that house and home are impermanent, if not unreachable, goals for the spy. Paradoxically, the pursuit of domestic sanctity justifies the subordination of the spy’s domestic existence in favour of his professional

²⁵ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, p. 180.

²⁶ There is an indication that enlightened views on gender equality came late to the offices of Universal Exports: in *From Russia, With Love* (1957) M states that it ‘Doesn’t do to get mixed up with neurotic women in this business. They hang on your gun arm’, (London: Penguin, 2004, p. 105). Similarly, in *Thunderball* (1961) Bond is less than impressed with his new secretary, referring to her as a ‘silly, and worse, ugly bitch’ (London: Penguin, 2004, p. 2).

function; to protect domestic security for everyone else the spy must relinquish it himself. Signs of disruption are visible before Bond and Vesper even arrive at the inn in the form of the man with the black eye-patch who tails them; a conspicuous indication of an impending threat to their happiness. Further, once they reach the inn the domestic space is revealed as unified in terms of its built presence, yet inherently divided. Though staying together, Bond and Vesper are in separate rooms marked off by the liminal barriers of thresholds and doorways.²⁷ Bond describes Vesper in terms associative with the house, stating that ‘however long they were together there would always be a private room inside her which he could never invade’.²⁸ Like the house, her relationship with Bond is similarly simultaneously whole and divided. Vesper’s subsequent actions, her collusion with SMERSH and her secretive attitude, result in an undoing of domesticity; the actions of the spy appear to cause conflict no matter which side they serve.

Fleming forces Bond and Vesper to experience a form of marital hypertrophy complete with mounting recrimination and conflict. The act of domestic existence becomes increasingly divisive, ‘[E]ach day the atmosphere became more hateful’, until finally, with Vesper’s suicide, their living space becomes a dying space.²⁹ Bond’s experience in *Casino Royale* suggests that he is resigned to continually seek a sense of stable spatial belonging but be forever denied its accomplishment because of the destructive nature of espionage. His is an imagined kinship with the nation he protects and one that is never able to be fully realised. Fleming portrays the spy’s domestic existence as one that must be constantly threatened to ensure its defence; mirroring the way in which the spy’s existence is perpetuated by continued threat to the nation. In the concluding pages of *Casino Royale*, where Bond resolves to ‘attack the arm that held the whip...go after the threat behind the spies’, he relinquishes his right to domestic existence to preserve that right for others.³⁰ Kim Dovey argues in *Framing Places* (1999), that constructions of home ‘are a product of homelessness and the unhomely’.³¹ By a combination of desire and necessity Bond lives a rootless

²⁷ G. Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space* (New York: Beacon Press, 1992), p. 73.

²⁸ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, p. 186.

²⁹ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, p. 196.

³⁰ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, p. 212.

³¹ K. Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, 2nd Edn. (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 175.

existence in a succession of hotels as he travels the world seeking to preserve the domestic security of the nation and obtain his revenge.³²

Graham Greene's *The Human Factor* similarly concerns the dissolutive effects of espionage on the domestic environment. Unlike his earlier works, *The Human Factor* is not prefaced with any instruction as to whether it is to be read as an 'entertainment' or one of his more serious works; rather, the novel is a conflation of Greene's modes of writing, detailing the human cost of espionage as chequered by grim farce and suggesting that the spy's actions have more present-at-hand consequences than international relations. Maurice Castle, a member of MI6's Africa Section, is eventually revealed as a double agent reporting to the KGB; his family's safe passage out of Africa having been part of the deal that 'turned' him. As the British Secret Services begin to close in on him Castle flees to Moscow with the help of KGB contacts but must leave his wife and child behind, destroying the domestic existence he betrayed his country to preserve.³³

A brief plot synopsis suggests that the reaction to Castle's misery should be one of indifference or even disappointment that he manages to escape; he is, after all, unmasked as a traitor to his nation at a time when defection appeared rife.³⁴ However, Greene is less interested in exploring Castle's actions in terms of political allegiance than he is with his commitment to a more universal desire; that of domestic sanctity. Greene presents Castle as having acted fundamentally for the greater good of Sarah, her child and his own happiness not ideology.³⁵ Castle's decision to become a Soviet mole is presented by Greene as almost a debt of incidental kindness which Castle is obliged to repay. Before Castle is revealed as the novel's ostensible villain, Greene casts him instead as a middle-class English bureaucrat, on nodding terms with his fellow commuters and committed to never seeming out of place. Castle is dedicated to

³² See final section of this chapter for further analysis on the space of the hotel in espionage fiction.

³³ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

³⁴ Greene's former MI6 controller Kim Philby's escape to the Soviet Union took place in 1963. However, the era was characterised by defection. Alongside the Cambridge and Portland spy rings, George Blake, John Symonds and others were also revealed as double agents. Speculation over the so-called 'fourth man' in the Cambridge Spy ring continued for much of the 1970s until being ended by Margaret Thatcher's parliamentary 'outing' of Anthony Blunt in 1979.

³⁵ In this respect, Greene's motives are very similar to Fleming's, as expressed in *Casino Royale* by Mathis who, as addressed later in this chapter, exhorts Bond to fight for people and not principles (p. 164).

the repetitiveness of domesticity noting that ‘in a bizarre profession anything which belongs to routine gains great value’.³⁶ Castle covets domestic life because he knows that it is constantly threatened by his espionage work.

Denning argues that Castle’s attempts to isolate and prioritise his domestic existence are that which destroys it; however, this is not the complete picture. Denning’s analysis suggests that Castle is able to enjoy a peaceful domestic existence until it is shattered by the events of his double life.³⁷ However, despite his best efforts at projecting its pretence, the domestic life Castle covets never truly exists. Castle is not only a professional imposter but a private one also. He is husband to one of his former agents and father to someone else’s child. He lives in a town that is home and not homely, returning to Berkhamstead not because he feels a connection to his birthplace but because it is familiar and an easier place in which to hide.³⁸ Castle’s ‘value’ of routine is its utility as cover, allowing him to hide out amongst suburban dentists and fellow commuters. Castle attempts to preserve a domestic harmony that is never real. Each domestic arrangement Castle experiences in *The Human Factor* is not a step towards safety but another successive state of disequilibrium. Castle flees apartheid Africa for suburban paranoia, itself eventually exchanged for the isolation of Moscow. Each development in Castle’s life represents the destruction of domesticity as a consequence of espionage; every attempt he makes to render his family safe pushes them further away. When he considers ‘buying a mortice lock or something very special chosen in St. James’ Street from Chubb’s’ Castle is as much attempting to keep the inside world in as he is the outside one out.³⁹

Fleming’s *From Russia, With Love* also concerns the falsification of domestic space and attachment at the heart of its plot.⁴⁰ However, where *From Russia, With Love* differs to *Casino Royale* and *The Human Factor* is in the openness with which it falsifies attachment and produces domestic space. As Bond and Romanova discuss how they will escape Istanbul, she imagines the Orient Express as ‘a little house on

³⁶ G. Greene. *The Human Factor* (London: Bodley Head, 1978), p. 19.

³⁷ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 123.

³⁸ Greene, a former spy himself, was born in Berkhamstead.

³⁹ Greene, *The Human Factor*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ See Appendix I for plot synopsis.

wheels...a good place for love'.⁴¹ Romanova, as a consequence of her newly adopted defector status, has become one of the homeless and 'unhomely'; in an attempt to adapt to her new role, she romanticises the sleeper compartment aboard the train as their marital home envisaging that 'during the day we will talk and read and at night you (Bond) will stand in the corridor outside our house and guard it'.⁴² The spy is again made the protector of domestic space without ever truly engaging in it. Unlike Romanova, at no point during their time aboard the Orient Express does Bond contribute to her fantasy other than to maintain the conceit of their cover. For example, along with his Turkish ally Kerim Darko, Bond appears to act relaxed, indulging elements of domestic routine: 'Bond washed and shaved under the amused eyes of Tatiana... There came a knock on the door. It was Kerim. Bond let him in. Kerim bowed toward the girl. 'What a charming domestic scene' he commented.'⁴³ Bond's actions echo Castle's assessment of the value of routine in *The Human Factor*; domesticity hides the true, namely deceitful, nature of the situation.

The effects of Bond's experience in France in *Casino Royale*, his betrayal by Vesper, plainly affect his own attitude to domestic living. In an earlier chapter of *From Russia, With Love* entitled 'The Soft Life', Fleming provides greater insight into Bond's own domestic arrangement in London. Though Bond lives in a 'comfortable flat in the plane-tree'd square off the King's Road' with a housekeeper, he perceives the 'soft life' as a kind of death.⁴⁴ In keeping with his vow made after discovering the truth about Vesper, Fleming writes of Bond as 'a man of war' stating that 'when...there was no war, his spirit went into a decline'.⁴⁵ Bond wills the destabilisation of what he seeks to protect for the nation, equating his own domestic existence with boredom and 'accidie'. Instead of enjoying the privileges of his home, Bond appears to need the stimulus of constant threat to remain committed to its defence. In providing two such differing perspectives the novel illustrates the difference between the novice and seasoned spy; where Bond sees weakness and complacency, Romanova imagines safety and security. Fleming's novel, like

⁴¹ I. Fleming, *From Russia, With Love* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 183.

⁴² Fleming, *Russia*, p. 183.

⁴³ Fleming, *Russia*, p. 205.

⁴⁴ Fleming, *Russia*, p. 95. Again, whilst not entirely part of the upper-middle class, Bond displays considerable pretensions towards an indulgent and distinctly Tory way of life. See chapter three for more detail on Bond's position within London society.

⁴⁵ Fleming, *Russia*, p. 95.

Greene's, exemplifies an inherent contradiction to the spy's interaction with domestic space. Passivity is not possible but activity is equally destructive. The spy cannot ever enjoy lasting domestic sanctity because his existence and actions are prefigured to dissolve it. The dissolutive effect of the spy on the domestic environment is perhaps nowhere more visible than the action he takes against his enemies; Bond's resolution to go after the threat behind the spies means that he, and others, must be concerned with the domestic space of their opponents.

2. **How the Other Half Live:** Lairs, Hideouts and Enemy Territory.

The post-war preoccupation with house and home was subject to further catalyst in 1944-45 as British soldiers began to advance into occupied Europe. Many soldiers noticed the disparity between the standards of living they were used to in Britain and those of their enemy. Though not subject to the same level of disparity as the Red Army noted, as detailed by Red Army correspondent Vasily Grossman in his wartime memoirs or discussed by Soviet historians such as Evan Mawdsley, British soldiers reacted to the comparative luxury of German homes with a mixture of shock, envy and anger.⁴⁶ Hennessy quotes a sergeant of the Coldstream Guards who noticed first in Holland that other Europeans 'were so much better off than we were'. When his unit reached Germany, the same sergeant 'got ambitious. We owned two-thirds of the world and we were worse off than them'.⁴⁷ In addition to the effect that such experiences had on post-war social mobility they also drew the domestic environment into the wider ideological tension of the Cold War as the comforts, or lack thereof, of home took on a political dimension. The British position was further compounded by the nation's political and geographical place between the United States and Soviet Russia, both contemporaneously vying for influence in Western Europe.⁴⁸ From the

⁴⁶ For information see V. Grossman, *Life and Fate* (London: Vintage, 2010) or E. Mawdsley's *The Stalin Years: The Soviet Union 1929-53* (Manchester: University Press, 2003). Though more populist in tone and scope, Anthony's Beevor's *Berlin: The Downfall 1945* (London: Penguin, 2002) also pays attention to living conditions of both the Wehrmacht and the Red Army.

⁴⁷ Hennessy, *Never Again*. p. 56.

⁴⁸ See chapter two for analysis of post-war geopolitical tensions in occupied Europe. Though of course the US and USSR were only fifty miles from one another across the straights of Alaska, their political and clandestine struggles typically took place in Europe.

British perspective, knowledge of 'how the other half lived' in the Cold War was subject to continual distortion by propagandist visions of American plenty and Soviet social satisfaction.

There would be still further complications for Britain and the British in the initial years following the war. The post-war Labour government was elected under a great mandate for reform; their manifesto of 1945, entitled *Let Us Face The Future*, recognised as much, detailing the promises that secured their electoral victory.⁴⁹ However, despite the radical reimagining of British society that was mooted, little tangible physical difference immediately materialised. As historian C. J. Bartlett notes in *A History of Post-War Britain 1945-74*, 'in many respects the years of peace were a continuation of the years of war in different circumstances'.⁵⁰ Peacetime reminders of conflict were commonplace, including the continued mobilisation of large numbers of men (deployed fighting Imperial Japan or later performing occupation duties in Europe and the Middle East) and the preservation of wartime measures such as identity cards (mandatory until 1952) and rationing. Though the Labour government was in the process of revolutionising the British social welfare system, the necessary and vast expenditure required to do so deprived the British public of many of the luxuries and creature comforts that their American and continental counterparts enjoyed.⁵¹ Correlli Barnett identifies the underlying problem as that of 'global strategic overstretch'; Britain could not afford both guns and butter, and, for a short while, came close to having neither as it tried to pursue both.⁵²

A recurrent and prevalent theme of post-war spy fiction was the comparison between Britain and the emergent superpowers of the Cold War, America and the Soviet Union. Typically, this comparison is made manifest throughout the genre in terms of international standing or political influence, however, the novels of Greene, Fleming

⁴⁹ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ C. J. Bartlett, *A History of Post-War Britain 1945-74*, (New York: Longman, 1977), p. 1.

⁵¹ Kynaston's description of an average family home in the period 1945-51 includes: 'wash day every Monday...coke boilers...the coal fire...seen million dwellings lacked a hot-water supply, some six million an inside WC'. *Austerity*, pp. 19-20.

⁵² Barnett. *Lost Victory*, p. 70. In Britain's 'Age of Austerity', many historians seek to personify the zeitgeist in the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Stafford Cripps, whom Barnett describes as 'austere as a prayer in a cold church', p. 182. In light of British policy towards foreign and domestic policy, post-war rationing could arguably be viewed as part of a political strategy and not only enacted out of necessity.

and le Carré all draw comparisons in more quotidian terms. Reflecting the attitudes of their readership, these authors depict the domestic spaces and trappings of Russia and America in a variety of ways; the reactions of their characters are equally varied, encompassing interest, resentment, envy, fear and aggression.⁵³ However, whichever attitude each author may adopt, a vicarious fascination with the domestic space of enemies and allies alike remains visible throughout their work.

A consequence of this widespread fascination is that the enemy lair or hideout becomes a major trope of espionage fiction. In the cinematic adaptations of the Bond novels this space has been taken to ever more ridiculous extremes; perhaps nowhere more so than in Hugo Drax's secret orbital space station in the 1979 version of *Moonraker*. Unlike some of the film series' other embellishments such as the range of gadgets supplied by Q branch, the fantastic nature of the Bond villain's lair begins in Fleming's original novels. For instance, in *Dr. No* (1958) the eponymous villain builds an elaborate underground complex into a volcano situated on a Caribbean island in order to sabotage American missile tests. Fleming describes No's base as 'a fortress – sort of forced-labour camp'.⁵⁴ Although he only lived to see two Bond feature films made, critics such as Christoph Lindner and Tony Bennett have recorded how Fleming's writing altered as a result of the film franchise.⁵⁵ Bennett and Lindner call attention to the way in which Fleming categorically establishes Bond's heritage in *You Only Live Twice* (1964), adding hitherto unacknowledged Scottish ancestry in approval of Sean Connery's popular portrayal of Bond in the film version of *Dr. No* (1962). However, *You Only Live Twice* also reveals further developments in Fleming's writing as a result of the film series. In its depiction of enemy territory the novel contributes greatly to the process that would culminate, via a succession of ever more elaborate bases, in the outlandish setting of the cinematic *Moonraker*.

⁵³ Mass Observation volunteers submitted reports of general gratitude for American aid but general dislike of American affluence. When asked for an opinion on America in 1950, MO respondents ranged from the supportive, 'I like them and consider them our absolute friends', to the more ambivalent, 'cordial detestation'. See Kynaston, *Austerity*, p. 468. Opinions of the Russians, after incidents such as the blockade of Berlin, were even less complimentary with Bevin unambiguously referring to Molotov and Stalin as 'evil'; see Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 245.

⁵⁴ I. Fleming, *Dr No* (London: Pan, 1958), p. 48.

⁵⁵ For more information see T. Bennett & J. Woollacott *Bond and Beyond: The Political Life of a Popular Hero* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987) and C. Lindner *The James Bond Phenomenon*. By the time of Fleming's death in August 1964, *Dr No* (1962) and *From Russia With Love* (1963) had been released whilst *Goldfinger* was in the final stages of production before its release in September of that year.

One of the weakest books in the James Bond series, *You Only Live Twice* is a novel of excess.⁵⁶ It goes into extensive detail on a number of topics, often substituting lists of factual information for Fleming's own writing, such as in the chapter 'Instant Japan'; a chapter that Denning views as though it had been lifted directly from a travel guide, noting that Fleming is 'filling up a sketchy plot' with 'straightforward travelogue'.⁵⁷ The novel is similarly excessive in terms of Fleming's comments on racial difference, Bond's hedonism and its descriptions of violence. Whether this excess is a deliberate, parodic choice by Fleming is uncertain, but the use of hyperbolic description allows Fleming to include a description of an enemy hideout that surpassed those of the previous novels and the films to date.⁵⁸ Fleming reveals that Blofeld, posing as botanical scientist Dr. Shatterhand, bought a partially ruined castle on the edge of cliff on the southern isle of Japan and fortified its grounds with all manner of deadly flora and fauna. Fleming builds up an image of it as a place of foreboding; the castle is described by Japanese spymaster Tiger Tanaka as 'a giant edifice (with a) monumental surrounding wall', and later as no less than 'a Castle of Death'.⁵⁹ Blofeld's plan to fill the grounds with a range of deadly plants and animals means that his castle has consequently become a major attraction for Japanese suicides. Though no definite information is given regarding what is actually happening in the castle, and therefore no indication that it is any kind of threat to Bond, Britain or even Japan, infiltration and destruction of the castle becomes the focus of the novel. Blofeld's castle acts as a conspicuous indication of built power designed to indicate a show of strength and act as a warning to intruders. Fleming uses the novel's deliberate excesses to indulge contemporary fears over the supposedly sinister living space of Britain's enemies.

However, unlike his appearances in Fleming's previous novels, Blofeld has not actually committed a crime that warrants his death. As Tiger Tanaka concedes,

⁵⁶ See Appendix I for plot synopsis.

⁵⁷ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 103.

⁵⁸ Fleming would certainly have been aware of Paul Johnson's *New Statesman* article of 5th April 1958 which accused Fleming of cynically mixing sex, snobbery and sadism in order to generate interest in his books. Interestingly, and seemingly in spite of the article's puritan tone, Johnson's mistress would later reveal that he was fond of S&M in his private life.

⁵⁹ I. Fleming, *You Only Live Twice* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 64 & 76. (Hereafter, *YOLT*).

‘(A)rrest him for what? The man has done nothing wrong’.⁶⁰ When examined against the mechanics of sovereign power, Tanaka’s reasons for desiring Blofeld’s destruction become far clearer. Blofeld’s lair is set inside the borders of a sovereign nation, Japan, and subverts the control over life and death that is a fundament of political sovereignty. By producing and controlling a space in which the traditional state power over the life and death of the individual is suspended, an exceptional, ungovernable realm, Blofeld and his lair represent a direct threat to the rule of power. As in *Casino Royale*, Fleming is again emphasising the fear associated with such fifth-columnists; those agents working against the control of sovereign space from within it. Fleming’s novel suggests that the rule of power cannot allow subversive elements to remain at large within the borders of a democratic nation. In this instance, Bond is shown to be the instrument of sovereign power that reinforces its rule and corrects any subversion of norm, even if that means undermining the values of domestic space and sovereignty he is charged to uphold.

Almost contemporaneous to the fantastical nature of enemy territory depicted in Fleming’s novel, le Carré’s *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (hereafter *Spy...*) suggests a more prosaic character to domesticity in Soviet republics. Le Carré depicts a variety of domestic spaces as the ‘burnt-out’ head of the West Berlin station Alec Leamas pursues his mission, during which he pretends to defect, both in London and in Europe.⁶¹ However, in opposition to Fleming’s excess, the environments that le Carré describes are plain, quotidian and undemonstrative. In concordance with le Carré’s distinctly unglamorous portrayal of post-war espionage, the homes of both British and East German spies are sparsely furnished, ordinary buildings. The living arrangements of spies are shown to be as business-like as their profession with an emphasis on function rather than display. For example, during the first stage of his defection Leamas is taken to Holland and interviewed by his contact, Peters, later revealed as a member of the German Secret Police.

The woman got out...and rang the doorbell of a small cream coloured bungalow which stood at the near end of the row. A wrought iron sign hung on the porch with the words “Le Mirage” in pale blue Gothic script...Heavy

⁶⁰ Fleming, *YOLT*, p. 76.

⁶¹ See Appendix I for plot synopsis.

lace curtains hung on the window...the windowsill was covered with potted plants...the furniture was heavy, pseudo-antique. In the centre of the room was a table with two carved chairs. The table was covered with a rust-coloured counterpane more like a carpet; on it before each chair was a pad of paper and a pencil.⁶²

Le Carré describes the house in neutral, unobtrusive language indicating its drab colours and the presence of typical household clutter such as the plants and lace curtains. The house is deliberately plain in order to remain inconspicuous, however, much like the domestic spaces in *The Human Factor* and *From Russia with Love*, is clearly an artificial construct, produced for the purposes of interrogation. There is a sense of falsity and forcedness to the house in the language used to describe it, suggested by the 'pseudo' style of the furniture and the revealing name, 'Le Mirage'; a comment not only on the projection of ordinary domesticity the house is intended to relate but also the cordiality of Leamas' KGB handlers and the veracity of Leamas' defection itself. The finality with which the pencil and pad of paper are mentioned reveals the true purpose of the house; to gather information via interrogation. Le Carré suggests that in the same way that opposing espionage services are essentially the same there is similarly little difference in the domestic spaces of their operatives. They are all productions of home that are rendered unhomey by their function.

A further, and crucial, difference between le Carré and Fleming, however, is that le Carré does not demonise Britain's enemies in the same way Fleming does. Where Fleming uses deliberate exaggeration to establish the moral degeneracy of his characters, le Carré is far more equivocal. Fleming, in associating Blofeld with Soviet Russia through SPECTRE, succumbs to and supports the propaganda that Communism is inherently evil and constantly engaged in efforts to destroy the Western way of life. Fleming reflects Bertrand Russell's identification that '(T)he elimination of dissent was achieved by identifying dissent in the popular mind with support of the 'enemy', the 'devil', the inconceivably wicked Russians'.⁶³ Fleming adopts the position that either the enemies of Britain must be destroyed or they will destroy Britain. Le Carré is neither so dramatic nor so overt, reflecting a greater moral

⁶² J. le Carré. *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (London: Pan, 1964), pp. 73-75.

⁶³ Sinfield, *Postwar Literature & Culture*, p. 108.

ambiguity to the period in which he was writing. Instead of the drama inherent to Fleming's villains, le Carré's novels suggest a banality to life in the service of Soviet espionage and in Soviet controlled countries not dissimilar to that of Britain. This suggestion of ordinariness is furthered by Leamas' initial encounter with high-ranking GDR agent Fiedler in East Germany.

Having been initially interviewed by Peters, Leamas is taken to an unspecified location for further questioning by Fiedler. Le Carré describes how Leamas arrives at 'a low farmhouse with walls of timber and whitewashed brick' and is led inside.⁶⁴ The interior of the farmhouse is described as being:

[G]ot up like a hunting lodge, part old, part new. The place had a neglected, musty air as if it had been opened for the occasion. There were little touches of officialdom...a notice of what to do in case of fire...and in the drawing room, which was quite comfortably done, dark, heavy furniture, badly scratched, and the inevitable photographs of Soviet leaders. To Leamas these lapses from anonymity signified the involuntary identification of the Abteilung with bureaucracy. That was something he was familiar with in the Circus.⁶⁵

When contrasted against the interrogation chamber in Blofeld's castle, or even that of *Casino Royale*, the farmhouse in *Spy...* is more prosaic and has a great deal in common with those used by the Circus. The farmhouse is described as 'part old, part new' acknowledging the developing rivalry between East and West but citing its position as just another chapter in the Anglo-Russian Great Game. In his description of the farmhouse, le Carré's suggestion is similar to Greene's in *The Human Factor* that maintaining routine and ordinariness leads to greater success than demonstrative acts of force. Rather than appearing as a deliberate and obvious exception, the Abteilung's farmhouse remains anonymous in the landscape; acts of subversion such as murder, interrogation and detention without trial occur there but go unnoticed.

⁶⁴ Le Carré, *Spy*, p. 119.

⁶⁵ Le Carré, *Spy*, p. 120.

Le Carré's constant intimation in *Spy...* is that the servants of Communism supposedly posing a threat to post-war Britain enjoy a standard of life no better or no worse than the British.⁶⁶ Le Carré's novel finds common ground on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In emphasising that the enemy are 'just like us', le Carré questions the morality of the cold war and the methods of those who prosecute it. Le Carré continues by highlighting how both Secret Services share similar methods and suffer similar problems; in their game of double-agents, both the Circus and the Abteilung undermine each other by producing and violating the principles of domestic space. The result is that no space is left secure and that the fears of Romanova, Castle and Leamas are more universal than first thought. In its use of the profoundly ordinary, le Carré's world of espionage is portrayed by turns as joyless, dull and cruel.

Whereas the domestic environment is often extraordinary in the work of Fleming and profoundly ordinary in the work of le Carré, Greene's novels combine these apparently opposite positions. For Greene, acts of espionage make the ordinary extraordinary and, paradoxically, vice versa. For Greene, the moral ambiguity of espionage is often the only constant in narratives where allegedly 'good' people act with destructive and often murderous consequences. Whereas in Fleming's *You Only Live Twice* and le Carré's *Spy...*, enemy territory is clearly and rigidly delineated, in a novel such as *The Human Factor* enemies and the spaces they occupy appear fluid and alter on a regular basis.

Acts of espionage in Greene's novels make the commonplace unusual and add a sense of the alien to familiar spaces and places. Returning to *The Human Factor*, the novel illustrates how fear causes spaces and individuals to come under a circuitous process of scrutiny and suspicion. For example, after initial vetting by Colonel Daintry, the Secret Service believes that Castle's colleague Davis is the source of the security leak in the Africa section. Their suspicions transform an ordinary man, described as being 'like an actor who has been miscast', into a security risk of international proportions.⁶⁷ After Daintry's ploy to discover the leak by passing disinformation to Davis is apparently verified when Castle tells his Russian handlers, the Service arranges Davis' elimination. The decision to kill Davis is facilitated through the use of

⁶⁶ D. Kynaston. *Family Britain: 1951-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), p. 322.

⁶⁷ Greene, *Human Factor*, p. 10.

a poison which 'kills the liver cells...A post mortem would show only the damage done to the liver and I expect the coroner would warn the public against the danger of over-indulgence in port'.⁶⁸ The extraordinary decision to kill a British subject is rendered ordinary by the method and location of its execution.

Greene's espionage fiction shows so regularly that 'enemy territory' can exist within the borders of supposedly protected sovereign space and that acts of evil can occur just as easily in the domestic sphere as anywhere else. In doing so, Greene validates the assessment of his contemporary, George Orwell, expressed in *Inside the Whale*; Orwell states that 'the truth is, ordinary, everyday life consists far more largely of horrors than writers of fiction usually care to admit'.⁶⁹ Greene furthers Orwell's analysis, recognising that by inducing the individual to be consistently vigilant and continually engaged as a means of ensuring the defence of space is to invite further horrors. In their attempts to preserve the values and safety of domestic space, Greene's spies destroy them; the moral divide between 'them' and 'us' is constantly diminished.

3. **Working from Home:** Identity and Inseparable Spheres of Spy Fiction.

*The Cold War perception of 'the other side' (is) as permanently and constitutionally aggressive. That is why you are deterring them; and once you have thus labelled them, how can you afford to stop? Of course, by displaying this perception, you give the other side as good a reason to regard you as hostile – after all, you are pointing those weapons at them. The pattern is self sustaining' – Alan Sinfield, Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain.*⁷⁰

Despite a host of economic problems in the immediate wake of the war, the nationalisation of British industry by 1950 and steadily increasing exports (on the

⁶⁸ Greene, *Human Factor*, p. 102.

⁶⁹ G. Orwell. *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume 1: An Age Like This* (London, Penguin Ed. 1976), p. 548.

⁷⁰ Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain*, p. 108. Sinfield paraphrases Ralph Miliband's *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969).

basis of Marshall Aid) finally resulted in a period of relatively widespread affluence during the early 1950s.⁷¹ Hennessy identifies that the transition from rationing to unrestricted purchase during 1953 to 1954 marked a more keenly felt break between post-war decades than did the forties becoming the fifties.⁷² This period of affluence would directly influence Fleming's novels and has become associated with the espionage genre as a whole.⁷³ Growing economic recovery, combined with a continued emphasis on the Special Relationship with the United States, permitted Britain and her government to believe that the nation still possessed the international standing of a world power. Attempts at maintaining British international standing would prove the justification for a range of actions including development of an independent nuclear deterrent, invasion of the Suez Canal zone and military intervention in Kenya and Malaya. Popular support for these actions was widespread, suggesting that the British nation recognised a need for vigilance if their material wealth, global position and foreign and domestic security were to be preserved.⁷⁴

Post-war redevelopment was pursued with repeated reference to examples of national unity, specifically those of the war. For example, again in their manifesto of 1945, *Let Us Face the Future*, the Labour party stated that in order to 'win the peace', Britain needed 'the spirit of Dunkirk and the Blitz sustained over a number of years'.⁷⁵ The continual urging of the British people to accept collective responsibility with regards to national recovery added a further political element to the personal lives of individuals throughout the Cold War. Nationalisation, the Welfare State and Bertrand Russell's analysis of the elimination of dissent all contribute to the breaking down of separate social spheres. The idea of separate spheres is a nineteenth-century doctrine that states there are two domains of life: the professional and the domestic.⁷⁶ Kim

⁷¹ See Kynaston, *Family Britain*, p. 317-18. Or P. Hennessy. *Having it So Good: Britain in the 50s* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 518. Hennessy states that consumer expenditure grew by 45 percent in 1952-64.

⁷² Hennessy, *Never Again*, p. 387. The removal of mandatory identity cards in 1952 most likely contributed to this feeling of change and relaxation of restriction.

⁷³ Cannadine, *Churchill's Shadow*, p. 300.

⁷⁴ Each of these incidents was visibly opposed also, with protests against Suez and also anti-war marches organised by Bertrand Russell and CND. However, a range of historians of the period show a greater balance of popular support, at least to begin with, in each instance. See Kynaston, *Family*, pp. 679-89. See also P. Brendon. *The Decline & Fall of the British Empire: 1781-1997* (London: Vintage, 2008), pp. 552-559.

⁷⁵ Kynaston, *Austerity*, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁶ M. Gray. *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres During the German Enlightenment* (Oxford: Berghan, 1999), p. 249.

Dovey's description of the house as a 'Social Factory', responsible for personal interactions that link emotional experience with political and economic productivity, suggests the house is the site which produces the consensus necessary to drive welfare capitalism and contradicts the assumption that spheres of existence stay separate.⁷⁷

Both the juxtaposition of home against that of the villain's lair and the continual disruption of domestic space within espionage fiction represents a conglomeration of separate spheres. The barrier between separate spheres is consistently and deliberately broken down within the novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, creating a sense of continually expanding responsibility on the part of the spy and the individual member of society. In Karen Dale and Gibson Burrell's *The Spaces of Organisation & the Organisation of Space* (2008) the process by which separate spheres are combined in post-war period is labelled the 'disappearing workplace'.⁷⁸ However, when applied to espionage fiction, their analysis appears to be reversed. The spy's workplace is not disappearing but rather its designation is made less distinct; along with an expanding responsibility the spy operates in an expanding workplace. In keeping with Britain's pretensions to global responsibility, this workplace is fluid and heterogeneous, being constantly drawn and redrawn where necessary.

The notion of an expanding workplace induces spies to live their covers in a more immersive way by altering their relationship to domestic space. By demanding that the spy exercise their professional function in the domestic environment the space of the house becomes subject to organisational forces in a multiplicity of ways. Dale and Burrell state that organised spaces become 'at once intensely personal and intensely political; they are material, social and imaginary', further suggesting the process of cultural production particular to the post-war period in which successive governments would stress the values of unity, community and nationhood.⁷⁹ Spaces are rendered hybrid as spheres are broken down and the domestic environment adopts and reflects the roles of the professional sphere. In *From Russia, With Love* Fleming provides two examples of how domestic space is organised by social forces. Tatiana Romanova's living quarters are described as:

⁷⁷ Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, p. 159.

⁷⁸ K. Dale & G. Burrell, *The Spaces of Organisation & the Organisation of Space* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 100.

⁷⁹ Dale & Burrell, *Spaces of Organisation*, p. 3.

a tiny box in the huge modern apartment building on the Sadovaya-Chernogriazskay Ulitza that is the women's barracks of the State Security Departments. Built by prison labour, and finished in 1939, the fine eight-storey building contains two thousand rooms, some, like hers on the third floor, nothing but square boxes with a telephone, hot and cold water, a single electric light and a share of the central bathrooms and lavatories... graduation up the building was strictly by rank.⁸⁰

Aside from the imposing architectural presence of the tower block, designed like Blofeld's castle to appear forbidding, the function of Romanova's living quarters is to impose a rule of segregation and instil principles of social responsibility within the domestic existence of its inhabitants. Fleming states that these are the 'women's barracks' indicating that the natural state of domestic cohabitation is disrupted by state intervention and subject to regulatory control. The tower is composed of disparate entities drawn together in a unified form, placing the 'tiny box' belonging to the individual resident into a larger social structure. The tower accomplishes a hybridisation of space by introducing elements of espionage to the domestic environment; alongside the organisation of living space by rank, Fleming later reveals that 'every call, in and out of the building, was listened to and recorded'.⁸¹ Similarly, that the block is built by prison labour acts as a corrective reminder to its inhabitants, continually emphasising the necessity of civic obedience and illustrating how social ideology is backed by coercion through force.

Romanova's domestic space is ironically made unhomely by the measures designed to reinforce it. The hybridisation of domestic and professional space is further suggestive of the paradox that instead of preserving the sanctity of domestic space, the spy destroys it. In this extract, rather than protecting the home environment from fear the State Security Department introduces it, giving its inhabitants reasons to be fearful. In addition to Tatiana Romanova's tower block, further fusion of built and symbolic power is evident in the description of 'Red' Grant's villa the opening chapter of the same novel:

⁸⁰ Fleming, *From Russia, With Love*, pp. 67-68.

⁸¹ Fleming, *From Russia, With Love*, p. 70.

The villa was modern – a squat elongated box without ornament. On the garden side the flat, pink-washed façade was pierced by four iron-framed windows and by a central glass door leading onto a small square of pale green glazed tiles. The tiles merged into the lawn. The other side of the villa, standing back a few yards from the dusty road, was almost identical. But on this side the four windows were barred, and the central door was of oak.⁸²

In contrast to the Sadovaya-Chernogriazskay Ulitza tower, the villa is elongated and occupies a greater amount of horizontal space, indicative of wealth and privilege. However, though their surroundings are very different, Grant and Romanova inhabit spaces of comparable restriction in which their actions are continually monitored. Ostensibly ‘home’ in the extent of its comparative comfort, the villa is nevertheless bound by the traces of power. Domestic space is again subject to the organising principles of the professional sphere. ‘Red’ Grant, despite his status as chief executioner of SMERSH, remains as subordinate to the state as any other. The description of the property indicates the violence that it conceals and the power exercised over its inhabitant. Whilst the interior of villa and its swimming pool give the impression of comfort, even luxury, the door is constructed of solid oak and the windows which ‘pierce’ the wall remain barred. Grant’s guards occupy an ambiguous position, as it is never specified whether they are guarding Grant from the outside world or the outside world from Grant. The exterior remains, like the houses in le Carré’s *Spy Who Came in from the Cold* and Greene’s *The Human Factor*, inconspicuous and unobtrusive, masking the violence within.

For Grant in *From Russia with Love* it is only his position within SMERSH which allows him the prestige of such a private dwelling. Despite an evident lack of free-will, underlined by the presence of the guards, Grant owes all he has to his professional function; he identifies with the rule of order because this has awarded, and continues to permit, him his identity and access to spaces. In *The Poetics of Space* (1964) Gaston Bachelard addresses the effect that built power and social position can have on identity. Bachelard views the fusion of living and social space as that which

⁸² Fleming, *Russia*, p. 4.

makes up both 'body and soul'.⁸³ If the domestic sphere is indistinguishable from the professional and mediated by the rule of power, the spy's social place and function become constitutive as well as cohesive. In espionage fiction, the ordering power provides the spy with a reason for existing; a spy's actions and movements are dictated by their employer, the State. This alignment of form and function dictates that defence of the State over all other concerns is paramount. For the spy, defence of the State becomes a defence of the self.

In Greene's *The Quiet American*, CIA operative Alden Pyle is an example of how the individual spy identifies wholly with the power he serves. Greene's novel illustrates the manner in which identification with power and ideology shapes the domestic existence and identity of the spy.⁸⁴ After Pyle's murder is reported, British Journalist Fowler goes to Pyle's flat to collect the belongings of their mutual love-interest, Phuong. Whilst there, the French police allow him to take something from Pyle's study as a keepsake. Told in first-person, Fowler describes how he:

went across to the bookcase and examined the two rows of books – Pyle's library. *The Advance of Red China*, *The Challenge to Democracy*, *The Rôle of the West* – these I suppose were the complete works of York Harding. There were a lot of Congressional Reports, a Vietnamese phrase book, a history of the war in the Philippines, a Modern Library Shakespeare. On what did he relax? I found...a mysterious anthology called *The Triumph of Life* and a selection of American poetry...Tucked away behind the anthology there was a paper-backed book called *The Physiology of Marriage*. Perhaps he was studying sex, as he had studied the East, on paper. And the key word was marriage. Pyle believed in being involved.⁸⁵

Pyle's bookshelf illustrates how his professional and domestic identities integrate to form an indivisible whole. The bookshelf comprises a collection of works on domesticity, territory and citizenry, the control of which is intended to secure power

⁸³ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

⁸⁵ G. Greene. *The Quiet American* (London: Vintage, 2005), pp. 20-21.

and assert a sense of sovereign dominance through embedded authority.⁸⁶ The body and soul of the domestic environment that Bachelard alludes to is constructed from a mixture of professional and domestic actions; Fowler is unable to discern where Pyle's professional role ends and where his private life begins. The answer to Fowler's question, 'on what did he relax?', is the implication that Pyle never did; the breaking down of distinctions between home and work mean that the spy is always *engagé*, even in domestic space. Similarly, in the same way that Pyle's life is a mixture of the political and personal, so is his death. Greene's suggestion is that Pyle, though he believes in being involved, is never able to fully experience the domestic side of his existence as a consequence of his profession. Instead, Pyle remains an outsider to domestic fulfilment in the same way he remains an outsider in Vietnam.

The creation of hybrid space, in which the professional function of the spy is intermingled with his domestic existence, is a means of actively engaging the individual in the service of ideology. Fowler and Pyle's disagreement over being '*engagé*' becomes a central theme of the novel. Fowler believes himself to be a reporter in the traditional sense of the word, one with a duty only to plainly and unambiguously record the facts of a given situation, believing that 'even an opinion is a kind of action'.⁸⁷ However, like Red Grant's commitment to SMERSH, Pyle identifies fully with the cause of democracy and is wholly engaged in the containment of Communism in the East. Both Grant and Pyle's understanding of domestic existence comes from the identification of life with a way of life; a form of ideological, qualified existence. Further, the process by which ideology dissolves the separation of spheres and creates hybrid domestic space fractures the identity of the individual in question. For example, being *engagé* creates a range of hybrid identities in Pyle; he is revealed as a spy, an aid worker, an ally and an enemy, committed to preserving peace by fighting for it. In many ways, Pyle can be viewed as a prototype of Castle from Greene's later novel, *The Human Factor*; both characters attempt to secure a kind of domestic peace only for their respective attempts destroy them both; Pyle physically, Castle mentally. The double bind that they are both subject to is that the individual must 'fight for liberty' but the fight destroys what they are fighting for.

⁸⁶ S. DeCaroli, 'Boundary Stones: Giorgio Agamben and the Field of Sovereignty'. From M. Calarco, & S. DeCaroli, *Giorgio Agamben: Sovereignty & Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 48.

⁸⁷ Greene, *The Quiet American*, p. 20.

Being *engagé* makes the spy identify with the power they serve and continually recasts the domestic environment as an arena for clandestine action. In *The Spy who Came in From the Cold*, the disillusioned Leamas is offered the opportunity to discredit Mundt, re-engaging him with his professional function and reconstructing his identity. As Leamas feigns going into physical and professional decline, his domestic existence is made part of the operation, becoming the site of his reinvention:

He took less care of his appearance and less notice of his surroundings...his flat was small and squalid...the flower pattern curtains...the fraying brown carpets and the clumsy darkwood furniture, like something from a seaman's hostel...they threw him out (of the pub) for shouting at a woman who tried to pick him up. They told him never to come back, but they'd forgotten about it a week later. They were beginning to know Leamas there.⁸⁸

Le Carré creates a sense of reciprocity between Leamas' decline and his domestic environment. He too begins to fray, becoming similarly shabby and squalid in his appearance, company and actions. The Circus changes Leamas' identity by destabilising the boundary between professional and domestic existence and through the hybridisation of domestic space. The process that creates this sense of engagement also illustrates the ambivalence of power towards the spy in its pursuit of an objective. Leamas allows his social standing to be diminished in the service of the state; he identifies with the power over him and trusts the actions of his controllers. His trust enables the Circus to use him, manipulating his desire to keep spying because of his devotion to the greater good of the nation. However, when he realises the Circus' betrayal Leamas, like Bond, is brutalised by the extent to which he has been deceived, allowing himself to die along with Liz Gold at the foot of the Berlin Wall. Le Carré's suggestion is that without a sense of identification with the power they serve, there is no place for the spy in society. Beyond their exclusion from the domestic sphere, without submission to power the spy is excluded from the professional sphere also.

⁸⁸ Le Carré, *Spy*, pp. 25-29.

4. **Homes from Home:** Hotels and Safe Houses.

The process of identification with power and the effect of hybrid spaces on the spy's identity demand that the espionage operative remain active and always *engagé*. An examination of the spaces in which spies operate on a professional, combative basis indicates that any environment can become an arena for clandestinity and that the spy must be prepared for such an occurrence. In the novels included in this chapter, espionage activity extends to spaces that include familiar and expected tropes of the genre (enemy territory, apartment buildings, casinos, cities), transitory spaces (hotel bedrooms, train compartments, cars, streets, roads, stairwells, town squares, gypsy encampments) and the exotic (vaguely described 'Eastern' countries, waning colonial dominions, the 'ancient' surroundings of central Europe, the Orient Express). Since all of these spaces are at risk each must be defended with an equal level of terminal intensity; the spy must be ready to kill or be killed in their defence. This degree of commitment is only possible through continued suspension of domestic norm and by ensuring the spy is continually alert. For example, in *Casino Royale*, as Fleming introduces Bond to the reader he states that '(H)is last action was to slip his right hand under the pillow until it rested under the butt of the .38 Colt Police Positive with the sawn barrel. Then he slept'.⁸⁹ Again, the demands of his profession mean that the spy is unable to ever truly rest.

The imperative to be constantly vigilant pervades the spy's experience of domestic space and influences another common trope of the genre, the safe house. Denning recognises the misnomer with regard to the safe house in espionage fiction, noting that 'not all houses are safe'.⁹⁰ His analysis defines the safe house as a liminal space which is neither office nor home but combines elements of the two, and in doing so dissolves any claim it may have to safety. The safe house is not the office, an environment associated with bureaucracy and the planning, non-operative, stage of a mission but nor is it a home in the sense that it provokes deep emotional attachment. Instead, the emotion that the safe house evokes, as a result of the occupational dangers of espionage, is fear. The safe house runs counter to the notion that the spy must

⁸⁹ Fleming, *Casino Royale*, p. 9.

⁹⁰ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 134.

remain *engagé*; it renders him inert and passive, increasing his vulnerability. For example, in *From Russia, With Love*, Bond and Romanova must leave the Orient Express at Belgrade and wait in the house of one of Kerim Darko's agents. Fleming writes that '(T)here followed two empty hours during which Bond sat and looked out the window at the wall opposite. From time to time he got up and paced to and fro and then sat down again'.⁹¹ Bond and Romanova exchange no dialogue during this chapter; instead they wait for instruction in unknown territory, inactive and at the whim of their contact. The safe house is configured as a transitional space which is outside of the spy's typical discourse, being neither wholly professional nor domestic.

The safe house provides no security or respite for Bond and Romanova; it increases the tension between them and their reliance on others. The safe house is meant to provide shelter and a physical barrier against attack, but it is shelter with perceptible limitations, limits that must then be continually reinforced. Rather than reconcile a competing dialectic of office and home, the safe house represents a dialectic of fear and faith; fear of attack and faith that the power the spy serves will protect him. In a reversal of roles, the autonomy of the spy is diminished the he must rely on the protection of others. For example on this occasion Bond, unlike in so many other situations, seeks guidance from M in London. Placing the spy in a safe house further strengthens their dependency on the power they serve and refocuses the allegiance of the spy toward his controller. That Bond and Romanova do not question their inactivity nor even discuss it illustrates the extent of their belief and of their trust; as Dovey comments, 'The most successful ideological effects are those that have no words, and ask no more than complicitous silence'.⁹²

In le Carré's *Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, Leamas is taken to safe-houses in both Holland, as mentioned above, and then in East Germany for interrogation before his trial. By placing Leamas in custody of the KGB le Carré inverts the function of the safe-house in order to illustrate its failure to provide protection. In a story of double-agents and uncertain allegiances le Carré demonstrates the irony of a space that keeps Leamas 'safe' from his own agency and in communist hands. Moreover, the restrictive nature of the safe-house is revealed through le Carré's description of

⁹¹ Fleming, *From Russia, With Love*, p. 217.

⁹² Dovey, *Framing Places*, p. 21.

Leamas' room as 'like something in prison camp'.⁹³ The safe-house again becomes a space of internment and confinement rather than sanctuary, keeping Leamas isolated and in place until his trial can begin. Leamas' experience in Germany again affirms the paradoxical construction of the safe house; officially, the space of the safe-house does not exist. In this sense, it is as anonymous as it is exceptional; the safe house remains inconspicuous but provokes an intense emotional reaction of either relief or fear from the spy in hiding. The limitations of the safe house are then rendered in temporal as well as spatial terms; the respite that it provides the spy is only ever fleeting. In contradicting the perception of permanence associated with constructions of homeliness, the safe house again emphasises the inaccuracy with which it is named.

The temporariness of safe houses is a characteristic shared with another major spatial trope of the espionage genre, the hotel. In a genre where the protagonist is often continually on the move, the space of the hotel becomes imbued with the values of domestic space, though on a temporary basis. Marc Augé argues in *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (1995) that the hotel, along with similar transitory environments such as the airport, motorway and supermarket, presents two complementary but distinct realities: 'spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces'.⁹⁴ The hotel, like the safe house, is domestic space produced on a temporary basis and one whose existence is relative to its utility. Moreover it similarly creates a false sense of belonging and security; Augé suggests that the hotel space is effective in creating the illusion of home not because of the geographic space itself but rather as a result of the rhetorical space produced within it.⁹⁵ The hotel is able to construct a semblance of homeliness through emphasis on an individual yet simultaneously shared experience; the hotel guest is able to convince themselves that their experience of a space designed for communal and temporary accommodation is unique to them, becoming, as Augé puts it, 'always and never at home'.⁹⁶

⁹³ Le Carré, *Spy*, p. 126.

⁹⁴ M. Augé. *Non Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Super Modernity* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 94.

⁹⁵ Augé, *Non Places*, p. 108.

⁹⁶ Augé, *Non Places*, p. 108.

As befitting a genre that regularly depicts overseas and domestic travel, Greene, Fleming and le Carré all regularly use hotels as settings throughout their espionage fiction.⁹⁷ Of the three authors, Fleming most often sets parts of his narrative in a hotel, placing Bond in hotels in ten of his thirteen novels, varying in quality and location from motels in Midwestern America to the Kristal Palas in Istanbul and nearly everywhere in between, including a brief stay at the Ritz in London.⁹⁸ Contextually, Fleming's use of hotel spaces illustrates how the espionage genre would reflect the growing social trend towards package holidays and affordable travel contemporaneous to the late 1950s and beyond; though, and as usual with Fleming's novels, his depictions of hotels would often adopt a distinctly pre-war character or be particularly lavish and indulgent.⁹⁹ Textually, however, Fleming's use of hotels is more complex than first appears, revealing a number of spatial paradoxes and disunities.

Fleming begins his series of novels by placing Bond in the hotel and casino at Royale les Eaux. In the opening chapter of the novel, after gambling late into the night Bond returns to his room:

Bond knew exactly where the switch was and it was with one flow of motion that he stood on the threshold with the door full open, the light on and a gun in his hand. The safe, empty room sneered at him. He ignored the half-open door of the bathroom and, locking himself in, he turned up the bed-light and the mirror-light and threw his gun on the settee beside the window. Then he bent down and inspected one of his own black hairs which still lay undisturbed where he had left it before dinner, wedged into the lock of the writing desk.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Alongside the constructions of homeliness that produce it, the hotel represents an essential liminal threshold between home and the process of travelling; for further analysis of travel in espionage fiction, see chapter five.

⁹⁸ The Kristal Palas, a fictionalised counterpart to the Pera Palas was a notorious site of wartime espionage in Istanbul; for more information see F. Gubler & R. Glynn. *Great, Grand & Famous Hotels* (London: Great Grand Famous Pty Ltd, 2007), pp. 100-101.

⁹⁹ Michael Denning also explores Fleming's often backwards looking attitudes to foreign spaces in *Cover Stories*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁰ Fleming, *Casino*, pp. 7-8.

Fleming describes how Bond is clearly knowledgeable of his surroundings in hotels; he is confident in his actions and appears superficially 'at home'. Bruce Merry argues in *Anatomy of a Spy Thriller* (1977) that the fluidity with which Bond finds the light switch alone signifies a 'home-like' level of familiarity with the hotel environment.¹⁰¹ This familiarity is further demonstrated by the casual manner with which Bond throws his gun on the nearby settee and then sits at the writing desk to tally up his winnings before retiring to bed; his actions in the hotel suggest that Bond views the hotel space much as he does his own home, bringing the same sense of order and routine to his temporary living environment as his permanent one. That Bond describes the room as safe and empty indicates the use-value of hotel space within espionage; the problems perhaps associated with normal living are removed, his living space is reduced to one room and his needs are met by a range of staff.¹⁰² By shrinking domestic space in this fashion allows for it to be controlled all the more effectively, as revealed in Bond's extensive system of 'minute burglar alarms', initially suggesting the creation of an ordered and secure environment that Augé argues is produced by a hotel.¹⁰³

However, Fleming's description of Bond's routine more fully supports Augé's assertion that the hotel guest is always and never at home. The order and control Bond attempts to bring to his hotel room is in response to the threat that can be brought to bear on the spy when he is, like in the safe-house, confined to one space. Bond's elaborate security measures are enacted in recognition of his vulnerability when staying in hotels, again reflected in the fact that he not only enters the room armed but that he also sleeps with a loaded gun so as to be ready for any intruders. Later in the novel, Mathis informs the surprised Bond that soviet agents have bugged his room and have been spying on him throughout his stay; Mathis confesses that his own measures for countermanding the danger of the hotel space are much simpler than Bond's, stating: 'unless you have bought him [the concierge] yourself...you must assume that he has been bought by the other side'.¹⁰⁴ Mathis' comment acts as a reminder that the spy is subject to the same power relationship as any other guest and that Bond is no safer in his room than in any other. The final irony, however, is that

¹⁰¹ B. Merry. *Anatomy of a Spy Thriller* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1977), p. 76.

¹⁰² It is significant that Bond also relies on domestic help in the form of his housekeeper when at home in London, again blurring the distinction between home and hotel space.

¹⁰³ Fleming, *Casino*, p. 8. Fleming describes how Bond also places talcum powder on the wardrobe door handles and marks the level of the water in his toilet cistern.

¹⁰⁴ Fleming, *Casino*, p. 57.

when he is torturing Bond at the novel's climax, Le Chiffre reveals that his men had circumvented Bond's 'burglar alarms' anyway, rendering the efforts of the agent to protect his temporary domestic space as entirely futile.¹⁰⁵

The various contradictions of hotel space are further illustrated in Greene's *Human Factor*. After Castle has made the decision to defect he is driven to an airport hotel near Heathrow to wait to be escorted to Moscow. Castle, who has until this point attempted to control the chain of events that has led to his defection as much as possible, is left fearful and passive by the hotel space from the moment he arrives:

He was bewildered – when he walked through the door of the hotel he walked straight into the Caribbean. There was no rain. There were palm trees around a pool, and the sky shone with innumerable pinpoint stars...there was no danger of his being remarked by anyone at the long desk...[but] Castle felt a lot safer when his door was locked and the Don't Disturb notice was hanging outside.¹⁰⁶

The incongruity of the hotel space in comparison to the place he has travelled from is immediately illustrated by Castle's reaction. Greene's novel reveals that the hotel is part of a chain of non-places, being surrounded by a motorway network and serving an airport. As a result the hotel reveals a number of paradoxes inherent to its production of space; it is familiar in that its spatial rhetoric is readily intelligible yet alien in its décor and construction. The space is welcoming yet alienating, communal yet isolating all at once. Castle becomes, in Augé's terminology, as though he is 'a foreigner lost in a country he does not know', unable to integrate and interested only in retreating into the self and the perceived safety and uniformity of his locked room.¹⁰⁷ Greene writes of the Starflight Hotel as being otherworldly, an inauthentic space where the extraordinary, in the form of the heat and the tropical ambience, are rendered ordinary inasmuch as no-one questions them; ironically, his defection to Moscow is not the most unusual element of Castle's stay in the hotel.

¹⁰⁵ *Casino Royale* is not the only novel to illustrate Bond's vulnerability in a hotel environment; over the course of successive novels he is blown up, stabbed, blackmailed as part of a honey-trap, betrayed, ripped-off and nearly poisoned in various hotels across the globe.

¹⁰⁶ Greene, *Human Factor*, pp. 284-285.

¹⁰⁷ Augé, *Non Places*, p. 106.

The space of the hotel similarly alters Castle himself. Castle is caught between the uncertainty of his new identity as a defector and the process of leaving his domestic life in Berkhamstead; as a result he and his identity are susceptible to the effects of the transitory space of the hotel. Augé argues that the temporary character of the hotel is measured in terms of ‘the urgency of the present moment’.¹⁰⁸ Castle, at this present moment, is effectively a non-person in a non-place; his identity is produced by the competing rhetoric of the hotel space around him and the political directives of his contact. For example, as Castle enters the hotel he encounters a former colleague from the American Embassy, Blit; their initial conversation is unremarkable, however, when Castle has been fabricated as ‘Mr Partridge’ Blit is suddenly suspicious.¹⁰⁹ The efforts of his contact to fabricate him a new identity through the use of a disguise supersedes the anonymity Castle experiences on his way into the hotel, making him ironically conspicuous. The hotel space is revealed as counterproductive to espionage activity; in the same way that Bond is vulnerable to attack, Castle is vulnerable to exposure. Both the hotel and the safe house render the agent devoid of agency; their training and skills are useless against the mediating and controlling effects of space.

Conclusion.

The espionage fiction of Fleming, Greene and le Carré produced during the three decades immediately after the Second World War was greatly concerned with ideas of domestic space and its intrinsic connection to wider social constructions of home. These authors’ preoccupation with domestic space represents a reflection of differing social attitudes to rebuilding and reconstruction after the privations of the 1940s. The representations of the house and declaration of its importance in spy fiction marks a collective social and ideological desire to attain a greater level of material comfort particular to the post-war period. Espionage fiction reflects the concerns of its audience by placing them at the forefront of its narratives; in spy fiction, the fight for

¹⁰⁸ Augé, *Non Places*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁹ THIS COULD BE A GOOD PLACE TO PUT IN SOMETHING ABOUT GREENE’S OWN INTEL EXPERIENCE – THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS DURING THE WAR.

democratic freedom begins at home. However, the process of fighting for freedom in espionage fiction so often proves paradoxical and contradictory, as is the case with the spy's defence of the domestic environment. The actions of the spy continually dissolve the peace he is charged with preserving, either through undermining the principles of domestic security or in provoking retaliation as he undermines the security of others. Moreover, despite identifying with his cause, namely the defence of the domestic realm, the spy remains unable to ever engage in the fruits of his labour. Instead the spy remains homeless and unhomely; forever travelling to where he is needed and finding only temporary comfort.

Chapter Five – One Way Ticket: Travel, Identity and Power in Post-war Espionage Fiction.

This chapter focuses on the relationship between spies and their experience of travel and transport. In this chapter I identify the means and experience of travel as an integral element of the spy fiction genre and the post-war period alike, representing both the exotic and the thrilling within spy fiction as well as reflecting the context of increasing affluence in British society after the war. Building on analysis of the spy's experience of transient space in the preceding chapter, I argue that though transport and travel spaces are used within espionage fiction for their advantages to spying and the preservation of British power, the presence of the spy results in a paradox whereby his actions simultaneously undermine the values of the spaces he travels through.

Introduction: *Sic Transit Gloria* – The Espionage genre and Travel.

Travel is as vital an ingredient of twentieth-century espionage fiction as the dry martini. Espionage fiction has always prized mobility and speed of movement within its narratives as part of what thrills and captivates the reader. For instance, what Brett F. Woods calls one of the 'first true espionage novels', J. Fennimore Cooper's *The Spy: A tale of Neutral Ground* published in 1821 and set in the American War of Independence, contains an extended sequence where the hero evades capture on horseback; an eighteenth-century organic precursor to pursuits that would later become essential components of the genre.¹ An integral stage of espionage fiction's development and the shift which placed it on its modern trajectory was the popularity of John Buchan, E. Philips Oppenheim and William Le Queux, who published largely between 1894 and 1930. Le Queux and Oppenheim set a precedent by making great use of new and deadly modern technology, German U-Boats in particular, looming

¹ B. F. Woods, *Neutral Ground: A Political History of Espionage Fiction* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2008), p. 16.

large in the public consciousness as a result of the First World War.² As John Atkins notes, however, these authors also included more glamorous means of conveyance such as the Orient Express and private motor-cars.³ In doing so, Buchan and Le Queux reflected the increasingly mobile nature of espionage as it turned more modern forms of transport to the spy's advantage.

According to Umberto Eco, travel or, more specifically, the journey is a key 'play' situation in the narrative structure of the espionage novel.⁴ As spy writers reflected the popularisation of various forms of travel, the journey became responsible not just for driving the plot of an espionage novel but for signifying the political position of its central figures too. Graham Greene, Ian Fleming and John le Carré all employ travel within the narratives of their novels but do so to make varied ideological statements. Michael Denning states that Fleming's Bond represents the 'ideal tourist' in so much that he is privy to the experiences of tourism but simultaneously above it; able to document the process without having to suffer its nastier elements.⁵ Greene, a very different novelist to Fleming, engages his characters in equally different forms of travel, defining them by their experiences of alien lands. In doing so, Greene reflects a pre-war approach to travelling; Paul Ward identifies determination of identity as a key motivational factor for travel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stating that the opportunity to contrast the known with the exotic allowed for a more precise understanding of national character.⁶ Le Carré, in an indication of how he believed the nature of spying had changed from that of its earlier incarnations, makes travel just another form of inconvenience for George Smiley, casting him as a wearied commuter or company sales rep., grudgingly going where he is needed.

² The spectre of German naval invasion is perhaps best evoked by Erskine Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), see section one of this chapter, below. John Buchan's contribution should not be ignored, however, in particular the scene from *The 39 Steps* (1915) in which Richard Hannay is pursued by a light aircraft, later adapted to screen by Alfred Hitchcock in 1935.

³ J. Atkins. *The British Spy Novel* (London: John Calder, 1984), pp. 38-41. The Orient Express would later be associated with Fleming and Bond, setting for the final third of *From Russia, With Love* (1957).

⁴ U. Eco. 'Narrative Structures in Fleming' taken from *The Role of the Reader* (Indiana: University Press, 1979), p. 155.

⁵ M. Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 104.

⁶ P. Ward. *Britishness since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 85.

This chapter analyses four principle modes of transport appearing in the spy fiction of Greene, Fleming and le Carré, namely ships, trains, cars and aeroplanes. In this chapter I analyse the way in which means of transport and travel spaces are used within espionage fiction for their advantages to spying, illustrating that travel and transport enable the spy to safeguard British interests and reinforce sovereign power around the globe. However, the presence of the spy results in a paradox whereby his actions simultaneously undermine the values of the spaces he travels through as well as reinforce them. Similarly, the dynamic configuration of travel space and technology can be used in equal measure against the spy, rendering their efforts and actions ineffective. This chapter contrasts literary depictions of each mode of transport against a range of historical contexts to argue that the interrelated concerns of national identity and power are altered by a conjunction of travel, technology and social mobility during the post-war period; British identity, along with the state of the nation, undergoes a process of transformation linked to the development, availability and changing signification of various means of transport. The individual relationship of access to and exclusion from space in the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré reflects a more general twentieth-century preoccupation with technology, speed and movement that crystallises in combination with the post-war zeitgeist; one in which the drabness and static nature of ‘austerity Britain’ was to be offset by the promise of exotic foreign travel.

1. Ruling the Waves & Waiving the Rules: Espionage Fiction, Boats and British Power.

*The ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates - Michel Foucault, *Of Other Spaces* (1968).⁷*

Ships and boats are the most traditional form of transport associated with Britain.⁸ As an island nation Britain has confected and coveted mastery over the seas since the

⁷ M. Foucault. *Of Other Spaces* (1968). Taken from N. Mirzoeff. *The Visual Cultures Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 229.

⁸ In this study I will define my use of the terms ‘ship’ and ‘boat’ in the following fashion: ‘The distinction between a ship and a boat varies depending on regional definitions, but as a general rule, a

defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.⁹ Since the sixteenth century, the projection of British seafaring expertise has been crucial to the expansion of empire, establishing and protecting trade routes and facilitating the success of the nation's martial ambitions. A cursory glance through British history reveals numerous instances of maritime exercise or signification of British power; for instance, *The Mayflower*, Wolfe and the capture of Quebec, Captain Cook's discovery of Australia, Admiral Nelson and Trafalgar, Isambard Brunel's *Great Britain*, the *Titanic*, the Battle of Jutland and the defeat of the U-Boat menace, the Battle of the River Plate, Dunkirk and the QE2.¹⁰ With such a litany of events scattered throughout the history of the British Empire, it is unsurprising that British maritime tradition influenced national identity; the great port cities brought wealth and prosperity, explorers opened new spaces to the citizens of Britain and the Navy ensured the continued defence of British interests.

Moreover, as the only means of effecting intercontinental travel until the twentieth century, ships and boats became a form of transport vital in enabling the circulation of men, material and wealth throughout the empire, strengthening it as it grew. Historian Niall Ferguson describes the beginnings of British maritime expansion as 'a maelstrom of seaborne violence and theft'.¹¹ His analysis is suggestive of a paradox whereby ships are not subject to the law of the land which they serve; though a means of extending dominion over territory, boats and ships appear free of the obligation to observe the law they seek to enforce. The nineteenth century advent of so-called 'Gunboat Diplomacy' based on British sea power is one such example; Gunboat Diplomacy repeatedly secured British colonial interests in the Far East and would lead Admiral of the Fleet Jackie Fisher to state that 'the British Empire floats on the British Navy'.¹² As a consequence of this widespread and long-established role, boats and ships occupy a position of historical significance within popular imagination that differs greatly from other forms of transport.

boat can fit onto a ship, but a ship cannot fit onto a boat.' Taken from D. W. Cutler & T. J. Cutler. *The Dictionary of Naval Terms* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2005), p. 29.

⁹ C. Martin & G. Parker. *The Spanish Armada* (London: Penguin, 1999), p. 2.

¹⁰ Sources of information of British naval history are extensive and varied; the information here is taken from: E. L. Rasor. *British Naval History to 1815* (London: Greenwood Publishing, 2004) and W. James & F. Chamier. *The Naval History of Great Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011).

¹¹ N. Ferguson. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 1.

¹² P. Brendon. *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997* (London: Vintage, 2008), p. 211.

The espionage fiction of the early twentieth century was fixated on the national and imperial rivalry between Britain and Germany in the years leading up to 1914. John Atkins recounts the principle source of antagonism in the work of Erskine Childers, Oppenheim and Buchan was quite often the German navy, specifically the threat of their highly-developed U-boats.¹³ The U-boat threat would be made manifest twice over the course of both world wars, perhaps nowhere more so than in the Battle of the Atlantic between 1939-45 in which 28,000 British merchant seamen and sailors lost their lives.¹⁴ In the post-war period, espionage fiction and the navy are most obviously linked by Fleming. Fleming transposed his own wartime service, with creative licence and embellishment, directly onto Bond making him a Commander in the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve (RNVR). The RNVR was a source of officer material for the navy throughout the war, connecting Bond with the officer ranks of British naval history. By characterising Bond in this way, Fleming confers upon him a pedigree and a duty to protect the nation.

Much is made by Atkins, Denning, Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott of the way in which Fleming fictionalises his own espionage experiences as subject material for his novels, an extension of his life-long tendency to embellish his exploits.¹⁵ Greene, however, always one to play-down his service or contradict himself in various accounts of his life, felt that he gained just as much fieldwork experience of espionage during his year working for MI6 in Sierra Leone than Fleming ever did in London during the entire war.¹⁶ Stationed in Freetown on the West African coast, Greene observed first-hand the necessity of continuous sea-traffic in circulating supplies and reinforcements. Whilst there, he also acquired an appreciation of the role of ships and boats in relation to clandestinity.

¹³ Atkins, *The British Spy Novel*, p. 21.

¹⁴ T. Lane. 'The Merchant Seaman at War' from J. Bourne, P. Liddle & I. Whitehead. *The Great World War 1914-45. 1. Lightning Strikes Twice* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), p. 65. This figure does not include casualties sustained by Royal Naval escort ships. It is equally sobering to consider that in the U-boat service of Nazi Germany the death rate was estimated at 75%.

¹⁵ A. Lycett. *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 2002), p. 118.

¹⁶ G. Greene. *A Sort of Life* (London: Random House, 1999), p. 20. Fleming was far more of an 'M' figure than that of Bond; he did visit his troops in the field during their missions in France in 1944 but he was largely based in London, described to his chagrin by friends as a 'chocolate sailor'. For more information see H. Chancellor. *James Bond: The Man & His World: The Official Companion to Ian Fleming's Creation* (London: John Murray, 2005), pp. 32-33.

Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) focuses on the intersection and interaction of ships, land and empire. Drawing greatly on his own experiences, Greene depicts a community off the western coast of Sierra Leone dependent on the continued circulation of men and materiel by sea. Set in wartime, the novel concerns the actions of Major Scobie, chief of police in Sharptown, his Catholicism, his understanding of morality and his determination to remain uncorrupted by the culture of bribes and general lawlessness that pervades the town and wider country.¹⁷ The beginnings of Scobie's moral dilemmas occur when he is called upon to search the Portuguese merchant liner, the *Esperança* ('Hope'), whose captain is alleged to be carrying illegal cargo including industrial diamonds for export to Germany. Greene equates the presence of ships with the opportunity for criminality, clandestinity and efforts to subvert the rule of power from the opening of the novel. The trade and supplies from 'neutral' ships is seen as vital to the British garrison in Sharptown but always viewed with suspicion by the authorities present, revealed by reports of their repeated yet fruitless searches for contraband goods. Further, Greene presents the temporary presence of sailors as a contributory factor to the lawlessness of the colony. Wilson, an intelligence officer posted to Sierra Leone and a fictive version of Greene himself, observes a 'single able-seaman...led triumphantly away towards the brothel near the police station, as though to a nursery'.¹⁸ Paradoxically, the influx of goods and men permits the continued existence of the colony but creates criminal activity; order and social disorder are often side by side, as revealed by the close proximity of the brothel and the police station.

The *Esperança* itself is illustrative of a range of paradoxes. Scobie and his men search the *Esperança* for illegal materials and letters and the captain of the ship duly allows them to inspect the vessel. However, despite the supposed openness of the space, any attempts made by Scobie or his men to uncover illegal material become futile. The space of the ship reveals itself to be open and closed at once, supposedly neutral yet subject to criminal forces. Scobie finds the ship ultimately impenetrable:

While the first-class passengers had their passports examined, their cabins would be ransacked by a squad of the F.S.P. Already others were going

¹⁷ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

¹⁸ G. Greene, *The Heart of the Matter* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 12.

trough the hold – the dreary business of sifting rice. What had Yusef said, ‘Have you ever found one little diamond? Do you think you ever will?’¹⁹

Scobie indicates that a typical search would have produced nothing; the drudgery of the police’s task revealed in the joyless fashion with which they search the cargo hold. Only when an informant, an insider, presents the authorities with intelligence are they able to achieve any success; the Portuguese captain hides letters addressed to German nationals in his bathroom which Scobie suspects may be potential communications containing a simple code or documents that conceal a microphotograph. The site of the merchant ship, which brings much needed supplies, is revealed to be one of potentially hostile clandestine action.

Greene depicts the ship as a place of both hope and fear. Beyond the interaction between Scobie and the captain, in which the captain fears for his ruin after the letters are discovered, the tension of hope and fear is crucial to Greene’s depiction of sea travel throughout the remainder of the novel; hope and fear pervade the entire novel, at once reflective of Scobie’s inner turmoil and that of the wider world war that frames the narrative. Scobie’s wife repeatedly presses him to allow, and pay for, her passage on a ship to South Africa: ‘please let me go away and begin again...I can’t bear it any longer here’.²⁰ She views the possibility of sea-travel as her hope of escape from the deadening circumstance of their marriage and that of the colony. In doing so, however, she risks her life by exposure to the German submarines that patrol the coast. The risks of her proposed passage away from the colony are later examined in detail by Greene through his description of the sinking of a British ship by submarine attack. The survivors are later returned to British territory by Vichy French forces. In the same way as ships are mobilised for war, the space of the ship becomes one which mobilises the individuals aboard. Throughout the novel, Greene illustrates the process by which civilians are made into combatants through their presence aboard ship. In the same fashion that Scobie confronts the captain of the *Esperança* over his activities and recasts him from a position of neutrality into one of hostility, the passengers aboard the ship sunk by the Germans are drawn into conflict regardless of their intentions.

¹⁹ Green, *Heart of the Matter*, pp. 46-47.

²⁰ Greene, *Heart of the Matter*, p. 43.

Further, Greene also illustrates the way in which violence and criminality conducted aboard ship extends to the liminal spaces of the coastline. The points at which ships and land connect are revealed as sites of conflict between British power and seaborne illegality. Scobie and his native patrolmen make a search of the dockyard the night before the *Esperança* is scheduled to arrive. Their investigation illustrates a number of contradictions inherent to the space of the dock, in that its liminal status mean it adopts the qualities of both land and ship; namely those of order and disorder. Scobie asks his patrolmen whether they have ventured along the pier and searched the area:

He knew they were lying: they would never go alone to that end of the wharf, the playground of the human rats, unless they had a white officer to guard them. The rats were cowards but dangerous...gates couldn't keep them off the wharf: they swam round from Kru Town or the fishing beaches.²¹

Scobie's inspection of the docks reveals the disunities present; the space of the dockyard is clearly fortified, not least by his own presence, yet is continually subject to illegality and hostile criminal action. Indeed, when Scobie begins to lose control of his situation later in the novel, his house-boy Ali is murdered at the same dock. The docks, so vital to the flow of commercial and military supplies to the colony, are at the heart of its iniquities. The docks necessitate a police presence to safeguard the supply of goods and deter criminal activity; however, the police presence invites its own subversion. The Wharf-rats regularly change their tactics in order to circumvent the police presence, in turn ensuring constant police reinforcement; the land-based checks put in place are undermined by the use of the sea. The hybridity of the dock, appropriating the subversive and violent qualities of ships whilst remaining subject to the rule of law, ensures that competing forces of order and disorder are held in continual balance, neither able to gain decisive advantage over the other. These forces mirror the moral structure of Greene's novel, the external struggle between order and disorder runs parallel to Scobie's internal struggle.

A similar situation of conflict aboard ship is found in the episode which closes Fleming's novel *Diamonds are Forever* (1956). Bond is instructed to investigate a

²¹ Greene, *Heart of the Matter*, p. 37.

diamond smuggling ring operating between Sierra Leone, London, New York and Las Vegas by posing as a smuggler in order to infiltrate the American crime syndicate responsible. After a variety of encounters involving the Spangled Mob and Felix Leiter, former CIA agent now working for Pinkerton's security, Bond successfully halts the smuggling operation, rescues Tiffany Case and returns to England by ocean liner, the *Queen Elizabeth*. However, Fleming's use of the *Queen Elizabeth* is enacted in very different contextual circumstances to Greene's depiction of wartime shipping; representative of the shift in British society and identity in the eight years that separate the publication of both novels.

Despite upholding its traditional prestige, the Royal Navy ended the war in a position common to many industries and services of Britain. The maritime defence of the nation was neither immune nor safe from the kind of budgetary and personnel cuts endemic in the post-war world. As early as June 1946, proposed cuts projected a shrinking of naval power east of Suez from a total of 140,000 men to 34,000, the removal of two battleships, one fleet carrier and approximately half the current number of cruisers and destroyers in operation by the end of that year.²² In an era of nuclear weapons, jet aircraft and the further refinement of submarine technology, the traditional navy was deemed surplus to requirements. Moreover, the burden of maintaining the global power balance had been largely transferred to the United States, especially responsible for the policing of the seas in the Far East since the British surrender at Singapore in 1942.²³

As the offensive role of British ships declined, luxury liners and cruise ships experienced a post-war resurgence. Though aeroplanes were very much the cutting edge of technological innovation as a consequence of the war, commercial air travel could not match the luxury offered by the prospect of ocean liners such as the *Queen Elizabeth*, launched in 1938.²⁴ Deliberately reminiscent of the pre-war age, ocean liners offered an opportunity to indulge.²⁵ The allure of ocean liners is representative of a number of other forces that alter the popular conception of travel in the ten years

²² Barnett, *Lost Victory*, pp. 70-71.

²³ L. James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 2000), p. 496.

²⁴ Aircraft such as Lancaster and Wellington bombers, Hurricanes and Spitfires had entered the public consciousness over the course of the conflict. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 230. For further analysis of aircraft in spy fiction, see section 4 below.

²⁵ J. Kent Layton, *Lusitania: An Illustrated Biography of the Ship of Splendour* (Stroud: Amberley Books, 2010), p. xiii.

after the end of the war. Beyond the so-called ‘austerity’ age of post-war Britain, whilst rationing was still enforced and rebuilding both infrastructure and economy was of foremost importance, the gradually improving social circumstances of many Britons contributed to the reshaping of British attitudes to travel.

The desire to shake off the memories of oppressive impoverishment experienced in 1945-50, during which Greene published *The Heart of the Matter*, led to a situation in which Britons were happy to do so through visible expenditure; travel became another way in which to enjoy the relative affluence of the 1950s.²⁶ Historian and sociologist Fred Inglis identifies a post-war intersection of desire, increased disposable income and the contrivance of identity as that which ensures the popularisation and glamorising of travel, ultimately building on the historical growth of consumerism since the eighteenth century.²⁷ Denning argues that Fleming uses travel as part of a ‘discourse of the spectacle, the discourse of consumer society’ suggesting that Bond is designed to illustrate the overt application of British power through espionage as well as the display of wealth.²⁸ It is ironic that in a largely underground, clandestine conflict such as the Cold War, the agent, his movements and his actions, are deliberately conspicuous.

Though the war may have changed from ‘hot’ to ‘cold’ by the time of Fleming’s writing, as a former naval officer, Fleming continued to view ships and boats as vital to national security.²⁹ Fleming characterises the liner in spatial terms, emphasising the size, scale and interrelation of its spaces by describing it as an ‘iron town’.³⁰ The variety of spaces on board the *Queen Elizabeth* is suggestive of its unknowable nature as well as its multiple potential uses either as means of conveyance or in terms of social signification. Fleming describes the ship as a conjunction of various social roles, classes and utilities, remarking:

²⁶ Cost of an ocean cruise varied depending on destination and duration. For example, the Stella Polaris company offered a ‘Post Coronation cruise’ in 1953 of 13 days around the Norwegian fjords for \$310. Clipper Line advert, *The Times*, 12/5/1953, p. 3; Issue 52619; col. F.

²⁷ F. Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 2.

²⁸ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 104.

²⁹ Fleming repeatedly places Bond aboard ship in a number of novels including *Live and Let Die* (1954) *Dr. No* (1958) *Thunderball* (1960), *You Only Live Twice* (1964) and the short story *The Hildebrand Rarity* (1960).

³⁰ I. Fleming, *Diamonds are Forever* (London: Penguin, 2006) p. 239.

The small township of three thousand five hundred souls settled down to the five days of its life in which there would be all the happenings natural to any other sizeable community – burglaries, fights, seductions, drunkenness, cheating; perhaps a birth or two, the chance of a suicide and, in a hundred crossings, perhaps even a murder.³¹

Fleming calls attention to the way in which a microcosm of continual tension between order and disorder is transposed onto the space of the ship. The description of life during the voyage is indicative of the composition and regulation of space aboard ship, repeatedly and temporarily produced, undone and then reconfigured after each event. The *Queen Elizabeth* becomes a microcosm of society transplanted into a vehicular setting with each new voyage altering the configuration of the floating community. However, the emphasis within Fleming's description is one of violence, lawlessness and illicit behaviour aboard ship; despite the fortification suggested by its 'iron' construction the passengers appear to have a propensity towards criminal activity.

Fleming indicates that the ship invites illegal activity through its position outside of conventional legal and moral obligations. Much like in Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*, ships represent a form of freedom either from typical social restrictions or observance of the rule of law. The position of the ship as outside the law is further reinforced by the sweepstake betting open to all passengers. As Bond explains: 'it's alright outside of the 3-mile limit'; a reference to the boundary of international waters.³² His comment suggests that actions typically considered illegal are judged as exceptions when enacted outside of the sovereign space of land. The placing of sovereign subjects into the lawless space of the ship affects the composition of their identity and alters the boundaries of their behaviour. In a space where typical convention is suspended, typical identities are similarly altered.³³ However, unlike Scobie, Bond is not drawn gradually into illegal activity but instead engages in it with alacrity.

³¹ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 239.

³² Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 253.

³³ Ward, *Britishness since 1870*, p. 85.

Whilst the *Queen Elizabeth* is continually portrayed as a site of opulence and luxury, especially in its unrestricted supply of food and goods, its décor and the promise of unfettered sexual liaisons, it nevertheless retains a an unseemly and dangerous quality.³⁴ The presence of Bond himself is indicative of the ambivalence of law aboard ship when preserving power. Bond enjoys a paradoxical relationship to the law in so much as he is simultaneously exempt from many of its fundamental principles yet acts as its staunchest defender. Of the various illegal acts expected during the voyage that Fleming describes, Bond is responsible for the majority of them. For instance, he conspires with Tiffany Case to portray the killing of Wint and Kidd, Bond's prospective assassins, as a homosexual murder/suicide, thereby concealing his involvement and exonerating himself from blame. Bond upholds the sovereign power of his country by bringing the diamond smuggling operation to a terminal end but then serves to subvert it, creating a neat murder scene that, considering its impropriety in the pre-Wolfenden Report-era Britain, would not be probed particularly deeply.³⁵ Bond later receives congratulations on a successful mission from M, validating the tradition of seaborne violence to achieve British ends. By embodying in Bond the British naval philosophy, one of outward glamour and barely concealed violence, Fleming's suggestion is that the continued, visible application of violence ensures smooth sailing for the British nation.

2. **Blood on the Tracks:** Spy Fiction and the Railways.

Given the point at which espionage fiction achieved widespread popularity with Bulldog Drummond, Rudyard Kipling and their twentieth-century inheritors such as Buchan et al, the depiction of trains and the railways in a genre so concerned with movement seems inevitable. The train was the principle infrastructural mode of mass-transport nationwide and throughout the empire, most notably opening up the interior

³⁴ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 248.

³⁵ The Wolfenden Report, which recommended the decriminalising of homosexuality, was published in 1957, a year after *Diamonds*. For further information see R.A. Nye, *Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 364. Similarly, Fleming may have been referencing the revelations of Guy Burgess' private life after his defection to the Soviet Union, further suggesting a link between homosexuality and criminality. See *From Russia, With Love* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004) pp. 100-101 for greater detail on Fleming's opinion of Burgess.

of India to trade.³⁶ The train often functioned on land in the same way as British ships did at sea; firstly as a conspicuous reminder of power and mobility, especially in the years after the Indian Mutiny where the rail network had been used with great efficiency to circulate troops and supplies and secondly, as a means of commercial enterprise.³⁷

Of the three authors that comprise this study, none more so than Fleming illustrates the importance of trains within their fiction, validating the advantages to espionage offered by fast-moving trains and an extensive network of stations. Moreover, Fleming does not just depict the contemporary train journey but instead creates a distinctly historicised portrait of train travel for his readership supplanting contemporary concerns in favour of a nineteenth-century outlook.³⁸ Whilst Fleming includes a great deal of train travel throughout his fiction, le Carré, writing predominantly about the inner-city and domestic environment, turns to more automotive means of transport.³⁹ Greene, similarly, includes few incidences of train travel in his espionage novels post-1945, setting them in countries largely lacking extensive railway networks.⁴⁰ For these reasons, this section will focus primarily on the representation of the railway in Fleming's novels.

Although, as David Cannadine suggests, Fleming was often progressive in his judgement of post-war Britain, particularly in terms of sexual morality, he exhibits a different outlook in relation to railway travel.⁴¹ Historian Philip S. Bagwell argues that the advent of the railway system in 1829 fundamentally altered the state of

³⁶ Indeed, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1903) places the train at one of its central narrative devices, illustrating Kim's facility with disguises, heightening the tension of their possible discovery and conveying his group to their destination. See R. Kipling, *Kim* (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 37. Also, see chapter four for analysis of how Fleming's writing was influenced by Rudyard Kipling.

³⁷ P. Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*, p. 131.

³⁸ Cannadine, *Churchill's Shadow*, p. 300.

³⁹ Dr. Richard Beeching was briefly appointed chairman of the British Transport Commission before the Transport Act of 1962 became law and he was made chairman of the new British Railways Board. The report that Beeching authored, *The Reshaping of British Railways* published in 1963, proposed the furthest reaching major reform of the country's railways since their Victorian advent. Beeching proposed that over 5000 route miles and 2,363 stations out of 7000 would be closed to passenger traffic. See P. S. Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 327-328.

⁴⁰ *The Quiet American* (1955) and *Our Man in Havana* (1958) bear only passing references to train travel, often memories of journeys undertaken in Europe before the war. Greene's *Stamboul Train* (1932) is a thriller set aboard the Orient Express but is not an espionage novel.

⁴¹ D. Cannadine. In *Churchill's Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 280.

Britain and accelerated the growth of the country as an industrialised nation.⁴² Bagwell also notes that the significance of the railways, at least initially, was keenest felt in terms of passenger travel as the population began to experience the spaces of Britain in new ways.⁴³ Wolfgang Schivelbusch states that the nineteenth-century characterisation of the effect of railroad travel was the ‘annihilation of space and time’.⁴⁴ However, over time, this characterisation changed to one of reinterpretation of existing space. In building the railways, the industry can be said to have built Britain in turn; beyond national growth in economic and industrial capital, the railways created whole towns and suburbs, either in the areas surrounding station stops or at terminus points where engines could be serviced or replaced.⁴⁵ It is apparent that from their advent the railways simultaneously enabled access to space whilst denying it also; both destroying and creating space anew. The effect that the railway system had on the industrial development and social transformation of Victorian Britain awarded it a cultural legacy that, a century later and in a period of great political and social difference, Fleming and others were unwilling to relinquish.

By the time Fleming began writing the Bond series in the 1950s, the nation’s railways were beset with sub-standard machinery, a lack of investment and a distinctly unromantic ethos. The process of nationalisation, which extended to coal, electricity, transport, the Bank of England and the airlines by 1948, was partially to blame but it was by no means the only cause of contemporary inefficiency.⁴⁶ The four private companies that had owned the railway network of Britain had failed to address the ‘excessive’ wear and tear of the war years, resulting in the railways starting the post-war period in a position of distinct disadvantage and poor physical shape.⁴⁷ Britain’s railways entered the post-war period as little more than Victorian network of lines still mostly reliant on the technology of a bygone age; the pre-war preservation of the nineteenth-century travelling mentality was further exacerbated by the fact that, for a

⁴² P. S. Bagwell. *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 79-80.

⁴³ Bagwell, *Transport revolution*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ W. Schivelbusch. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 33.

⁴⁵ For instance see D. K. Drummond. *Crewe: Railway Town, Company and People 1840-1914* (London: Scholar Press, 1995).

⁴⁶ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 222.

⁴⁷ Bagwell, *Transport Revolution*, p. 287. Barnett adds that even before the effects of the war, Britain possessed no electrified mainlines akin to that of France or Switzerland. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 258.

great deal of the twentieth century, its physical means remained firmly in place. British railways not only required modernisation in terms of equipment but, crucially, in terms of attitude and outlook.⁴⁸

Given the contemporary state of Britain's railways, the rail journeys in Fleming's *Live and Let Die* like *Diamonds...* could only take place in America. It is only in 1950s America that Fleming is able to sufficiently indulge the backwards-looking romanticising of trains within his espionage fiction, coupling it Janus-like with a desire for post-war progression.⁴⁹ American railways were the cultural space in which nineteenth-century grandeur had been preserved, their size, comfort and routes continuing the perception of the American train as a 'ship on land'.⁵⁰ In *Diamonds...* Fleming describes a fantastical denouement in which Bond and Tiffany Case escape from Jack Spang and the Spangled Mob on a railroad handcart whilst pursued by a Victorian locomotive through the 'unending floor' of the Nevada desert. Fleming reveals his admiration of the luxurious splendour of the railways through his overawed description of Jack Spang's personal train:

It was probably the most beautiful train in the world. The engine was one of the old locomotives of the 'Highland Light' class of around 1870 which Bond had heard called the handsomest steam locomotives ever built....Above the two, tall driving wheels, in fine early Victorian gold capitals, was written *The Cannonball*.⁵¹

The train is deliberately excessive; its Pullman carriage holds chandeliers, venetian blinds and pictures of garlanded cherubs. The portrait that Fleming paints of the train is a studied and indulgent conceit, akin to that of the ocean liner. The train is an artificial environment in which luxuries can be consumed and sexual associations freely enjoyed through the creation of space, illustrated by the carriage's combination

⁴⁸ David Kynaston states that in 1950 when a large part of the continent and even most of Japan were moving towards electrified railway transport 'few eyebrows were raised when the newly-nationalised British Railways formulated a plan for the large-scale production of 12 standard designs of steam locomotives through the rest of the decade'. D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 403.

⁴⁹ Fleming later sets a similarly fantastic train journey in Jamaica in *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965), also the site of his colonial indulgences.

⁵⁰ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, p. 111.

⁵¹ Fleming, *Diamonds*, pp. 206-207.

of dining room and bedrooms. Again like the *Queen Elizabeth*, the events on Spang's train take place outside yet within the social conventions which produce them, being enacted in a liminal space of the desert between two towns and far away from authority. Only in such isolation can Fleming indulge his atavistic views of railway travel.

Fleming chooses the high-water mark of the British Empire for the train's manufacture and adorns it with the trappings of a bygone age. The inadequacies of the railways in the post-war world are dismissed through an evocation of the steam engines celebrated in British popular conceptions of the railways. Fleming's imprecision in the date of manufacture and the 'fine early Victorian' script suggests the train belongs to a loosely-defined, mythologized age of British pre-eminence.⁵² The locomotive Fleming describes is indicative of the power possessed by Britain in a romanticised steam age, where the train not only permitted the exercise of British dominion but afforded it a glamorous quality unmatched in modern circumstance. Fleming's depiction of the train aligns it with the annihilation of space and time particular to nineteenth-century railways; here, placing such an aggrandized Victorian object in a 1950s context seeks to dispel the years of decline which separate them. However, Fleming manages only to emulate and is unable to recreate fully the circumstances he alludes to. The whole chapter is a pantomime of 'Wild West' outfits and imperial derring-do. It is revealing that Fleming has Bond escape aboard a two-stroke handcart that runs out of petrol 'like something out of a Buster Keaton film', intimating that the British relationship to railways is worthy of ridicule.⁵³

Despite its luxury, *The Cannonball* and its surroundings are also revealed as sites of violence. Bond is taken to Spang's 'authentic' western town of Spectreville, a recently refurbished silver camp abandoned in the early twentieth century after the seam was exhausted. Once there he is shown into the station saloon bar and beaten up by two of Spang's men. Once having been interrogated, he is subjected to a 'Brooklyn

⁵² Again in *The Man with the Golden Gun*, Fleming similarly describes the Victorian steam locomotive 'The Belle' as 'a gem' in possession of 'one carriage, an open affair with padded foam-rubber seats and a daffodil Surrey roof of fringed canvas to keep off the sun'. I. Fleming. *The Man with the Golden Gun* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 138.

⁵³ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 216.

Stomping' on the station platform.⁵⁴ The transitional spaces of the saloon and the platform are revealed to be similar to the docks from Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*; though seemingly ordered, they are revealed to be spaces of violence and hostile action facilitated by their distance from centres of power. Hostility is also centred on the train itself. Schivelbusch writes that during the nineteenth century the train was often described as a projectile, designed to emphasise the train's speed and inherent deadliness.⁵⁵ The projectile metaphor compared the train to a cannonball, a result of how its cumulative power and impact transform the train into a missile. In *Diamonds...*, Spang uses *The Cannonball* as a weapon, directing the velocity and power of the train at Bond. Fleming describes how Bond awaits a 'shrill scream of metal as...the six-foot tall driving wheels ground into the bend' before observing the 'swift impression of smoke and flame and pounding machinery'.⁵⁶ The locomotive is weaponised and Bond becomes its target as Fleming contrives to make a steam-era weapon threatening in a nuclear age.

Live and Let Die (1954) supports the notion that train travel is less useful to the agent than it is dangerous. In *Live and Let Die*, Bond has to flee the New York-based mobster Mr. Big having 'rescued' his moll, Solitaire. They travel to Florida by train to pursue another lead on Mr. Big's operation whilst trying to keep Solitaire out of sight. For this reason, Bond books a sleeper compartment in a Pullman carriage departing from Pennsylvania station. Fleming's depiction of their train journey in this novel is further illustrative of the inherent paradoxes that appear throughout his engagement with travel. Whereas other means of transport have enabled the spy and his controllers to enjoy the advantage of greater mobility, flexibility and speed of deployment, the train is revealed as the opposite. Railways also engender a contradictory situation whereby the spy is able to construct a semblance of pursuing his mission whilst being rendered inert and immobile at the same time. The train remains useful because it is able to directly and rapidly cross terrain in a manner that other vehicles are unable to effect, especially in the wilderness of the Nevada desert or the Florida swamps, but it increases the spy's vulnerability by impeding his manoeuvrability. In *Live and Let Die*, Bond is informed by the carriage-attendant that he is being watched by Mr Big's

⁵⁴ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 212.

⁵⁵ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁶ Fleming, *Diamonds*, pp. 223-224.

men; in this instance, and unlike so many examples in other Fleming novels, Bond has no choice but to remain on the train, unable to leave until it reaches a scheduled stop through fear of drawing further attention to himself or allowing himself to be caught in the open.

The train forces a change in mentality upon the spy. Whereas the physical scale of the ocean liner allows for the spy to pursue his enemy or objective directly and aggressively, the train makes such an action too conspicuous. In *Live and Let Die* Bond, confined by narrow compartments and corridors, chooses to transform his compartment into a bunker instead of taking aggressive action: 'Bond got up and pushed the (wooden) wedges firmly under the two doors'.⁵⁷ Rather than the active ideology of counter-espionage that Bond typically subscribes to, the confines of the train force him to wait immobile and passively for the attack to come. It could be argued that Fleming employs the confines of the sleeper-compartment as a narrative device, a means of increasing tension as Bond and Solitaire wait. However, when Mr. Big's man makes his move it is revealed how restrictive the space of the train is to Bond's defence. Far from Bond being able to adequately defend himself, he is described as too late: 'he tore the door open and threw himself into the corridor only to see a flying figure already nearing the forward end of the car'. Bond concedes that he could have shot the man but 'to open the doors he had to tuck his gun into the waistband of his trousers'.⁵⁸ Knowing the limitations of Bond's capabilities on the train, Mr. Big appears content to keep Bond fearful and confined until he reaches Florida.

Despite the dangers, the actual physical action of travel throughout the novel is retroactively romanticised much like in *Diamonds are Forever*. Bond relishes the journey out of New York; it is the moment in which Fleming is able to indulge his own inherited romantic conceptions of train travel.

Bond turned to the window and watched the pretty clap-board houses slip by as they approached Trenton. He loved trains and he looked forward with excitement to the rest of the journey...They slid past sidings full of empty

⁵⁷ I. Fleming, *Live and Let Die* (Bungay: Triad Granada, 1981), p. 107. (Hereafter *LALD*).

⁵⁸ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 116.

freight cars bearing names from all over the States...names that held all the romance of the American railroads.⁵⁹

The journey Bond makes is an imitation of the grand train journeys of times past, possessing the trace of the original in the repetition of action and the excitement at the prospect of travel, but ultimately lacking authenticity. Later in the journey Fleming writes that 'the great train snaked on through the dark, pounding out the miles through the empty plains...the angry moan of its four-toned wind-horn souging over the wide savannah'.⁶⁰ Fleming attempts to award it the status of the early American railroads; that of a journey through 'wild savannah and primeval forest' of nineteenth century wilderness.⁶¹ Instead, just like Jack Spang's train in *Diamonds*... the journey from New York to Florida is an example of post-war solipsism, projecting an incompatible set of backward-looking values onto a modern, and very different, transatlantic canvas.

Moreover, Bond's journey suggests that he does not fully connect with the environment that he is travelling through. Instead of experiencing what he believes to be the essential characteristics of the American landscape the physical distance created by his position on the train renders the space it moves through unknowable and the journey with no meaning of its own. Bond is forced instead to continually make comparisons between what he sees from the train and other spaces he has previously experienced. As Bond acknowledges before swiftly burying the realisation:

The train was running through the unkempt barren plains and swamps between New York and Trenton. It wasn't an attractive prospect. It reminded Bond of some of the stretches on the pre-war Trans-Siberian Railway except for the huge lonely hoardings advertising the current Broadway shows and the occasional dumps of scrap-iron and old motor cars.⁶²

⁵⁹ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 100.

⁶⁰ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 115.

⁶¹ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, p. 89.

⁶² Fleming, *LALD*, p. 99.

No matter how he may try to idealise his journey, Bond is forced to acknowledge that in the post-war era of mass-industrial America he and his attitude are misplaced. The spaces he romanticises, those of the frontier and the American wilderness, have been annihilated by the waste products of the railway and American industry. Despite similar attempts throughout the novel, no amount of 'drink and chicken sandwiches' can award their journey the luxuriousness Fleming strives to give it.⁶³

Bond's journey lacks any physical connection with the space that he passes through, further suggesting the isolating and passive qualities of train travel. The train is constructed as an artificial space which moves through its surroundings without affecting them. Schivelbusch states that the railroad 'mechanized the traveller's perceptions' and allowed the passenger to perceive only size, shape, quantity and motion.⁶⁴ Bond does so in both examples, indicating that his excitement at connecting with the American landscape is undone by the distancing and defamiliarizing effects of rail travel. Moreover, with the physical activity of travel removed, Bond is reduced to inertly staring out of the window as opposed to actively experiencing the surrounding landscape. The space of the train destroys the relationship between the traveller and the travelled-space by placing a barrier between them, effectively compartmentalising the traveller.⁶⁵ The way that the train screens Bond from the landscape he passes through mirrors the fashion that Fleming's novel screens the reader from the events and experiences he describes. Both the train and the spy novel permit the indulgence of vicarious pleasure but remain inauthentic and incomplete; only representations or replications of what they depict.

Fleming's desire to see the train restored to its historical place is part of a more general acknowledgement that the locomotive and the railways in Britain had passed their peak. In an era of widespread financial privation, fierce competition from new and affordable means of transport, cuts and the actions of the nationalised Transport Committee, the Victorian character of the railways had been stripped away with the lines removed by the 'Beeching Axe'. Though Fleming appeared to believe it was the job of fiction to ensure such character remained he was, however, in no way ignorant

⁶³ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 99.

⁶⁴ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, p. 55.

⁶⁵ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, p. 53.

or oblivious of the developments going on around him in terms of mass-production, social mobility and automotive transport. If the nineteenth century was the century of rail, used as ‘iron bands which riveted together imperial land masses’, then the twentieth century was to be that of the car.⁶⁶ The dominance of the railways that Fleming celebrates would be undone by another reinterpretation of space as divisive and radical as the last.

3. **Running on Empty:** Spy Fiction, Post-war Britain & Automotive Ambition.

*‘An efficient road system is essential to the industry and commerce of this country in both peace and war’ - Prince Phillip, Duke of Edinburgh – opening of Annual Motor Show, 1953.*⁶⁷

*"You're barmy or plastered, I'll pass you, you bastard-
I will overtake you. I will!"
As he clenches his pipe, his moment is ripe
And the corner's accepting its kill.*

From ‘Meditations on the A30’ by John Betjeman (1960).

In ‘Meditations on the A30’ poet laureate John Betjeman portrays a scene of clogged roads, frustration and the deadliness of haste.⁶⁸ Vehicles may allow for rapid and convenient access to space but remain deadly; violence, fittingly, is always just around the corner. Fleming and le Carré similarly make the car a continual presence within their novels; given its ubiquity and its clear advantages to espionage in terms of rapidity and mobility they could hardly have failed to do so.

Bagwell identifies the advent of a ‘transport revolution’ in the last two centuries. However, in no period is the change so rapid or transformative of Britain and the

⁶⁶ Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, p. 144.

⁶⁷ D. Kynaston, *Family Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), p. 336.

⁶⁸ J. Betjeman. *Collected Poems* (London: John Murray, 2006).

attitudes and identities of British people than in the years after 1945. Bagwell suggests that the position of the automobile in the years before the Second World War as typically beyond the means and reach of ordinary working Britons, noting that it was 'mainly the plaything of the well-to-do and the professional classes'.⁶⁹ Many businesses would have possessed sufficient capital to invest in a vehicle for means of deliveries but even then, in a population approximately numbering forty-two million people in 1939, there were only two million private cars on Britain's roads.⁷⁰

The pre-war market of the well-to-do, however, was not the one solely intended by the manufacturer-cum-philosophers of the motor industry. Inglis argues that the famous industrial demagogue Henry Ford was responsible for transforming the conception of the motor-car from a plaything of the privileged to a means of 'personal escape into spontaneous action' for the masses.⁷¹ Ford's reimagining of the car's potential did not find a receptive manufacturing audience in Britain however, and the products of the Austin and Morris motor companies were marketed and priced to attract the interest of the middle classes and not the working man. Inglis argues that this deliberate choice of target market and concordant pricing meant that motoring in Britain attracted a sense of pre-war glamour and privileged allure; between 1930 and 1935 there were no speed limits on British roads and the motoring population was sufficiently sparse as to allow for the accommodation of cars across the nation without congestion.⁷² To the ordinary Briton, motoring appeared an exclusive blend of money, freedom and mobility. The perceived 'Golden Age' of motoring was a result of the possibility of access to space and the provision of sufficient space for motorists to access; or as Inglis states, when motorists could enjoy driving as a solitary pursuit 'without having to pretend that the others weren't there'.⁷³

Fleming, and by extension, Bond, was fascinated by cars. In his collection of travelogues written for the *Sunday Times* newspaper and published as *Thrilling Cities*

⁶⁹ P. S. Bagwell. *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 353.

⁷⁰ Population statistics taken from C. L. Mowat. *Britain Between the Wars: 1918-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 518. Number of cars taken from Bagwell, *Transport*, p. 353. Bagwell estimates that the number of cars was further reduced by nearly half a million before 1945 as a consequence of petrol rationing and war requisitioning.

⁷¹ Inglis, *Delicious History*, p. 99.

⁷² Inglis, *Delicious History*, p. 99.

⁷³ Inglis, *Delicious History*, p. 99.

in 1963 Fleming devotes a great deal of text to descriptions of driving (and being driven) around the major cities of Europe, America and the Far East.⁷⁴ It is occasionally overlooked that Fleming also wrote the very successful *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* for his son Caspar in 1964.⁷⁵ Fleming's interest in cars support Inglis' analysis that a preoccupation of twentieth-century technophiles was their admiration of speed and motion, a fixation nowhere more explicitly championed than in F.T Marinetti's *The Futurist Manifesto* of 1909.⁷⁶ Fleming places the spy's relationship to motoring at the centre of their identity, making the car a potent form of social signification. Fleming recognised that speed of motion and the possibility of rapid deployment enabled by the car in conjunction with a modern road network presented significant advantages to spying. With the road network of Britain being extended throughout the 1950s, the quicker response time the spy is able to effect and the convenience of improved roads permits the spy, crucially, to spend more time spying.⁷⁷ The ease with which motorways permit 'spontaneous action' in the deployment of force and the reinforcement of power evokes the philosophy behind Europe's first twentieth-century superhighways and source of inspiration for Fleming, the German autobahns.⁷⁸

Moonraker (1955) is split mainly between London and Dover in Kent, and contains a number of instances of domestic road travel as Bond drives between the operational headquarters of the Secret Service, the Universal Exports building in Regents Park, and the site of supervillain Hugo Drax's intercontinental ballistic missile, the Moonraker. With *Moonraker* set entirely within England, Fleming is unable to rely on exotic foreign travel as a means of demonstrating Bond's operative tourism in the same way that he does in other novels. In order to display Bond's privileged position within yet outside of his surroundings, Fleming makes Bond's car journeys reminiscent of a pre-war world in which he is untroubled by other motorists and

⁷⁴ I. Fleming, *Thrilling Cities* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963).

⁷⁵ Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, p. 384.

⁷⁶ See U. Appollonio, *Futurist Manifestos* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009). Though their aesthetic, artistic and political tastes differ, it appears that at least one thing which Futurists/Modernists and post-war Antimodernists can agree on is a constant desire for automotive speed.

⁷⁷ Bagwell states that the estimated time saving by switching traffic from the A5 and A45 to the M1 in 1959 was approximate to 2.7 million driving hours. See *Transport Revolution*, p. 356.

⁷⁸ Fleming, *Thrilling Cities*, p. 141.

drives mainly for the pleasure and thrill found in the action. Bond's driving signifies a combination of speed, display of wealth and, later, the ability to kill.

Fleming places great emphasis on the significance of the cars that his protagonist and antagonist drive in *Moonraker*. Bond's car is mentioned in the same paragraph as details of other information designed to signify his social status and identity, namely his occupation, income and where he lives within London. For the new reader, introduced to Bond for the first time, the impression is that the spy's choice of car matters. Fleming makes Bond's car as important a facet of his character as any other, noting in detail that Bond drove a '1930 4½ litre Bentley Coupé, super-charged, which he kept expertly tuned so that he could do a hundred when he wanted to'.⁷⁹ Bond's choice of vehicle in the novel is socially demonstrative; in an era of recently ended petrol rationing and affordable mass-production, his Bentley is an anachronism equated with the privilege and excess of motoring's 'Golden Age', built in the last year Bentley produced the Mark IV coupé. The conspicuous nature of Bond's cars is part of the emphasis Fleming places on establishing Bond's contradictory position, being at once inside and outside the world of espionage. Much like the signification of the Royal Navy to which he belongs, Bond is an instrument of power placed on display; a deliberate reminder of force in a battleship-grey Bentley.⁸⁰ In its combination of speed, signification and terminal power, Bond's car becomes both a means of conveyance and a weapon.⁸¹

Similarly, Fleming describes Drax's Mercedes at length:

It was a Type 300 S, the sports model with a disappearing hood – one of only half a dozen in England he reflected... The body, too short and heavy to be graceful, was painted white, with red leather upholstery. Garish for England... Typical of Drax to buy a Mercedes. There was something

⁷⁹ I. Fleming. *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 11.

⁸⁰ Fleming more often provides Bond with conspicuously English vehicles; in other novels he drives an Aston Martin DBIII (*Goldfinger*) a variety of Bentleys (*Casino Royale*, *Thunderball* and *Moonraker*) and is a passenger in a Rolls-Royce Phantom (*The Man With the Golden Gun*).

⁸¹ Though not the subject of this study, the Bond films exacerbate the combination of motor vehicles and weaponry to various fantastic degrees including the Aston Martin DB5 from *Goldfinger* (1964) armed with machineguns, the Lotus Esprit from *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) which converts into a submarine through to the rocket-firing BMW Z3 in *Goldeneye* (1995). In series reboot *Casino Royale* (2006), the Aston Martin DB5 returned, however, minus its gadgets.

ruthless and majestic about the cars, he decided, remembering the years from 1934 to 1939 when they had completely dominated the Grand Prix scene.⁸²

Fleming, with his typical association of physical unattractiveness, deformity and moral degeneracy, makes Drax's car reflective of its owner's character and appearance.⁸³ Fleming introduces Drax through M as 'a bit loud-mouthed and ostentatious', qualities that Bond recognises as reflected in the Mercedes.⁸⁴ The later physical description calls attention to Drax's 'shining puckered skin' from his war-wounds and the 'surgical failure' of his facial reconstruction now covered with a 'bushy reddish moustache' and 'tight reddish hair' atop 'exceptionally broad shoulders'.⁸⁵ The effect is a heavy, ungraceful exterior which conceals the power within, again drawing parallels with the Mercedes. Fleming suggestively aligns Drax and his Mercedes with the years between 1934 and 1939, recalling by association a period in which Nazi Germany attempted to appear at its most majestic through Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1934) and *Olympia* (1936), the Berlin Olympic games, and the products of its automotive industry, specifically those of Mercedes, BMW and Porsche. Similarly, the colours of the Mercedes, like Bond's battleship-grey, also serve to signify Drax's covert position; Fleming makes the colour scheme that of the St. George's Cross, red and white, an attempt to conceal its German origin in the same way Drax does his own. Again, the colours suggest Drax's innocent appearance whilst indicating the violent intent hidden beneath the surface.

Fleming uses the Bentley and the Mercedes not only to confer a number of qualities upon their owners but to signify the discord, conflict and competition between both men. The vehicles are designed to reflect the competition at the Grand Prix, the struggle occurring between Bond and Drax and the opposition of the British Empire against the pre-war threat of Nazi Germany. Fleming, as David Cannadine suggests, reduces their conflict to one of imperial sporting values, of 'playing up to win the

⁸² Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 211.

⁸³ Kingsley Amis' critique of Fleming and Bond mentions how 'one often only has to scratch a foreigner to find a villain', however, later critics have also noticed the propensity towards deformity in Fleming's villains. From K. Amis. *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 86.

⁸⁴ Fleming, *Moonraker*, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁵ Fleming, *Moonraker*, pp. 45-46.

game'.⁸⁶ Fleming's language is that of the defence of empire begun on the playing fields of the public school and perpetuated throughout a lifetime of service, especially against the threat of an equally imperial Germany. It is with this competitive spirit that Bond feels it necessary to remark that the Bentley 'twenty-five years older than Drax's car and still capable of beating a hundred...had whipped the blown SS-K's almost as they wished'.⁸⁷ The likening of geopolitics to a competitive sport indicates British anxiety over a resurgent post-war Germany; Drax's own economic miracle is a tacit acknowledgement of German post-war reconstruction, and a realisation that though Bentley may currently lead, positions can and will always change.⁸⁸ Fleming reduces the moral, financial and political complexities of the Cold War to a straightforward demarcation between right and wrong by means of a sporting challenge to Bond's masculinity. In doing so, Fleming conjures the simplicity and certainty of the Great Game, another example of his pre-war outlook.

As noted in chapter three, Fleming places his novels within the genealogy of espionage fiction as a not-so-distant relative to crime fiction, emphasising what is identified by David Seed as a staple of the genre: the car chase.⁸⁹ The car chase is an integral component of Fleming's espionage fiction which serves to combine the core elements of speed, modern technology and the possibility of death. In its basic premise, it also combines the ongoing tension between utility and hostility within the genre, being at once a method of capturing the villain but also as a locus of terminal power. *Moonraker* contains an extended car chase sequence in which Bond pursues Drax and his henchman Krebs through the Kentish countryside. As Bond is beginning to draw level with Drax's Mercedes, with hopes of redeeming Bentley's racing record, a third car arrives. After musing on the racing record of the Alfa Romeo, Bond watches as Drax and Krebs run the innocent participant off the road, killing him; again with heavy wartime symbolism, Fleming fictionalises the late entry and early

⁸⁶ Cannadine, *Churchill's Shadow*, p. 288. Moreover, Drax is privy to the rules of the game, revealed as a German count and having attended an English public school until aged twelve.

⁸⁷ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 212.

⁸⁸ It is revealed that Drax made his fortune in mining 'Columbite' after the war; an essential mineral in the production of rocket technology.

⁸⁹ Seed quotes from Greene's *Ministry of Fear* (1943): 'You used to laugh at the books Miss Savage read – about spies, and murders, and violence, and wild motor-car chases, but, dear, that's real life[...]The world has been remade by William Le Queux'. D. Seed, 'Spy Fiction' from M. Priestman. *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), pp. 115-134.

removal of the Italians.⁹⁰ However, Bond seems largely unconcerned with the accident; 'Bond, his face a tight mask, had hardly checked his speed and there was nothing but revenge in his mind as he hurtled on after the flying Mercedes'.⁹¹ Whilst Bond pursues Drax in order to preserve Britain, he inadvertently does so at the expense of others by contributing to the deaths of those around him. Whilst the car offers the spy ease of movement it also increases the possibility of death; either his own or of those he is charged to protect.⁹²

Fleming's narration of the car chase sequence, including Bond's injury and subsequent capture, encompasses many of the concerns surrounding the position of the car in espionage fiction. Beyond the racing history of competing nations and the constant presence of death, Fleming continually emphasises the raw power of the machines they drive. His description of 'the Gatling crackle of its exhaust' is reminiscent of Marinetti's 'roaring car' that 'seems to ride on grapeshot'; their shared hyperbole unifying the intersection of speed and hostility they both admire.⁹³ Like Marinetti, Fleming pushes technology to the fore of his narrative; the fuel-injected refinement of the Mercedes pitted against the old-fashioned supercharged Bentley acts as a transposition of the wider tension between conventional force and nuclear technology within the novel with the hope that Bond's grit will win out over superior precision engineering. The chase becomes the physical manifestation of the suggested competition, however, one with a revealing outcome. Bond, confident in his machine and his determination, is outdone by Drax and forced off the road, though luckily manages to survive the 80mph-plus impact. Fleming, adopting the narrative style of a racing commentator, suggests that British pride may take a knock but enough pluck will somehow see Bond through and keep England in the international running.

Le Carré's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974) shares some surface similarities with *Moonraker*. The novel similarly concerns the presence of an enemy agent, Bill

⁹⁰ Alfa Romeo Automobiles, founded in 1910, seems another of Fleming's references to the competition between the British Empire and Fascism throughout the novel; here, as in the war, the apparently more ruthless German brand dispenses with the Italian. See "Alfa Romeo History at <http://www.alfaromeo.com>. Accessed: 20/6/2010.

⁹¹ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 243.

⁹² The association of cars and potential death predates J. G. Ballard's *Crash* (1973) in which similar, if more sexualised, thrills are derived from dangerous driving.

⁹³ Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 242. G. Berghaus. *International Futurism in Arts & Literature* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), p. 313.

Haydon, within the British Isles and, apart from short sequences told in flashback, also takes place entirely within a domestic setting.⁹⁴ It too is concerned with the significance of motor vehicles and their relationship to the inscription of identity, but in a noticeably different fashion to Fleming. Le Carré's novel is indicative of the change in espionage fiction and the change in Britain's relationship with the car over the two decades which separate both books. Developments such as the end of petrol rationing in 1953, full employment in a variety of nationalised industries and the subsequent rise (or, for many, creation) of disposable income meant that the projected dream of mass-ownership became an affordable reality.

In both *Austerity Britain* and *Family Britain*, David Kynaston repeatedly uses the experiences of the Haines family, housewife Judy, former serviceman turned commuter Abbé and their two daughters, to illustrate the effects of post-war social mobility and the affluence created by full employment and a government-subsidised economy.⁹⁵ They purchased their first car in 1955: 'The girls were watching from the window. "It's a black Standard! [Standard Eight, first produced in 1953]...two days later Abbé was going to work in Central London by car'.⁹⁶ The Standard Eight was advertised for the relatively cheap price of £359; a manageable sum on hire-purchase for the average white-collar worker; Bond, for instance, earns £1500 per annum from his employment with the SIS.⁹⁷ For the Haines family and many others like them, the advent of private car ownership revolutionised the way they thought about travel, both within the city and to places outside of it.⁹⁸ By the time the Haines family purchased their model, the period of swift and intensive investment in production had created an industry capable of manufacturing upwards of 900,000 vehicles per year.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ The novel is based mostly on le Carré's own experiences in MI6 whilst under Kim Philby, who betrayed him and a number of other agents before defecting to Moscow in 1963.

⁹⁵ Abbé's occupation is not mentioned in Kynaston's accounts. However, it could be surmised that Abbé received a relatively high wage by the fact that the Haines family bought their first television in 1947, a double-pushchair in 1949 and a washing machine in 1954, denoting a steady stream of regular income and a taste for luxuries.

⁹⁶ Kynaston, *Family*, p. 460.

⁹⁷ The Pleasure of IT! (Standard Motor Company advertisement), *The Times*, June 23, 1955, p. 15. M.P. Fogarty. 'The White-Collar Pay Structure in Britain', *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 69, No. 273, March 1959, pp. 55-70. Fleming, *Moonraker*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ Indeed, my own family reportedly engaged in a similarly enthusiastic pursuit of motoring by taking extended driving holidays in the 1950s. They would typically fill the car with furniture and other items from home, including their pets, before setting off; motoring in the 1950s was seemingly a family affair.

⁹⁹ Bagwell, *Transport Revolution*, p. 354.

The effects of this intensification of production would be felt most keenly in the following two decades. The world of espionage in which George Smiley works differs immensely to the fantastic and exotic events of Fleming's series.¹⁰⁰ Le Carré removes Smiley from the glamour of travel that surrounds Fleming's spy, casting him as the weary company man caught up in the rat-race of inner city living. Smiley bemoans the congestion of London, noting that 'when he had first come to live here [Bywater Street in Chelsea] these Georgian cottages had a modest, down-at-heel charm...Now steel screens protected their lower windows and for each house three cars jammed the kerb'.¹⁰¹ Smiley drives himself only once within the novel, otherwise relying on others, mainly colleague Peter Guillam or unreliable London taxis, to convey him from place to place. In doing so, Smiley affirms the unobtrusiveness of his character, remaining unnoticed rather than making the statement that Bond and his Bentley do. Smiley uses cars as a matter of necessity and not of course; in making the pre-war driving culture available to all, the access to space which had characterised it had been destroyed. The 'spontaneous action' that Ford had planned for the masses was prevented by the masses themselves.

Although Smiley finds the London Underground more accessible, le Carré still uses the cars of other characters to signify the general air of decrepitude that runs throughout his novels and the world of fictional espionage they describe. Guillam's sports car, significantly unspecified in make or model, evokes a sense of the glamour Fleming extols through Bond's range of cars, however, one made questionable by the revelation that it is 'extremely draughty' and in a state of disrepair.¹⁰² In Smiley's opinion and much to his irritation, he finds the sports car 'much too young for Guillam', comparing him to 'an undergraduate sculling on the river'.¹⁰³ Continuing Smiley's assessment of cars as useful only in times of necessity, Guillam's choice of prestige over utility is viewed as indicative of an adolescent attitude to the service and a dangerous level of visibility. When Smiley does drive himself to meet Jim Prideaux, a former agent now in hiding, towards the close of the novel he chooses nothing more

¹⁰⁰ See chapter three for a direct comparison of Bond and Smiley's tastes and habits.

¹⁰¹ J. le Carré. *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (London: Octopus Group, 1988), p. 22.

¹⁰² Le Carré. *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 23.

¹⁰³ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 24.

noticeable than a 'blue Ford' in which he can remain 'out of sight [but not] *look hidden*'.¹⁰⁴ Smiley, though visible, prefers to remain hidden in plain view.

As with Fleming, cars are simultaneously useful to spying and signify a great deal about the personality of their owner, both in le Carré's novel as well as the fictive world which the characters inhabit. Le Carré chooses to satirise the typical significance of the car and its position within the narrative of the espionage novel. Le Carré's description of Smiley's meeting with Prideaux is a car chase with the chase removed, as is Smiley's eventual confrontation with the mole, Bill Haydon; Smiley arrives at Haydon's safe-house hideout by taxi. However, as he does so Smiley recognises the usefulness of cars in offensive action, noting that 'a London taxi is a flying bomb'.¹⁰⁵ Though, as with Bond, there is collateral damage; in exposing Haydon as a traitor, Smiley damages the prestige of his own service and the interests of the nation just as much as the Soviet network Haydon commands.

Satirising the typical signification of the genre's tropes is furthered by the introductory description of the aged and invalided Prideaux:

He arrived just after lunch, driving an old red Alvis and towing a second-hand caravan that had once been blue...steam [was] belching from the Alvis' bonnet as it wheezed its way down the pitted drive, windscreen wipers going full pelt and the caravan shuddering through the puddles in pursuit.¹⁰⁶

The character of Prideaux and Bond share many similarities. Prideaux is, in many ways, Fleming's character transplanted into le Carré's fictional universe. His Alvis is anachronistic like Bond's Bentley, but rather than the glamour of the pre-war period Prideaux and his car represent the waning standards and performance of a nation in terminal decline.¹⁰⁷ The outmoded position of Britain conveyed throughout le Carré's

¹⁰⁴ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p 158. (My italics).

¹⁰⁵ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 196.

¹⁰⁶ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ The Alvis Motor Company was first founded in 1919 as a luxury car manufacturer producing six cylinder roadsters until the 1930s. Alvis produced smaller cars for the post-war market until the 1960s but was never as successful as it was pre-1939. However, the company continued to manufacture

fiction is here emphasised by the near breakdown of Prideaux's car and the struggle with which it attempts to keep going, pulling behind it baggage it is ill-designed to carry. The automotive power of Britain, in this instance, is found to be wanting. The reference to the red of the car, the blue of the caravan and the white steam in the rain is an alignment of the image with the Union flag, here apparently coming apart at the seams. Prideaux himself, a former Oxbridge blue and associated with both 'true-blue' conservatism of empire, used to be in far better shape, just like the Alvis and the society that produced it.

That Prideaux drives his Alvis to take up a teaching position at Thursgood Preparatory School is also revealing. Prideaux later starts a car club rally in which the Alvis, now with a racing Union Jack painted on its bonnet, is considered 'undoubtedly the finest, fastest car on earth'.¹⁰⁸ The Alvis, when returned to the playing fields of England, becomes representative of Prideaux's generation, the boys of the pre-war empire maintained by playing up and playing the game.¹⁰⁹ Prideaux attempts to pass on the tradition to the boys in his charge by employing them in stripping down and refurbishing the Alvis as though to prepare them for a lifetime of service akin to his own. However, Prideaux concedes that, like the Alvis, his position is redundant in the post-imperial world; both the car and his values are 'out of production, thanks to socialism'.¹¹⁰ The altered circumstances of the post-war world that forced Alvis out of the commercial market are those which similarly force Prideaux out of espionage; both firms, Alvis and the Circus appear to have little modern relevance.

If general perceptions of a pre-war 'Golden Age' of British motoring seem like the nostalgic indulgences of post-war Britain, this did not mean that the desire for car-ownership was similarly imaginary. The power of social display inherent to owning a car in the 1940s and 50s, as well as the excitement that purchasing a car generated, is one unique to this era. The romance of 'New Jerusalem' was based on the privilege access to space and the prospect of travel for pleasure; until the overcrowding

military vehicles until the 1990s. See R. Iles. *Alvis: The Story of the Red Triangle* (2nd ed.). (Somerset: Haynes Publishing Group, 1989), pp. 10–112.

¹⁰⁸ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁹ Henry Newbolt's *Vitae Lampada* (1897) popularised the idea of the much-mythologised 'playing fields of England' that would later be used in First World War propaganda (and satire). See H. Newbolt. *Collected Poems 1897-1907* (London: The Echo Library, 2007).

¹¹⁰ Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor*, p. 72.

depicted in le Carré's novel began, this was accomplished not only by cheap and available motor-vehicles but also by the prospect of international air-travel.

4. **Flying High:** Space, Aviation and the New Elizabethans.

Post-war civil aviation in Britain epitomised all that was alluring about travel, with the number of flights and destinations far exceeding those available in pre-war service.¹¹¹ However, Inglis cites Graham Greene's pre-war travel narratives as those that 'fixed for us the details of air travel when it was so generally unreliable, inconvenient, oil-flecked and vomit-speckled, windswept and, supremely, *romantic*'.¹¹² Despite queues, the sub-basic facilities and limited range of many early passenger aircraft, often converted wartime bombers carrying only seventeen passengers per flight, post-war aviation retained the sense of romance that Inglis describes, coupling it with a new-found popularity and accessibility. In 1952 as 270,000 people attended the final weekend of the Farnborough air show, New Yorker correspondent Mollie Panter-Downes wrote that "The ordinary English [are] enormously heartened by the feeling that the peculiar national inventive genius for machines, which created so much wealth in the steam age, is as good as ever in this uncomfortable atomic one".¹¹³ In a time of greater regulation of road traffic, declining railway standards and overcrowded public transport, aeroplanes represented a more intrepid means of travel and one at the cutting edge of military and industrial science.

Like Greene, Fleming was no stranger to international travel both pre and post-war. His work with Reuters news agency afforded him the opportunity to travel to Germany and Russia in the 1930s, whilst his later travelling experiences were recorded in *Thrilling Cities*.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Fleming's elder brother Peter was a

¹¹¹ F. Carnevali & J.M. Strange. *20th Century Britain – Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, Second ed. (London: Pearson-Longman, 2007), p. 112. Total journeys conducted by British Airways in the decade before the war amounted to 147,000 – a figure the modern Heathrow surpasses in nearly four months, currently processing an average of 473,000 journeys per year. S. Doherty. *Heathrow's Terminal 5: History In the Making* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), p. 364.

¹¹² Inglis, *Delicious*, p. 102. Original italics.

¹¹³ Kynaston, *Family*, p. 123; p. 122. The public association of pilots with heroism and valour as a consequence of the war helped to reinforce the general romantic perception of air travel also.

¹¹⁴ D. Cannadine. *In Churchill's Shadow* (London; Penguin, 2003), p. 284

celebrated travel writer and correspondent for *The Times* throughout the 1930s.¹¹⁵ Beyond the personal interest, aviation offered Fleming an opportunity to indulge a number of concerns essential to the Bond series. Through the prospect of air travel, Fleming was able to include the exotic flavour of foreign places in his fiction whilst offering his readers an illustration of what their increasing affluence could afford in the developing social circumstances of the post-war world. Fleming adds the British 'steam age' fascination with technology to the post-war intersection of desire, increased disposable income and the contrivance of identity that Inglis identified in relation to ocean liners. The combination of all these concerns acted as an indication of the importance of air travel to national recovery, both in economic terms and with regard to British dominion overseas.

The 'New Elizabethan' age, coined in conjunction with the coronation of 1953, made much of the opportunities offered by the civil aviation industry.¹¹⁶ British industry and technological expertise, in the words of an enthusiastic air correspondent for *The Times*, was envisaged as a force that would 'revolutionise civil aviation. There will be nothing in the world to approach [British Aircraft] either in size, or comfort, or in advanced design'.¹¹⁷ The prophesied advances of British aeronautics were vital to the nation's confidence after the privations of prolonged austerity. Further, a major concern of civil aviation became the preservation of British Airways' Imperial Routes. These services, which operated between London and the major cities of India, Africa and Australia, were designed to do what ocean-going ships had once done and connect the spaces of empire, however, in a fraction of the time.¹¹⁸ The advantages to acts of espionage provided by air travel pertain primarily to speed and ease of mobility. Through the use of air travel to affect the movement of agents around the empire, the secret service in each novel serves to further reinforce the presence of

¹¹⁵ Peter Fleming was widely known and respected in London society and was a friend of Graham Greene; Ian's relationship with him was one of intense admiration for his older brother. See Cannadine, *In Churchill's Shadow*, pp. 283-284. Biographers and critics such as Cannadine have noted Ian's reluctance to compete with his brother's achievements, fearing failure, but contrast his fear with a perennial desire to impress.

¹¹⁶ Kynaston, *Family*, p. 289.

¹¹⁷ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 241.

¹¹⁸ The enterprise would be costly: As early as the closing years of the 1940s, the Imperial Routes of the nationalised British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) were operating at a loss of £2.5 million per year. When this is considered in addition to the developmental costs of the Bristol Brabazon, which had reached £13.4 million by December 1950 without any credible result, it is clear that the reality of the British aircraft industry failed to live up to its romance. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 228 and p. 241.

power within those spaces. In this sense, whilst the advent of cheaper and more widespread commercial air travel in this period allows for greater ease of access to space, it simultaneously permits tighter control over it.

Fleming sets at the centre of *Diamonds are Forever* a smuggling operation that necessitates the international circulation of men, money and merchandise throughout the spaces and former territories of the British Empire. When Bond goes undercover and acts as courier for a consignment of diamonds, Fleming gives a detailed description of how Bond boards his flight from London Airport and subsequently alights at Idlewild, New York.¹¹⁹ In his description of the process of check-in and boarding, Fleming presents a contradictory scene in which the prospect of air travel suggests the privilege previously associated with luxury liners but engenders the anonymity of other forms of mass-transport. The expansion of post-war aviation acts like the mass production of the motor-car in that it dilutes the exclusivity and prestige that make air travel initially appealing. Bond is relegated in status to that of the other passengers who comprise ‘some miscellaneous English, two of the usual nuns...some nondescript Americans, mostly of the businessman type, two babies in arms to keep the passengers from sleeping, and a handful of indeterminate Europeans’.¹²⁰ Fleming emphasises Bond’s position as privy to the experiences of the tourist but also above them, ironically dismissive of other tourists whilst attempting to pass as one of them. In much the same way as Bond is inside and outside of the law, smuggling in order to break a smuggling ring, Fleming places him physically in but mentally outside of the position of tourist.

Bond’s contradictory experience at London airport illustrates how Fleming’s espionage fiction serves to uphold and subvert the narrative conventions of tourism. For example, the initial stages of Bond’s journey become as much about the description of spectacle as any other part of his mission. Fleming describes how Bond ‘picked up his Evening Standard and casually examined the other passengers over the

¹¹⁹ The opening of a new runway at London Airport by the recently-crowned Elizabeth was an auspicious event of 1953. The airfield began the war as a small private airstrip before being requisitioned for RAF service. Post-war it grew into London Airport and was later renamed Heathrow. See Philip Sherwood. *Heathrow: 2000 Years of History* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).

¹²⁰ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 58.

top of it'.¹²¹ Fleming aligns the position of the spy with that of the snobbish tourist; Bond seeks to appear profoundly disinterested in his fellow travellers yet is equally fascinated by them. Similarly, when Bond takes an internal flight from New York to Las Vegas Fleming writes how he passes four banks of slot machines and gives 'them all a try...only once two cherries and a bell fruit coughed back three coins for the one he had played'.¹²² As Denning notes, Bond is allowed to indulge in the fripperies of the tourist experience because his ultimate purpose is far nobler; his tourism enables the pursuit of espionage.¹²³

In the same way that Fleming's novels are a cultural space in which to dramatise the fears of international espionage they also acknowledge the fear inherent to intercontinental travel. Whilst it would not be acceptable for Bond to display overt fear, his reflection upon the terminology of air travel is nonetheless revealing. Bond acknowledges the possibility of death that accompanies his mission and his journey, noting that the Departures building is named the 'Final Lounge'.¹²⁴ Instead of confronting Bond's anxiety further, Fleming focuses on the physical manifestations of fear in other passengers, particularly the two American businessmen later revealed to be the assassins Wint and Kidd:

The second man, who was pale and fat, took a bottle of pills out of his pocket and swallowed one down with his brandy. Dramamine, guessed Bond. The man would be a bad traveller...his face was green and sweating.¹²⁵

Fleming indulges fear of the possibility of technical or mechanical failure associated with air travel. Bond notes that the engines fire one by one 'with a burst of oil and methanol smoke' and that the aeroplane is 'nothing but a giant tube...guided to its destination by a scrap of electricity'.¹²⁶ Fleming adds an element of danger to the contemporary tourist experience, linking the present to the romance of early air travel. In doing so, he places the spy alongside the heroic figures of British aeronautic

¹²¹ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 58.

¹²² Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 161.

¹²³ Denning, *Cover Stories*, p. 104.

¹²⁴ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 59.

¹²⁵ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 59.

¹²⁶ Fleming, *Diamonds*, pp. 59-60.

history, suggesting continuity between Brabazon, Biggles and Bond.¹²⁷ Fleming plays on the fears associated with contemporary British air travel, all the while hinting that they are unfounded; Bond, and by extension the nation, always pulls through.¹²⁸

Fleming's description of the space of the airport suggests that it has a dissipative effect on British identity. Paul Stock has described Bond as floating signifier of Britishness; indeed, as his cover suggests, he is responsible for the universal export of British values and principles.¹²⁹ However, the precise nature of these values is rendered unknowable by the disunities of air travel. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* Mary Louise-Pratt outlines her theory of the 'contact zone...the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other'.¹³⁰ Pratt states that in a liminal space between cultures, both parties establish relations to form a composite, ongoing interaction that incorporates qualities of identity unique to each party, suggesting a form of hybrid identity enacted within a specific space. For example, when Bond arrives at Idlewild he is wrong-footed by a customs official who asks him about the golf clubs he is carrying. Bond manages to stammer a reply that he 'goes round' 'in the middle-eighties, I guess' before extricating him from the situation and meeting his driver.¹³¹ Bond, though presented by Fleming as a bastion of English identity, momentarily experiences an affected intensification of his Englishness at odds with his usual decisive persona, manifested here in his stammer and mimicry of his questioner through use of the Americanism 'I guess'. The uncertainty of his reply reflects his position caught between two cultures in the disunifying space of the airport; Bond is playing a number of roles which conflict at the point of crisis.

¹²⁷ John Moore-Brabazon was an early English aviation pioneer and head of the Brabazon Committee. Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 229. Also, see D. Butts, 'Biggles – Hero of the Air' in T. Watkins & D. Jones. *A Necessary Fantasy?: The Heroic Figure in Children's Popular Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 137–152. As mentioned above, John Buchan could be added to this list; the iconic scene from *The 39 Steps* (1915) in which Richard Hannay is pursued by a light aircraft is an obvious and early link between espionage and aviation and has been reproduced and parodied in a range of media.

¹²⁸ British Overseas Airways Corporation Comet aircraft suffered three fatal crashes in 1953-4 and was subsequently withdrawn from service. See Kynaston, *Family*, p. 378.

¹²⁹ P. Stock. 'Dial 'M' for Metonym: Universal Exports, M's Office space and empire' from C. Lindner (ed.) *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 215.

¹³⁰ M. L. Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

¹³¹ Fleming, *Diamonds*, p. 65.

Pratt's notion of the 'contact zone' is in many ways undermined by Marc Augé's analysis of the 'non-place'; whilst the airport represents the liminal space particular to Fleming's novel in which 'geographically separate' identities are brought into contact with one another, it is a place of transience and one in which no manner of stable identity is able to be formed. Augé's analysis argues that 'non-places' such as the airport are 'spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces'; any form of stable identity is precluded by the dissipative space of the airport and further compounded by the action of spying.¹³² The spy's relation to the airport is one of necessity as its anonymity enables him to pursue his mission more successfully; as Augé states, the airport becomes a space in which the individual 'tastes for a while... the passive joys of identity-loss and the more active pleasure of role-playing'.¹³³ Instead of forming the stable composite as suggested by Pratt's contact zone, the notions of identity and the formations of Britishness enacted within the airport space only ever briefly coalesce before dissolving.

Le Carré's *The Looking Glass War* (1965), published a decade after Fleming's *Diamonds...*, illustrates how the gradual trajectory of national decline in authority and influence, as well as in relation to the process and spaces of air travel, affects the portrayal of British identity.¹³⁴ In the opening chapter of the novel, Taylor, the agent sent to gather the initial intelligence on the mission which forms the basis of the plot, waits at an unspecified Scandinavian airport to meet his contact, airline pilot Captain Lansen. Le Carré describes a situation far removed from Fleming's CIA-sponsored, collaborative endeavour; instead, the British agent is isolated in Europe. Without the safety-net of empire present, Taylor represents Britain as uncertain of its identity and no longer confident in its actions.

Unlike Bond, Taylor is overtly anxious and fearful whilst in the airport. In opposition to Bond's experience, Taylor exhibits a more prolonged form of anxiety as a result of

¹³² M. Augé. *Non Places – Introduction to an Anthropology of Super Modernity* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 94. See chapter three for further analysis of non-places in relation to spy fiction.

¹³³ Augé, *Non Places*, p. 103.

¹³⁴ With regard to civil aviation in Britain, Barnett cites the commercial failure of the Bristol Brabazon and the Saunders Roe SR-45 alongside the high-profile Comet crashes as that which concluded the 'Fly/Buy British' initiatives. American manufacturers such as Boeing became international market leaders. See Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 245.

waiting in the transitory space of the terminal. He imagines the various malfunctions which may have befallen the aeroplane, destroying it and the intelligence it contains:

His heart stood still. Softly at first, then rising swiftly to a wail, he heard the klaxons, all four together, moaning out over the godforsaken airfield like the howl of starving animals...he's on fire and he's going to try to land...he turned frantically looking for someone who could tell him.¹³⁵

Taylor's reflex reaction is suggestive of the tension beneath his cover, revealing feelings not typically expected from the spy. Like Bond, he indulges his thoughts of destruction as a means of staving off his underlying anxiety; by imagining the howl of the klaxons, Taylor allows himself to consider the unthinkable, that of the destruction of the aeroplane and the disclosure of his own involvement. In doing so, both novels reveal that thoughts of hope and fear are closely interlinked within the realm of air travel. Unlike Bond however, made secure by his faith in the nation he serves, Taylor's anxiety waiting for the aeroplane, exacerbated by the intrigue of his mission, causes him to question his resolve, his actions and his nerve. Le Carré writes that 'Taylor hated waiting. He had a notion that people who waited were of no substance'.¹³⁶ Le Carré suggests that fear in the temporary contact zone of the airport removes the certainty inherent to the spy's identity.

Taylor too exhibits characteristics that question the existence of a definitive sense of Britishness abroad. Taylor is indicative of a further paradox in that the British abroad are not being 'British' at all but rather inventing a conception of Britishness which has no basis in fact other than the validation they themselves award it. Taylor experiences an affected intensification of Britishness; he adopts a persona for the mission, styling himself as 'a military man, he wished you to say, decent regiment, decent club, knocked around in the war'.¹³⁷ Uncertain of his place and doubtful of his ability, Taylor invents an identity which harks back to a time of British power and prestige, namely the Second World War. Rather than spies reinforcing essential characteristics of British identity and the rule of British power, they instead serve to contribute to

¹³⁵ J. le Carré. *The Looking Glass War* (London: Pan, 1966), p. 14.

¹³⁶ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 21.

¹³⁷ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 11.

national temporal paralysis by looking backwards for guidance. The spy, when in the airport and on non-British territory, seemingly dissipates the values of contemporary British identity.

Le Carré's novel further illustrates a paradox, suggested in Fleming's *Diamonds...*, in which the controlled space of the airport is also a site of illegality. Like the docks in Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*, the airport becomes a liminal space in which the conventions of power are undermined, not least by the spy himself. Again like Greene's docks, the airport in *The Looking Glass War* is located at the fringe of society, described as 'a scene of no depth, no recession and no shadows...beyond the airfield there was nothing; no house, no hill, no road; not even a fence, a tree'.¹³⁸ The isolated surroundings of the airport mimic that of the spy, his department and Britain; without allies and in the wilderness of Europe. In *Corridors of Deceit* (1987) Peter Wolfe argues that the airport environment is indicative of disordered reality in le Carré's novel, one where the sky is darker than the earth and the snow transfigured into a desert.¹³⁹ The airport is controlled by customs and border guards, as well as being fortified by Taylor's presence, yet is the site of Taylor's murder in addition to his acts of espionage.¹⁴⁰ Espionage, like Scobie's corrupt policing in *Sharptown*, contributes to the undermining of power within the liminal space as it reflects the characteristics of hostile action.

Aeroplanes and the airport space in le Carré's novel are reconfigured to enable acts of espionage. The secret service engages a commercial airliner in a covert operation, faking a navigational failure in order for Captain Lansen to photograph a Soviet military installation at Rostock.¹⁴¹ In Lansen's debrief and report of the mission, le Carré juxtaposes the commercial airliner against the Russian MIGs scrambled to

¹³⁸ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 9.

¹³⁹ P. Wolfe. *Corridors of Deceit* (Bowling Green Ohio: University Press, 1987), p. 130.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps fittingly, Taylor is hit by a car and killed half a mile from the airport.

¹⁴¹ Contemporaneous to the other forms of transport addressed in this chapter was the competition and excitement generated by the post-war 'space-race'. Acknowledged in Fleming's *Moonraker*, the prospect of mastering rocket science represented a means of achieving a potentially decisive edge in the Cold War and nuclear anxieties are a major facet of many existing critical studies of spy fiction. For this reason, I have chosen to focus on other elements of the genre overlooked in favour of nuclear technology. For further information on the space race and spy fiction, see P. Williams. *Race, Ethnicity & Nuclear War* (Liverpool: University Press, 2011), Margaret Gowing. *Independence and Deterrence: Britain and Atomic Energy, 1945-52*. Volume 1: *Policy Making*. (London: Macmillan, 1974), and B. Johnson. *The Secret War* (London: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2004).

intercept it, suggesting a parallel between them. The airliner, just like the fighter jet, is presented as being capable of hostile action. As well as the airliner's usefulness in transporting the individual spy from place to place, it is literally turned into a 'spy plane' for the purpose of this mission.¹⁴² The space of the airport similarly offers the prospect of effective cover, as Taylor is told by his controller, Leclerc: 'There'll be people milling about...it's a small place but there's always something going on at these airports'.¹⁴³ The irony inherent to Taylor's situation is that by the time that Lanser lands, the only activity occurring at the airport is his own, an action deliberately masquerading as inaction. The isolated, empty airport is at once useful and dangerous. However, Leclerc is proved correct in stating that there is always 'something' going on at each airport; typically a form of hostile action engaged in by or directed against the spy.

Conclusion.

As espionage fiction typically concerns threats to the nation enacted in all parts of the globe, travel is an inevitable part of spy novel narratives. However, Greene, Fleming and le Carré all go beyond featuring travel as simply a plot device to use methods of transport to convey a variety of ideological meanings within their fiction and to illustrate the social circumstances which produce them. Greene, writing in the immediate aftermath of the war, directly acknowledges the declining British capacity to police its overseas territories; the traditional means of British global power, namely sea-power, proves unable to preserve space from external and internal threats. In Fleming's novels, travel typically becomes a device by which he can continue to demonstrate British superiority in terms of technological design and provide vicarious pleasure for a readership desiring escapism. Differing to Greene and Fleming, le Carré's fiction illustrates the long-term results of post-war policies on travel and

¹⁴² Though not a direct reference, le Carré acknowledges more covert means of airborne surveillance operated after Francis Gary Power's U2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union in 1960. The use of airliners in a reconnaissance role had been suspected by the Soviet authorities since the 1950s and had resulted in significant international incidents in 1954 when Chinese Communist fighters shot down commercial airliner Cathay Pacific VR-HEU, killing 10, and in 1955 when Soviet MIGs shot down El Al Flight 402, killing all 58 aboard. See R. Frith. *Flying Through Life* (ebookit.com, 2011).

¹⁴³ Le Carré, *Looking Glass*, p. 16.

transport, those of clogged roads and delayed flights; the ideas of empire rendered redundant in modern circumstances. Linking all three authors is the way in which they demonstrate how travel technology not only alters the spy's relationship to space but also represents a conjunction of defensive and offensive action; vehicles present various methods of maintaining control over space, however, they can just as easily be turned against the spies that use them.

New means of travel such as civil aviation did not preserve the integrity of empire by remaking its component nations as holiday destinations. Accompanied by tacit but often vocal encouragement from America, the Commonwealth had righted itself by shedding the majority of its overseas possessions. In a process started by Labour but suspended after 1951 with the election of a Conservative government, the funds necessary to fuel the revitalisation of much of Britain's industry and drive the growing affluence that enabled widespread travel were secured by a drastic downsizing of the Empire. Beginning with India in 1947, the process of imperial decline was irreversible, especially after the events of Suez and the decolonisation of Africa throughout the 1960s; no longer were British travellers arriving in the territories of empire but rather newly independent nations. Harold Macmillan noted in 1960 that the nation was about to feel 'the wind(s) of change'.¹⁴⁴ The post-war period had become a post-colonial one.

¹⁴⁴ James, *Rise and Fall*, p. 616.

Chapter Six – Winds of Change: Colonial Space and Clandestinity.

This chapter addresses the portrayal of colonial spaces and sovereign authority in espionage fiction, contrasting the contextual developments of the late British Empire with fictional instances of colonial space depicted throughout the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré. In this chapter I argue that, in an attempt to retain a sense of relevance in the Cold War, post-war spy fiction reconfigures colonial space as an arena in which to pursue aggressive international action alongside the United States of America. However, the simultaneous attempt to preserve the traditions of colonial space weakens the British position and grossly undermines the application of British power.

Introduction: The White Man's Burden.

Despite the specific contextual differences to the cultural and political climates in which Greene, Fleming and le Carré wrote and published, a unifying theme of post-war espionage fiction is that of contemporaneous decolonisation and the decline of British international fortunes. Identifying the definitive end-date of the British Empire, however, is in no way a straightforward task. Officially, the British Empire became the Commonwealth in February of 1952, bringing nearly four-hundred years of imperial endeavour to a close.¹ However, despite this process of re-branding, millions of people the world over remained under British authority for decades afterwards. Similarly, given the size, influence and cultural portrayal of the Empire during the 1920s and 1930s along with the manpower contribution of the colonies to both world wars, the post-war adult generation of Britons could be forgiven for thinking of the Empire as still fundamentally solid; despite the 'loss' of India in 1947,

¹ C. Barnett. *The Lost Victory* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 51.

Burmese independence and end of the British mandate in Palestine in 1948, the attitudes of empire remained. Historians such as Lawrence James and Piers Brendon have emphasised the perceived political and territorial strength of the Empire in the inter-war years and during the war itself, identifying a paradox in which a declining empire appeared more important on the world stage than at any previous point, all through means of effective propaganda.² This triumph of marketing meant that despite the sudden post-war dissolution of Empire the ‘empire mentality’ failed to dissolve with it. Moreover, rather than accept the re-ordered geopolitical hierarchy of the post-war world, one in which the United States and the Soviet Union were now most prominent, British foreign policy, at least until the Suez Crisis of 1956, continued to possess a distinctly imperial character.

As Michael Denning and John Atkins have observed, espionage fiction is preoccupied with the exotic and the alien.³ The spy, his adversaries and clandestine activity in general are all so often defined in terms of otherness, extraordinary circumstances and unusual environments; in this sense, espionage fiction is an extension of the ‘imperial shocker’ of the nineteenth century, adopting its themes and updating them accordingly.⁴ The literary representation of Empire in the twentieth century has often been distorted by historical revisionism, awarding disproportionate strength to the persuasive yet minority anti-imperial views of authors such as E.M Forster, George Orwell and Anthony Burgess.⁵ However, much like other forms of popular literature espionage fiction as an ‘essentially patriotic form of literary production’ sought to redress this imbalance and is chiefly concerned with protection of national interests abroad as well as at home; the spy is the instrument of British power that attempts to preserve foreign influence and maintain imperial dominance in perpetuity.⁶ Greene, Fleming and le Carré all approach the process of decolonisation throughout their novels, charting the variable fortunes of the nation’s imperial enterprise and the ultimately unsuccessful attempts to correct its decline.

² P. Brendon. *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997* (London, Vintage, 2008), p. 329. Also L. James. *The Rise & Fall of The British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1999).

³ M. Denning. *Cover Stories: Narrative & Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1987), p. 102.

⁴ J. Atkins. *The British Spy Novel* (London: John Calder, 1984), p. 17.

⁵ N. J Owen. *The British Left & India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism 1885-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 297.

⁶ C. Lindner. ‘Criminal Vision and the Ideology of Detection’ from C. Lindner (Ed). *The James Bond Phenomenon – A Critical Reader* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2003), p. 79.

In this chapter I engage with a paradox inherent to the depiction of colonial spaces in espionage fiction; namely that regardless of the widespread belief in the economic necessity and protective benefits of the Empire, the pursuit of maintaining imperial power weakens the British nation in the post-war period. I argue that the expense of Empire depicted in espionage fiction is not just measured in terms of pounds, shillings and pence, but in the loss of territory and prestige, the decline of moral and political authority and, most importantly, the attenuation of British sovereign power. Further, through close reading of Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) and *The Quiet American* (1955), Fleming's *Live & Let Die* (1954) and *Dr. No* (1958) and le Carré's *The Honourable Schoolboy* (1977) this chapter examines how, in an attempt to retain a sense of relevance in the Cold War, Britain and the spy reinvigorate colonial space as an arena in which to pursue aggressive international action. However, attempting to preserve the traditions of colonial space alongside this process of reconfiguration weakens the British position and grossly undermines British power in supposedly sovereign space.

1. **Hearts & Minds:** Graham Greene, Englishness and Other Peoples' Empires.

Graham Greene was always particularly fond of fictionalising the experiences of British subjects abroad; this literary bent is visible from his early work, such as *Stamboul Train* (1932), and continues throughout his career.⁷ Greene's far-flung settings are not simply a favoured narrative situation or a mere plot device. Rather, they suggest an entwining of political and personal concerns within his fiction, an indication of how he viewed both his own position as a perennial ex-pat and that of Britons at large on the world stage. Neil Sinyard argues that Greene's novels reveal 'a fascination with exotic places, with the influences of place on people and the prospect of going to seed in foreign lands'.⁸ For many of Greene's characters, other countries

⁷ Greene novels that feature Britons abroad include *The Power & the Glory* (1940), *The Heart of the Matter*, *The Third Man* (1949), *The Quiet American*, *Our Man in Havana* (1958), *A Burnt Out Case* (1960), *Travels With My Aunt* (1969), *The Honorary Consul* (1973) and *Dr. Fischer of Geneva* (1980).

⁸ N. Sinyard. *The Craft of Graham Greene* (Berkhamstead: Graham Greene Birthplace Trust, 2001), p. 7.

initially appear as arenas for adventure, with few places off-limits to the British subject. However, despite the often confident outward appearance of Greene's characters located overseas, he gradually and consistently illustrates the position of the Briton abroad as problematic, revealing a trajectory of dwindling security, authority and influence in the post-war world.

The beginnings of imperial uncertainty in Greene's writing can be found in *The Heart of the Matter*. Beyond the plot, as discussed in preceding chapters, the novel is concerned with Major Scobie's efforts to maintain his understanding of morality and his determination to remain uncorrupted by the culture of bribes and general lawlessness that pervades both Freetown and Sierra Leone.⁹ In many respects, *The Heart of the Matter* is a continuation of a literary tradition within espionage fiction, however, one that simultaneously engages in a critique of that tradition also. Analysis of the novel's setting and subject matter initially suggests a relationship between Greene's writing and that of spy fiction authors such as Kipling, Rider Haggard and John Buchan, all of whom wrote espionage adventure novels set either in Africa or the subcontinent.¹⁰ Jon Thompson argues in *Fiction, Crime & Empire* (1993) that Michael Bakhtin's analysis that all genres are syntheses of older ones applies equally to espionage fiction, stating that spy novels of the twentieth century split into two branches of parentage.¹¹ On one hand, spy fiction synthesises crime fiction and the imperial adventure novel, using the tropes of heroism to justify continued clandestine activity; Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1903) Thompson argues is the direct forebear to the novels of Buchan, Oppenheim and Fleming. Alternately, Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907) influenced the espionage fiction of Somerset Maugham, Eric Ambler, Greene and le Carré by removing any form of 'knowable community' from their novels.¹² Greene's *Heart of the Matter* joins both branches by bringing the characteristic uncertainty of Conrad's novel to the colonial spaces of Kipling *et al*; Greene adds a layer of moral complexity to the British presence in Africa, suggesting that colonial space is not the playground of Britons abroad but an arena in which the values of British culture are tested and found wanting.

⁹ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

¹⁰ See J. Atkins' *The British Spy Novel* (London: John Calder, 1984) for a genealogy of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century espionage fiction.

¹¹ J. Thompson, *Fiction, Crime & Empire* (Champaign: Illinois University Press, 1993), p. 64.

¹² Thompson, *Fiction, Crime & Empire*, p. 86.

Despite its fictionalisation of Greene's own espionage experience, as a spy novel *Heart of the Matter* lacks what may be considered the staple tropes of the genre. In place of the car chases, political intrigue and obvious evil-doing traditionally associated with espionage fiction, Greene's novel is far more an ambiguous re-examination of the imperial morality tale, one in which espionage and war frame an exploration of the ethics of empire in colonial space. Rather than featuring characters exploring the African interior, Greene's characters are preoccupied with their own interior lives and the infighting present in the British community. In the fashion typical of Greene's fiction, and with evident debt to Conrad's African novels and novellas, he destabilises the moral absolutes of Kipling, Haggard and Buchan, represented by Scobie's self-confessed boyhood love of Allan Quartermain, and renders all characters guilty of some duplicity or complicit in immoral action of some kind. As a result, the novel becomes as much a study of Britishness as affected by colonial space and the fringes of Empire as it is an espionage novel.

Greene's professional association with West Africa began with his posting there as an MI6 operative in 1941, however, for the purposes of his earlier work *Journey Without Maps* (1936) he and his cousin, Barbara Greene, had travelled across the as-then uncharted region of Liberia, setting off from where the territory bordered that of British colony Sierra Leone.¹³ The British presence in Africa was as old as the idea of empire and had begun with the emergence of the slave trade in the 16th century.¹⁴ From the outset, Anglo-African relations were characterised by a dehumanising, often brutal, racism; the early distinction of slaves by the Royal Africa Company in 1672 considered them no more valuable than any other 'merchandizes whatsoever to be found' in Africa, placing slaves on a par with other commodities such as beeswax and ivory.¹⁵ As a consequence of events such as the American War of Independence and William Wilberforce's campaign for the abolition of slavery in the late eighteenth century, however, the principles of the British Empire were gradually rewritten. No longer was the empire solely based on trade; instead, the imperial mission adopted a

¹³ Clearly, the pre-war pre-eminence of British subjects in Africa was enough to allay any fears for his safety that Greene may have had. However, Liberia was largely American in character; the majority of its coastal inhabitants were resettled former slaves. In any case the book was a bestseller; Liberia was fully mapped by 1945.

¹⁴ James, *The Rise & Fall*, p. 16.

¹⁵ P. R. Emert. *Colonial Triangular Trade: An Economy Based on Human Misery* (Massachusetts: Discovery Enterprises, 1995), p. 12.

civilising mantle which was to operate in tandem with its trading.¹⁶ Designed to impose ‘superior codes of behaviour’ on ‘savage’ natives, the British Empire recast itself equally as a force for good as well as profit. One of the first beneficiaries of this new *modus operandi* was West Africa; the Sierra Leone Company founded the experimental colony of Freetown in 1787 that by 1808 had become a Crown Colony and host to a Royal Navy base.¹⁷

Though the legal distinctions of the Royal Africa Company had been humanely revised in line with a re-evaluated meaning of empire during the succeeding hundred and fifty years, beneath the broad ‘civilising principles’ of the British Empire, late nineteenth-century attitudes towards Africa, and Africans, remained just as unenlightened as ever.¹⁸ The central paradox of Greene’s novel concerns the implications of a ‘just’ empire such as Britain sought to portray itself upheld by deeply corrupt men. Greene’s novel is essentially anti-imperialist, but not of the more rabid variety favoured by his contemporaries such as Orwell and Burgess; rather, Greene reserves distaste for a colonial system that is not just inherently corrupt but is also, as he sees it, corrupting.

Greene’s novel illustrates the way in which colonial space alters the construction of English identity against the perceived attitudes and legacy of the nineteenth century. Elleke Boehmer suggests that Greene’s *Journey Without Maps* is not the physical exploratory text it appears but instead a psychic exploration of European and colonial baggage.¹⁹ Greene evokes a similar theme in *The Heart of the Matter*; just as Boehmer states that Greene was acutely aware of inheriting a form of imperial writing that had lost its relevance by the post-war period, so are his characters as they inherit control of similarly irrelevant colonial space. This loss of imperial purpose, formerly exhorted by the ‘wider still and wider’ rhetoric recorded by Lawrence James, suggests that by the time of Greene’s novel, service of the Empire in Africa becomes an

¹⁶ James, *Rise & Fall*, p. 184.

¹⁷ W. R. Louis *et al.* *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 667.

¹⁸ As late as 1896, Robert Baden-Powell confessed to finding the pursuit of ‘laughing black fiends’ (the Matabele) as the finest ‘sport’ that Africa had to offer. Brendon, *Decline & Fall*, p. 141.

¹⁹ E. Boehmer. *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 155.

unwelcome duty.²⁰ For example, in the opening pages of the novel Greene describes how Wilson, his own fictional counterpart, views his colonial surroundings:

Wilson sat on the balcony of the Bedford Hotel with his bald pink knees thrust against the ironwork...Sitting there, facing Bond Street, he had his face turned to the sea. His pallor showed how recently he had emerged from it into the port; so did his lack of interest in the schoolgirls opposite...He was alone on the balcony except for one bearded Indian in a turban who had already tried to tell his fortune: this was not the hour of the day for white men...He felt almost intolerably lonely.²¹

Wilson is portrayed as being far removed from the dutiful servant of the Empire. His focus is not on his purpose for being there, the responsibility he holds or even the African landscape. Instead his preoccupation is repeatedly emphasised as being with himself, his private fears and his own anxieties. Greene describes him as out of place, pale in the fierce sun, awkward in his interactions with the Indian and with his gaze turned towards the sea and away from Africa. In the same way that Sharptown's 'Bond Street' is a pale imitation of the original, Wilson is a pale imitation of his colonial forebears. Fearful of the colonial space around him, Wilson chooses to sit on the balcony of the distinctly English Bedford Hotel, elevating himself from the streets to avoid contact with the native population. Unlike his predecessors, Wilson's presence in Africa is a self-conscious ordeal; he confesses to how he 'passionately wanted to be indistinguishable on the surface from other men', an impossibility in the racially divided space of Freetown.²² Whilst the Englishman is not yet shown as unwelcome at the beginning of Greene's novel, he is revealed as far from comfortable in colonial space; cut off from England and unable to connect with Africa, Wilson and the power he serves are confined to the temporary, transitory space of the hotel.

Greene often refined themes over the course of several novels and the doubts over colonial space that he expresses in *The Heart of the Matter* would prove instructive to his later work during the Cold War. Adam Piette argues that Greene's *The Quiet*

²⁰ James, *Rise & Fall*, p. 167.

²¹ G. Greene. *The Heart of The Matter* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 11.

²² Greene, *Heart of the Matter*, p. 11.

American develops the allegorical blueprint of *The Third Man* to acknowledge a new facet of the Cold War, namely ‘that its true battleground was no longer Europe...but the old colonial possessions of the other European nation states’.²³ However, *The Quiet American* also owes a debt to *The Heart of the Matter*. Whilst *The Third Man* is of clear importance in Greene’s contemporary relevance and the overt politicisation of his work, it is not the beginning of his interest in post-war politics.²⁴ Given that *The Third Man* and *The Heart of the Matter* were published and written only a year apart, it is perhaps inevitable that they bear certain similarities; for instance, the parallels between Scobie and Calloway as English archetypes set against enemies within and without British space are clear.²⁵ *The Third Man*, acts as an important lynchpin in a politically engaged period of Greene’s post-war career which begins with *The Heart of the Matter* and peaks with *The Quiet American*. Aside from updating the war that Greene uses as a backdrop, *The Third Man* alters the rules and character of contemporary warfare, adding feelings of insecurity and desperation to British actions abroad which have deadly and ultimately self-defeating consequences.

In the seven years that separated the publication of *The Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American* the old empires of Britain and France began to contract as the geopolitical polarity of the Cold War crystallised.²⁶ In many ways, *The Quiet American* is an updating of *The Heart of the Matter* in an era of rapid imperial decline; one where Greene replaces the moral question at the centre of his earlier novel with one of politics. Greene’s fiction no longer addressed the virtue of the Empire at stake but rather the far more pressing concerns of imperial power, position and influence; matters vital to the Empire’s survival. The British perspective, advanced through newspaper reporter Fowler’s first-person narrative, is an outsider’s view, however, one which retains a feeling of right or entitlement.²⁷ Though

²³ A. Piette. *The Literary Cold War: 1945-Vietnam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 152.

²⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, Greene spoke of a novella version of *The Third Man* as ‘no more than raw material for a picture’. G. Greene, *The Third Man* (London: Penguin, 1983), p. 10.

²⁵ Greene would later make Fowler from *The Quiet American* heavily reminiscent of Scobie also. Similarly, there is a strong resemblance between the characters of Wilson from *HOM*, Martins from *The Third Man* and Pyle from *The Quiet American*. All are somewhat naïve outsider figures, ardent and idealistic and most often disillusioned by the events of their respective novels.

²⁶ This process of crystallisation was not permanent, however; the US in particular feared a so-called ‘domino effect’ of Soviet influence extending to countries bordering Soviet-controlled territory. See C. Mesa-Lago. *Cuba After the Cold War* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1994), p. 363.

²⁷ See Appendix I for plot synopsis.

Indochina was a French possession, Asia, in particular the individual territories of Singapore, Malaya, Burma and Borneo, had been a primarily British sphere of influence since the early nineteenth century; one which Britain appeared resolutely unwilling to relinquish, even despite the inability to adequately defend its Asian territories against the Japanese during the war.²⁸ Rather than the ennui of Africa, Greene's *The Quiet American* would represent a British desire to maintain their Asian influence at any cost.

Fowler shares many similarities with Scobie but his weary omniscience and dismissive attitude towards the French, Vietnamese and American attempts to pacify Indochina reveal a more vocal, opinionated character. Robert Hewison argues that 'Greene's fascination with the flawed personality who has some perception of absolute values yet who cannot live up to them, a deceiver who is also self-deceiving, reflects a period when nations were behaving with the same moral confusion'; Greene personifies the moral and political quandary of a waning empire in Fowler.²⁹ Fowler's voice is that of the imperial rival, frozen out by circumstance and bitter as a result. Rejected by Phuong in favour of the younger, wealthier Pyle he states:

I wondered what they talked about together. Pyle was very earnest and I had suffered from his lectures on the Far East, which he had known for as many months as I had years. Democracy was another subject of his – he had pronounced and aggravating views on what the United States was doing for the world. Phuong on the other hand was wonderfully ignorant; if Hitler had come into the conversation she would have interrupted to ask who he was.³⁰

Fowler espouses the cynical perspective of the old imperial hand, wilfully equating American and native ignorance; the former based on envy of US resources in terms of muscle and money and the latter on an assumption of the inability of natives to govern themselves. Fowler's disdain for both parties is also, as he sees it, due to their lack of respect for the past as represented by the old empires; Pyle's American

²⁸ A. Jackson. *The British Empire & the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), p. 405.

²⁹ Robert Hewison. *In Anger: British Culture in the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 76.

³⁰ G. Greene. *The Quiet American* (London: Vintage, 2005), p. 4.

earnestness takes no account of British colonial experience whilst Phuong's ignorance of Hitler reveals the British frustration felt towards colonial 'ingratitude' after the war.³¹ That various Asian possessions had sought independence after Britain and others had fought a costly war to maintain their freedom remained a sore point for many in the post-war period.³² Fowler's concern is with his own suffering; there is no consideration for what Phuong may want, just the competition between the two white men. Similarly, the irony of his own ignorance is lost on Fowler; he fails to recognise that Pyle's 'pronounced and aggravating views' on the East ape those of his own, and the position of British imperialism.

Greene's Indochina is a hybrid colonial space, composed of many competing nationalities and ethnicities in a state of political, cultural and moral flux. However, it is telling that Greene privileges the British voice of Fowler over that of the Americans, French and others around him. In the vacuum left by French withdrawal Greene uses Fowler to mimic and criticise those of the opinion that the British Empire, not the ineffective French or the fledgling American variety, remained the superior system. By using Fowler's first person narrative, Greene trades on the latent trust his British readership place in an English voice as representative of authority in colonial space. Fowler, however, by his own admission is supposedly not engaged, stating that 'even opinion is a kind of action'.³³ However, as the novel progresses, Greene reveals Fowler's inability to remain disengaged as he either abets or tacitly condones the imperialism from which he claims to be distanced.

Piette argues that Greene's characterisation of Fowler as the embittered, reluctant participant in third-world intrigue was a means of excising his own guilt over having produced propaganda for the British government in the Malayan Emergency.³⁴ As Piette explains, Greene's younger brother, Hugh, was instrumental in broadcasting propaganda to Soviet Albania in 1949 as part of the BBC, an activity supported by the conspicuously anodyne sounding Information Research Department (IRD). After the IRD, Hugh Greene was responsible for the Emergency Information Services (EIS) in

³¹ M. Frey, R. W. Pruessen & T. Y. Tan. *The Transformation of South-East Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization* (New York: East Gate Publishing, 2003), p. 193.

³² See A. Richenberg 'Legacies of Empire', *History Today*, Vol. 48, March 1998.

³³ Greene, *Quiet American*, p. 20.

³⁴ Piette, *The Literary Cold War*, pp. 158-160.

Malaya, producing counterinsurgency propaganda not dissimilar to the ideology that Pyle subscribes to in *The Quiet American*.³⁵ Piette suggests that Greene is indulging in self-chastisement by attacking a representation of the British propaganda machine in Malaya dressed up as the American legation in Indochina. However, alongside illustrating his acknowledgement of personal culpability, Greene's novel also represents his belief in the failure of ethnic solidarity in geopolitical affairs.

Greene was criticised at the time of *The Quiet American*'s publication for being overtly anti-American, a position supported by both the plot and the characterisation of the original novella form of *The Third Man*.³⁶ However, whilst Greene has Fowler arrange Pyle's murder on pretence of political or moral obligation, it is the pursuit of naked self-interest which motivates him and not a sense of anti-American sentiment. Whilst Fowler unarguably betrays his American ally and friend, he does not do so for any new ideological reason; it is instead for the traditional pursuit of colonial mastery, here represented by Fowler's desire to possess Phuong. Piette appraises Phuong as 'the super-sexualized figure for South-East Asia (Vietnam *plus* Malaya)'.³⁷ The extent to which Phuong and Vietnam are objectified, and the effect this has on the British position, is illustrated in the chapter when Phuong dances with Pyle at the *Chalet Grande Monde*:

After dinner they danced again... There must have been many occasions at the Grande Monde... when I had danced with Phuong just for an opportunity to speak to her... Suddenly, watching her feet, so light and precise and mistress of his shuffle, I was in love again. I could hardly believe that in an hour, two hours, she would be coming back to me to that dingy room with the communal closet and the old women squatting on the landing.³⁸

³⁵ Piette, *The Literary Cold War*, p. 153.

³⁶ When adapted for the screen the anti-American sentiments of both *The Third Man* and *The Quiet American* (starring the war hero Audie Murphy as Pyle) were toned-down considerably, either having characters altered or, in the case of *The Quiet American*, undergoing comprehensive rewriting. The 2002 remake starring Michael Caine and Brendan Fraser reverted to the original plot. See N. Sherry. *The Life of Graham Greene: Vol. Three 1955-1991* (London: Jonathan Cape 2003), p. 461.

³⁷ Piette, *The Literary Cold War*, p. 162.

³⁸ Greene, *The Quiet American*, pp. 35-36.

Fowler's assessment of Phuong represents British desire for mastery over colonial commodities; Fowler is the dominant figure in his own recollections, talking *to* Phuong, whilst she remains the submissive and silent partner. Similarly, the love mentioned is felt by Fowler alone and seemingly not reciprocated by Phuong, illustrative of his indifference towards her desires. Greene reveals that the fear of the old colonial powers, the 'loss' of influence over Asia, is the motivation behind Fowler's deception and leads him to his attempt to counter frustration with violence. Fowler watches Phuong and Pyle dance with apprehension; a metaphor representing US 'courtship' of Indochina and increasing influence in the East. Further, Fowler projects the jealousy of Britain in international affairs in that his supposed love for Phuong is spurred only by the possibility of losing her to a younger suitor. Fear that 'Phuong would leave me. If not next year, three years' and that 'Death was the only absolute value in my world' haunt Fowler; the empire is haunted by the spectre of its inevitable decline.³⁹

In terms of the transferral of power from the Colonial empires to the United States and the shift in British position from equal partner to the USA to that of 'Greeks to their Romans' as expressed by Harold Macmillan, Fowler finds himself an unwilling educator but one confident in his evident and continued worth.⁴⁰ For instance, when Fowler goes to find Pyle in 'The House of The Five-Hundred Girls' in Saigon, again a hyper-sexualised, commodified representation of Asia, Greene tells of how Fowler sees Pyle as 'innocent...like a dumb leper that has lost his bell, wandering the world, meaning no harm' yet causing it regardless.⁴¹ Fowler coolly adopts the guise of a rescuer as Pyle attempts to use money to extricate them from the brothel: 'I really believe he intended to empty his pockets of piastres and greenbacks. 'Don't be a fool, Pyle' I called sharply, 'you'll have them fighting''.⁴² Greene satirises the American propensity for seeking a financial solution to difficulty in Indochina, criticising its recklessness. To rectify the situation Fowler positions himself as the wise old-hand guiding the purse of the newcomer, his superior knowledge matched with Pyle's superior resources.

³⁹ Greene, *The Quiet American*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ J. Dumbrell & A. R. Schäfer (Eds.). *America's 'Special Relationships': Foreign and Domestic Aspects of the Politics of Alliance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. 49.

⁴¹ Greene. *The Quiet American*, p. 29.

⁴² Greene. *The Quiet American*, p. 30.

However, Fowler's superior knowledge of the East is not enough to prevent his relegation to second-place. Just as the fear of decline causes the French forces within the novel to act with overt violence in defence of their influence over colonial territories, Fowler is similarly moved to view violence as the only workable solution to his waning power over Pyle. Much like the conduct of the British armed forces in the Malayan Emergency, Fowler convinces himself that the only way by which to regain control over Phuong, his colonial 'property', is through violent action designed to re-assert his authority.⁴³ Greene again transposes the wider concerns of the nation onto an allegorical figure of the individual Briton abroad; Fowler, representing Britain as Scobie does in *Heart of the Matter*, feels frustration at finding himself in his twilight years, wedded to a now irrelevant past and cast as an outsider where once he was an intimate.

In respect of proving his superior cunning, Fowler is very successful; he gets his scoop, he gets his girl and he gets away with it, concluding the novel planning his return to England with Phuong.⁴⁴ Fowler even manages to prove his imperial credentials by using native warlords to kill Pyle, the traditional method of empire used to resolve local difficulties.⁴⁵ However, his actions prove as self-destructive as those of Britain in Malaya and later in Kenya; in his desperation, Fowler cedes any claim to the moral high-ground, the sovereign territory of the 'just Empire', he may have had. Greene positions the novel and its narrative as one of missed opportunity, one in which Britain, as a slightly down-graded partner, could have remained relevant by helping to guide the US to their new position as neo-colonialists for the Cold War.⁴⁶ Whilst American expansion and transformation into a pre-eminent world power was inevitable, Greene suggests that British decline was not. His novel illustrates how the exercise of force only serves to weaken rather than empower the Empire in the post-war world.

⁴³ Piette, *Literary Cold War*, p. 157.

⁴⁴ British rule in Malaya was formally dissolved in 1957; see Louis et al, *Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 35.

⁴⁵ Brendon, *Decline & Fall*, p. 198.

⁴⁶ A. P. Dobson. *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century: Of Friendship, Of Conflict and the Rise and Decline of Superpowers* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 9. Dobson discusses how the roles of both nations were reversed, yet American administrations often dismissed British 'advice' on colonial matters, seeing their own informal empire as a very different political entity to the British one.

The significance of Greene's *Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American* lie in his fictionalisation of the decline of the British Empire and the transferral of its duties to the emergent superpower of the United States. Alongside his critique of the morally ambivalent state of modern imperialism as exemplified by Pyle's Third Force, Greene illustrates the deadliness inherent to the desperation of the British and the self-justification of their actions; Fowler, like his similarly corrupt literary forebear Scobie, convinces himself that the ends, continued British dominance, justify the duplicity of the means. However, Greene simultaneously and consistently illustrates how the actions of both men weaken their positions, much as British actions did when national sovereignty was thought to be at stake; Scobie destroys his own reputation whilst Fowler deprives himself of the only person whom he could consider a friend.⁴⁷ The irony of Greene's message, that British action in this period is more debilitating than enabling and hastens imperial decline rather than prevents it, is made abundantly clear.

2. **The Bonds of Loyalty:** Tropical Trepidation and Racial Allegiance in the Novels of Ian Fleming.

'Abroad was what mattered' – James Bond in *Moonraker* (1955).⁴⁸

If the Special Relationship between Britain and America was, in Greene's view, beginning to unravel, for Fleming it had never before appeared as secure as it was in the 1950s. To read Fleming's novels set in the colonial spaces of the Commonwealth is to enter a fictional world in which little had changed since the high-water mark of imperial propaganda in the 1930s.⁴⁹ Fleming and his James Bond series of novels represent a colonial and imperial orthodoxy that was not simply a product of habitual norms but an active, political consensus that enjoyed widespread public support, even

⁴⁷ A similar situation would befall Britain in the 1960s; unwilling to involve Britain in Vietnam and therefore unpopular with the US, Harold Wilson was equally marginalised in Europe.

⁴⁸ I. Fleming, *Moonraker* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 40.

⁴⁹ The 1951 Festival of Britain featured various allusions to British imperialism in the Dome of Discovery; see B. Conekin, *The Autobiography of a Nation: The 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester: University Press, 2003), p. 185.

during the events of the Suez Crisis in 1956 and beyond.⁵⁰ In many ways, Fleming appears indelibly linked with the zeitgeist of the mid-late 1950s both through his politics and the social circles he and his wife, Lady Ann Charteris, moved in.⁵¹ The novelistic world that Fleming conjures is one which appears to perpetuate the continuance of the ‘just’ Empire.⁵² Fleming’s colonial space is, on the surface at least, the antithesis of Greene’s corrupt and corrupting imperial twilight; for Fleming, the colonies appear ordered and deferential, hierarchical and absolute. For Fleming, continued British governance of the West Indies was a given.

Fleming’s view of the West Indies reflected government policy throughout the 1940s and 50s. A central plank of successive administrations from Clement Atlee’s Labour government of 1945 onwards was the maintenance of the empire as an essential buffer zone against Soviet expansion. As Corelli Barnett writes in *The Lost Victory* (1995) ‘no longer was Britain (with the Commonwealth) to be a ‘great power’ simply as a self-evident good thing...but more in order to fulfil the role of equal partner with the United States in the global struggle against Communism’.⁵³ Despite Britain’s impoverished state (the war exacted a high financial toll necessitating the application for Marshall Aid beginning in 1948), investment into colonial development was made in 1940 and 1945 and the post-war government appeared genuinely committed to fostering growth in Britain’s tropical colonies.⁵⁴ The paradox of this investment, however, was that Britain funded development in the hope of maintaining the status

⁵⁰ D. Kynaston. *Family Britain: 1951-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), pp. 682-3. The term ‘consensus’ was of recent contemporary coinage; Richard Toye dates the term to the late 1940s and considers it a product of the post-war zeitgeist; See R. Toye, & J. Gotlieb (Eds). *Making Reputations: Power, Persuasion and the Individual in Modern British Politics* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005).

⁵¹ Fleming’s association with the era was not only secured by his politics but also the incidental details of his private life, such as the fact he offered his Jamaican home, ‘Goldeneye’, to Prime Minister Anthony Eden as a retreat in which to recuperate after the demands and strain of Suez. See A. Lycett, *Ian Fleming* (London: Phoenix, 1996), p. 302.

⁵² In *Dr. No*, Fleming has the Colonial Secretary of Jamaica extol the necessity of the British presence in the West Indies; Mr. Pleydell-Smith, of Kings College, Cambridge, addresses the subject of Jamaican independence stating ‘Self-determination indeed! They can’t even run a bloody bus service’. I. Fleming, *Dr. No* (London: Pan, 1965), p. 45. Seven years later, when Bond returns to post-independence Jamaica in *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965) he confidently states that ‘he would bet his bottom dollar that the statue of Queen Victoria in the centre of Kingston had not been destroyed’ as in resurgent African states. I. Fleming, *The Man With the Golden Gun* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 40.

⁵³ Barnett, *Lost Victory*, p. 83.

⁵⁴ James, *Rise & Fall*, pp. 528-9.

quo, namely sovereign control over the territory in question.⁵⁵ British policy was essentially trying to fulfil the nation's new role as part of the anti-communist NATO alliance whilst maintaining the fiction of the civilising empire in simultaneity. In trying to fulfil both these objectives, the nation ran the risk of accomplishing neither.

The roots of Fleming's fiction lay in much the same ground as the reconfigured, dual-purpose empire of the post-war world. Fleming's novels, particularly those set in the Caribbean, are an intersection of old and new; they update the relationship between Britain and the United States whilst also fictionalising the twentieth-century version of the Great Game and thereby representing the spaces and attitudes of old.⁵⁶ Whereas Greene's novels were part of a movement after Conrad that removed any suggestion of a 'knowable community' within fiction, Fleming's work is the opposite; much like his novelistic forebears, Fleming's communities are designed to be instantly recognisable and understandable at a glance.⁵⁷ However, the issue with Fleming's continuation of traditional adventure fiction is that he similarly imports the outdated approaches of its authors. Fleming's *Live & Let Die* and *Dr. No* are notable for their at best unenlightened and at worst repellent attitudes towards colonial subjects and exclusive attitudes towards colonial space.⁵⁸ Again, in antithesis of Greene, Fleming populates both *Live & Let Die* and *Dr. No* with bestialised natives practicing crude and pagan rituals whilst attempting to continually undermine (white) British authority.⁵⁹

Fleming's description and assessment of Jamaica reveals his grasp of contemporary geopolitics. In *Live & Let Die* (1954) Bond is charged with investigating the activities of Harlem gangster and SMERSH agent Mr. Big. His investigations lead him from New York to Miami and then Jamaica. In *Dr. No* Bond is sent to Jamaica on convalescent leave after his recovery from his poisoning at the hands of SMERSH in

⁵⁵ Typically, British investment was in Jamaica's traditional agricultural industries. See O. Jefferson, 'The Post-War Economic Development of Jamaica', Institute of Social and Economic Research (West Indies: University Press, 1972).

⁵⁶ Atkins, *The British Spy Novel*, p. 56.

⁵⁷ Thompson, *Fiction, Crime & Empire*, p. 86.

⁵⁸ Though individual West Indians, like Quarrel, are acceptable Fleming typically writes of Jamaicans as having the 'virtues and vices of a child'. Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 49.

⁵⁹ Fleming uses Patrick Leigh Fermor's *The Traveller's Tree* (1950) to give his story of voodoo a veneer of fact; M states that it is 'by a chap who knows what he's talking about'. Fleming, *Live And Let Die* (Bungay: Triad/Granada, 1981), p. 25.

From Russia, With Love (1957). Whilst there, he is instructed to investigate the disappearance of the Jamaican Section Chief Commander Strangeways and gather what intelligence he can on the owner of a nearby island and Guano plant, the mysterious Dr. Julius No. Soon after his arrival in Jamaica, Bond discovers Dr. No's plan to disrupt American missile tests over Jamaica.⁶⁰ Both novels reinforce how fervently Fleming and others like him viewed the British position as one best served by acting as a strategic partner to the US.⁶¹ It is telling that British authorities appear willing to deploy their agents either at the behest of powerful American lobbyists, named as the Auedon Group in the novel, in support of the American ICBM development programme or to counter organised crime. For Fleming, and indeed MI6, abroad is what matters; defence of the colonies is paramount since it facilitates the security of the home isles.

Fleming's personal experience of Jamaica informed his inclusion of the island and other examples of colonial space throughout his novels. Andrew Lycett notes that Fleming's life-long association with Jamaica and the West Indies began in the early 1940s with an Anglo-American naval conference.⁶² After the war, Fleming bought a plot of land at Oracabessa and named it *Goldeneye* after his most successful wartime operation.⁶³ In the preface to a contemporary tourist guide to Jamaica, Fleming wrote that whilst he recognised a number of factors had changed Jamaica since the end of the war, 'the people are just the same, always...singing the old banana songs as they load the fruit onto the ships, getting drunk on rum when the ship has sailed...all the while moving gracefully and lazily through the day'.⁶⁴ Fleming's perception of Jamaica remains an essentially pastoral, picaresque one which no amount of post-war industrial development can entirely remove. The traditional perception of the island and its people, one which emphasises the leisurely rhythms of Jamaican society, is

⁶⁰ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

⁶¹ T. Munroe. *The Cold War & the Jamaican Left 1950-1955: Re-opening the Files* (Jamaica: Kingston Publishers, 1992), p. 69.

⁶² Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, p. 144.

⁶³ Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, p. 167. Operation Goldeneye was conducted in Portugal in 1943; Fleming appreciated the symmetry between the Spanish Oracabessa and the name.

⁶⁴ *Ian Fleming Introduces Jamaica* edited by Maurice Cargill (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd, 1965), p. 11.

reinforced by Fleming's novels; the population and the spaces they inhabit are configured not for work but for play.⁶⁵

The spaces Fleming includes in *Live & Let Die* and *Dr. No* are primarily those of privilege and recreation. From the moment that Bond arrives in Jamaica in *Live & Let Die* Fleming notes how Bond 'drank in the sounds and smells of the tropics as the military pick-up cut across the corner of Kingston and up towards the gleaming, moonlit foothills of the Blue Mountains'.⁶⁶ Fleming gives an impression of a Jamaica entirely devoid of any industrial or urban presence beyond that of the airport; similarly, when Bond is ensconced on his hotel veranda his view is that of 'the sunlit panorama of Kingston and Port Royal, he thought how lucky he was and what wonderful moments of consolation there were for the darkness and danger of his profession'.⁶⁷ Compared to Greene's *Heart of the Matter* where Wilson regards a similar scene in Sierra Leone with disgust, Bond assimilates immediately into a culture of privilege and material comfort; whereas Greene's vision of colonial space is an ordeal, Fleming's portrayal of Jamaica is a pleasure.

Fleming repeatedly describes Jamaica as an island paradise of unspoiled wilderness and pristine beaches. On the first morning of his arrival Bond drinks Blue Mountain Coffee, 'the most delicious in the world', before driving through 'the most beautiful scenery in the world' to a secluded beach 'where nothing has happened since Columbus used Manatee Bay as a casual anchorage'.⁶⁸ Unsurprisingly, Fleming writes that:

Bond thought it the most beautiful beach he had ever seen, five miles of white sand sloping easily into the breakers and, behind, the palm trees marching in graceful disarray to the horizon. Under them, the grey canoes were pulled up beside pink mounds of discarded conch shells, and among

⁶⁵ Even Bond's experience of the urban areas of Kingston is described as mainly 'smart restaurants from which came the throb and twang of calypso music...a blaze of golden neon' and a proliferation of palm trees; Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 172.

⁶⁷ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 180.

⁶⁸ Fleming, *LALD*, pp. 180-184. David Cannadine calls attention to Fleming's continual use of 'sinister superlatives'; see D. Cannadine, *In Churchill's Shadow* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 287. Blue Mountain coffee was, unsurprisingly, Fleming's favourite too.

them smoke rose from the palm thatch cabins of the fishermen in the shade between the swamp lands and the sea.⁶⁹

Jamaica for Bond appears far removed from the hostile colonial experience that awaits Greene's ex-pats in *Heart of the Matter* or *The Quiet American*. The beauty and luxury inherent to Bond's experience further configures Jamaica as a playground of privilege. Moreover, the direct link to Columbus and European colonialism suggests Fleming's assessment of how Jamaica should remain; unspoilt and ruled from afar. However, Fleming's descriptions nonetheless belie the tension lying beneath the surface in each environment. The disorderly and degenerative nature of Jamaica is revealed in his use of 'disarray', 'sloping' and 'grey'; though the decay is 'graceful' and less painful than the French experience in Indochina, the gradual decline of British Jamaica is evident. With a host of more pressing problems closer to home, the colonies are like the conch shells, all but 'discarded'. For all Fleming's assertion that Jamaica is vital to national fortunes and that espionage there is vital to national security, colonial space in the Bond series remains a sideshow far from the contemporary European sphere of political struggle.⁷⁰

Fleming's description of Jamaica as a collection of pristine beaches, scenic mountain roads and picturesque fishing villages is at odds with his desire for the economic rejuvenation of colonial space. His simultaneous appreciation of the island as an unspoilt playground and a space in need of redevelopment are caught in continual tension with one another. Fleming's detailed descriptions of Jamaica are illustrative of an establishment view of colonial space, one he appears reluctant to relinquish; Bond experiences fine hotels, regency houses, gentleman's clubs and the best the island has to offer. In doing so, Fleming indulges in what Graham Huggan has argued is the 'exoticist production of otherness'.⁷¹ Huggan describes how the 'exotic' is not just a characteristic of something or someone but is instead a mode of aesthetic perception; Fleming permits the reader to vicariously enjoy unfamiliar space in a solipsistic fashion, experiencing the unfamiliar in familiar terms. In transcribing his own experience of Jamaica as a well-moneyed summer visitor, Fleming is able to

⁶⁹ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 184.

⁷⁰ Lycett describes that when Fleming first visited Jamaica it was little more than a political and geographical 'backwater'. Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, p. 144.

⁷¹ G. Huggan. *The Post-Colonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 13.

appreciate its otherness from a safe vantage point, as Huggan states, rendering spaces strange even as he domesticates them.⁷²

In many instances, Fleming positions the West Indies as differing little to the home isles, either by right or by the export of British culture. In the opening chapter of *Dr. No* Fleming describes the affluent area of Kingston, Richmond Road:

Punctually at six o'clock the sun set with a last yellow flash behind the Blue Mountains and the crickets and tree frogs in the fine gardens began to zing and tinkle...the wide, empty street was quiet...In half an hour the street would come to life again with the cocktail traffic, but now this very superior half-mile of 'Rich Road' as it was known to the tradesmen of Kingston, held nothing but the suspense of an empty stage...Richmond Road is the 'best' road in all Jamaica. It is Jamaica's Park Avenue, it's Kensington Palace Gardens, it's Avenue D'Iéna. The 'best' people live in its big, old-fashioned houses [and] the long, straight road is cool and quiet and withdrawn from the hot, vulgar sprawl of Kingston.⁷³

The opening chapter functions as a vehicle for Fleming to advance his political philosophy on colonial space. Fleming's Jamaica is as neatly ordered as an Edwardian fantasy and one produced by rigid social hierarchy. By immediately focusing on an exclusive space such as Richmond Road the novel illustrates how the British presence in Jamaica supposedly ensures the continued smooth-running of the island; for instance, Fleming's Jamaica runs precisely to time, as Strangeways' description of his own routine later echoes.⁷⁴ In this extract Fleming positions the natural elements of colonial space as subservient to the ordering power of British presence, the sun setting exactly at six and the wildlife only appearing at that point. The 'empty stage' of colonial space is prefigured as an arena for adventure, excitement and leisure for only the 'best' people. Fleming's geopolitical outlook is evident also; Richmond Road is notably compared to Park Avenue first. America is the direct comparison to the wealth and privilege of Jamaican society, followed by Britain and then Europe.

⁷² Huggan, *Post-Colonial Exotic*, p. 13.

⁷³ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 8.

Fleming's Richmond Road is representative of his racially and spatially exclusive approach to colonial possessions; the 'best' people are those listed by profession, 'bank managers, company directors and top civil servants' whilst the rest of Jamaica's inhabitants are mere 'tradesmen'.⁷⁵ Fleming preserves the class distinctions of pre-war Jamaica and with it an estimation of the island as a white-collar playground.⁷⁶

Dr. No was written and published during a time of considerable political unrest and agitation in commonwealth territories and in the home isles also. Contemporaneous to Fleming's novel, the British army were engaged in aggressive action in Kenya in efforts to suppress the second Mau Mau uprising whilst elsewhere Malaya finally gained independence and Singapore was granted self-rule.⁷⁷ Despite the seemingly backward-looking character of *Dr. No*, with its Colonial Governors and mansion houses, contemporary events were not lost on Fleming, who acknowledged the West Indian desire for self-determination directly in his approach to colonial space; in *Dr. No*, Fleming writes of how 'All they [Jamaicans] think of nowadays is Federation and their bloody self-importance'.⁷⁸ However, in the same way that Jamaica's pristine appearance masks its decay, Fleming uses *Dr. No* to warn against the danger of colonial emancipation by amplifying the scale, prevalence and grisliness of the potential violence done to white men by black.

The opening chapter of *Dr. No* contains a continual undercurrent of unease and fear; the ordered environment is, like the empire at large, haunted by the spectre of its own decline. Fleming's narrator imagines how 'One day the Queen's Club will have its windows smashed and perhaps be burnt to the ground', as though without sufficient vigilance the imperial privilege of Richmond Road will disappear into the anarchy of native unrest.⁷⁹ Fleming intimates that when the British are not present, Jamaica descends into a wilderness, with its animals and wildlife appearing after the British retreat to their houses. The bestial quality is emphasised by the way in which the silence of the scene is 'broken' by the 'unpleasant impression' of the Chigroes;

⁷⁵ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Fleming's home in Jamaica, Goldeneye, was also let to various celebrities or wealthy friends of Fleming's wife, including Noel Coward. See Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, pp. 193-194. It was later sold to Bob Marley and is currently a hotel.

⁷⁷ Brendon, *Decline & Fall*, p. 459.

⁷⁸ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 45.

⁷⁹ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 6.

Fleming's intimation is that the native or the hybrid has no place in such an exclusive space.⁸⁰ It is this sense of exclusivity and division that makes Strangeways' murder all the more shocking. Strangeways believes he is safe in a distinctly British zone of control; his assassins not only break the law but also breach what are considered fixed spatial and social boundaries.⁸¹

Fleming depicts a tropical idyll secured by British authority before graphically illustrating how fragile it is when its defenders become complacent. Beyond the murder of Strangeways and his secretary, a number of characters suffer violent deaths or injuries throughout the novel. Quarrel, Bond's local guide, is later burnt alive, Bond is electrocuted before being forced to battle a giant squid and Honeychile Rider is staked out naked to be devoured by a swarm of crabs. The overt and often extreme violence that runs through the novel is not incidental nor is it simply incremental, with Fleming increasing the quotient of violence book by book in order to maintain their level of impact.⁸² Instead, the violence in *Dr. No* and *Live & Let Die* is a deliberate indication of how colonial space in Fleming's novels is perpetually on the brink of disorder. In making both *Live & Let Die* and *Dr. No* so violent Fleming validates another old imperial cliché; power is only held in place by the use of force.⁸³

The difference between violence enacted in Europe or America is also made clear, often in the course of the same novel. For instance, in New York Bond is beaten up, narrowly avoids an explosion in his hotel room and is nearly shot; in Jamaica, he is offered poisoned fruit, survives an assassination attempt by giant centipede and has to avoid the attentions of barracuda as much as he does Mr. Big's men.⁸⁴ Fleming uses colonial space as a means of employing ever more animalistic and outlandish threats, acknowledging his debt to the imperial shockers and adventure novels that precede him and emphasising the violence present in colonial space.

⁸⁰ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 6.

⁸¹ When Strangeways encounters the chigroes it is '(A)utomatically' and 'with another part of his mind'. Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 9.

⁸² Kingsley Amis argues in *The James Bond Dossier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965) that violence was a 'natural' product of the age in which Fleming wrote; 'after the Gestapo and death camps fictional tortures had to go beyond thumb crushing', p. 23.

⁸³ Even as late as 1957 the King's African Rifles in Kenya would mount instructive demonstrations of machinegun and rifle fire for parties of natives; one district commissioner is recorded as having observed that 'I believe the lesson has sunk in'. James, *Rise & Fall*, p. 540.

⁸⁴ Similarly, Felix Leiter is mutilated by a shark in *LALD*, foreshadowing the later scene where Bond must swim through the barracuda shoals to reach Mr. Big's boat.

Vivian Halloran argues that Fleming's representation of the Caribbean 'serves as a meeting point for Old and New Worlds as well as a place from which to articulate a hybrid cultural identity'.⁸⁵ Halloran identifies Fleming's theme of piracy in *Live & Let Die*, the nightmarish version of a plantation economy in *Dr. No* and his inclusion of sea monsters and other dangerous beasts throughout as a form of 'mythification' applied to colonial space designed to reactivate traditional colonial roles.⁸⁶ However, Halloran does not consider Fleming's desire to inculcate the colonial space of the past in conjunction with that of the wider transformation of the British Empire contemporaneous to his writing. Fleming's pursuit of the powerful colony of old is in many ways atavistic; however, as with much of Fleming's writing, he attempts to recapture the standing of the past as part of securing the future. Fleming's reversion to Jamaica's colonial past is an acknowledgement of the contemporary state of British possessions in the Caribbean, now degraded to the point of near obsolescence.⁸⁷ For example, Honeychile Rider is, like Quarrel and any Jamaican apparently worth acknowledging, revealed to have a long heritage and colonial pedigree. She describes, however, how the family fortunes had declined:

You see the Riders were one of the old Jamaican families. The first had been given the Beau Desert lands by Cromwell for having been one of the people who signed King Charles' death-warrant. He built the Great House and my family lived in it on and off ever since. But then sugar collapsed and I suppose the place was badly run and by the time my father inherited it there was nothing but debts.⁸⁸

The extract recalls the lineage of the Empire with its reference to the interregnum as the origin of true colonial power before its maturation and collapse. Whilst Fleming depicts the current state of the Riders' fortunes as depleted, by no means does he consider them irreparable. By the end of the book when Bond and Honeychile Rider are recuperating in the remnants of the Beau Desert estate, Fleming describes how

⁸⁵ V. Halloran. 'Tropical Bond' in E. P. Comentale, S. Watt & S. Willman (Eds.) *Ian Fleming & James Bond: The Cultural Politics of 007* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 176.

⁸⁶ Halloran, 'Tropical Bond', p. 159.

⁸⁷ Jefferson, 'Post-War Economic Development of Jamaica', p. 91.

⁸⁸ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 93.

‘Under the chandelier a table was laid for two with expensive-looking old-fashioned silver and glass...She laughed delightedly. ‘I had to spend the day polishing it. I’ve never had it out before’’.⁸⁹ Her actions and Fleming’s representation of the colonial mansion are akin to the perception of the Empire in the 1930s, that it is possible to project grandeur without the substance to support it. In appearances at least, Fleming suggests that it is still possible to recapture the prestige of the old empire.

To restore and secure the old Jamaica as exemplified by Richmond Road, Beau Desert and the ordered hierarchies of Fleming’s opening chapter is to reclaim a position of power from which to reinvigorate the relevance of colonial space in the Cold War.⁹⁰ Instead of the sugar economy that made the Riders’ fortune, Fleming seeks to transform the cash cow and former economic powerhouse of the Empire into a strategic outcrop of the new conflict, geographically and figuratively shoulder to shoulder with the United States. Alongside the guano industry described in *Dr. No*, in *Live & Let Die*, Fleming outlines that the revitalising of Jamaica is a way of combining Cold War political objectives and contemporaneous British industrial recovery: ‘Since 1950 Jamaica had become an important strategic target thanks to the development by Reynolds Metal and the Kaiser Corporation of the bauxite deposits found on the island’.⁹¹ By changing products to those used by the military industrial complex of America, Jamaica is once again able to attain a position of economic importance.⁹² However, Fleming’s desire for the reclamation and updating of colonial space appears at once paradoxical and problematic; seeking to maintain a status quo and remain relevant in a developing international conflict. Fleming adopts the Janus-like position of looking back in order to move forward familiar to his novels. In this

⁸⁹ Fleming, *Dr. No*, p. 187.

⁹⁰ The relevance of Britain to America in the Cold War was a continual concern for post-war governments. See chapter one for more information on the post-war American military presence in the British Isles.

⁹¹ Fleming, *LALD*, p. 176. Bauxite is vital for production of aluminium, which in turn was chiefly used in the production of rockets and aircraft in the post-war period. Similarly, guano, as seen in *Dr. No*, was used in the production of nitrates for explosives. See T. M. Addiscott, *Nitrate, Agriculture & the Environment* (Oxford: CABI Publishing, 2005), p. 52.

⁹² S. M. Pavelec. *The Military Industrial Complex & American Society* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Publishing, 2010), p. 95.

instance, Fleming chooses the traditional site of colonial power, a sugar plantation, in which to consummate a new union of Britain and Jamaica.⁹³

Halloran describes Fleming's Caribbean as an example of what Arjun Appadurai has called an 'ethnoscape'; a space of shifting character and qualities, changing with the geopolitical currents of the post-war world.⁹⁴ The static elements of Fleming's colonial fantasy, such as Richmond Road, are rendered untenable by the concurrent development of spaces and identities at large within it. Fleming's attempt to achieve political modernisation through the restoration of pre-war colonial space is impossible given the geopolitical currents of the Cold War; the traditional British brand of imperialism would never be compatible with United States foreign policy.⁹⁵ In the same way as Fowler and his colonial 'expertise' are frozen out of Indochina in *The Quiet American*, Fleming's updated imperialism is similarly marginalised in an era of colonial self-determination.⁹⁶ Moreover, Fleming's novel ignores the warnings of the Suez Crisis, namely that British power secured through reliance on the United States is no power at all.⁹⁷ Rather than the reproduction of pre-eminence, Fleming's reinvention of space borne out of commitment to serving the U.S exacerbates British dependence on unsteady racial allegiances. Though the British heroes, or antiheroes, in both novels are victorious in achieving their objectives, Bond destroys No's facility whilst Fowler recaptures Phuong, their actions directly or indirectly strengthen US dominance. Fowler's involvement in Pyle's death contributes towards increasing the American presence in Vietnam whilst Bond's actions allow American ICBM tests to resume unobstructed. The irony common to both novels is that where the British characters often labour under the impression that they are exploiting Anglo-American ethnic solidarity for their own empowerment, they are themselves being exploited. The Special Relationship that Fleming and Bond remain committed to is both enabling and restrictive; whilst America would provide Britain with the capital to

⁹³ The union between Bond and Honeychile Rider was not to last: in *The Man With the Golden Gun* Bond reveals that 'the last he had heard, she had had two children by the Philadelphia doctor she had married'. Fleming, *The Man With the Golden Gun*, p. 40.

⁹⁴ Halloran, 'Tropical Bond', p. 159.

⁹⁵ W. R. Mead. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy & How it Changed the World* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 126.

⁹⁶ Contemporary events in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti added an anti-imperial element to the geopolitical situation at this time.

⁹⁷ K. Kyle. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I.B Taurus, 2011), p. 251.

conduct post-war investment in infrastructure and industry, it would also curb any possibility of unilateral British action for the next thirty years.

3. **After the Fall:** John le Carré and Imperial Endgame in the Far East.

Le Carré's espionage fiction is most often compared to that of Greene's, most often because of the cynicism that runs throughout the majority of both novelists' work, but his fiction also has just as interesting a relationship with Fleming's.⁹⁸ The desire for close co-operation between the US and Britain that is Fleming's consistent theme has, by the time le Carré establishes himself as a novelist, become a political necessity. In the aftermath of the Suez Crisis British overseas possessions, along with the national fortunes, shrank considerably; from 1956, British colonies diminished at the rate of approximately one per year for a decade.⁹⁹ Similarly, with British entry into the EEC blocked until 1973, the nation could be forgiven for thinking that salvation lay in the Special Relationship. America, however, now fully engaged in Vietnam and critical of a lack of British support, was a more than reluctant partner in British overseas affairs.¹⁰⁰

By the time le Carré's *The Honourable Schoolboy* was published in 1977, the state of British collective psyche had decayed even further. In *Cultural Closure? The Arts in the 1970s* (1994), Bart Moore-Gilbert notes that so many British novelists of the 70s 'expressed the condition of contemporary Britain in apocalyptic terms'.¹⁰¹ The fear of imminent ending, exacerbated by two decades of Cold War stalemate and Mutually Assured Destruction, lent a desperate quality to many novels of the period; le Carré's major works of the decade, such as *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974), *The*

⁹⁸ Jon Thompson argues that le Carré, like Greene, belongs to a branch of spy novelists directly influenced by Joseph Conrad. Thompson, *Fiction, Crime & Empire*, p. 86.

⁹⁹ In 1957 the Gold Coast and Togoland became Ghana, in 1958 Singapore achieved home rule and Cyprus gained independence in 1959. Next to go was British Somaliland in 1960 followed, much to Fleming's dismay, by Jamaica in 1962 with Kenya and Zanzibar in 1963.

¹⁰⁰ Though Britain under Harold Wilson refused to send troops to Vietnam, Wilson was cautious of openly criticising American conduct. When pressed to oppose the war more overtly Wilson privately commented 'we can't kick our creditors in the balls'; with Marshall Aid only ceasing in 1961 Wilson appeared acutely aware of where British interests lay. W. R. Louis. *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez and Decolonization* (London: I. B Taurus, 2006), p. 559.

¹⁰¹ B. Moore-Gilbert. *Cultural Closure: The Arts in the 70s* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 152.

Honourable Schoolboy and *Smiley's People* (1979) stand testament to this as they dramatise a national crisis of confidence and widespread social decay.¹⁰² There is a feeling of intensity and concentration to the events of *The Honourable Schoolboy* in that the process of imperial liquidation appears accelerated; moreover, the British characters within it act with heightened awareness of their denigrated status.¹⁰³ Britain and the secret service, the Circus, begin the novel on the back foot, having suffered 'The Fall' (as Smiley calls Bill Haydon's betrayal), a dramatising of the Cambridge spy ring which culminated in Kim Philby's defection from Beirut in 1963.¹⁰⁴

The Honourable Schoolboy dramatizes the end of British political influence in Hong Kong and the Far East. It concerns the actions of the Hon. Jerry Westerby, impoverished aristocrat, part-time author, journalist and Circus agent, and his engagement in an operation codenamed 'Dolphin' designed to capture a Communist agent with ties to Sino-British businessman, Drake Ko. In the novel's complicated and convoluted plot, Dolphin is part of George Smiley's process of rebuilding the credibility and effectiveness of the Circus in the wake of the Haydon scandal.¹⁰⁵ The novel deliberately evokes Greene's *The Quiet American*, exploring the tension between British and American presence in the Far East with Westerby's pursuit of Ko taking him to Hong Kong, Laos and Cambodia.¹⁰⁶ Westerby, as a journalist and writer, shares similarities with Greene's Fowler, though by merging the figure of the journalist and spy le Carré ensures his reporter is explicitly *engagé*. However, where Fowler's reports are generally praised, when Westerby tries his hand at a novel he is told that '[N]obody has brought off the eastern novel recently, in my view. Greene managed it. If you can take Greene. I can't'.¹⁰⁷ By referencing Greene so directly, le Carré illustrates how radically the portrait of, and indeed interest in, the British

¹⁰² Le Carré's novels of this period notably all deal with either corrupt or venal politicians and agents; a sense of moral turpitude is revealed as pervading the British establishment. M. J. Aronoff, *The Spy Novels of John le Carré* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 142-143.

¹⁰³ In a chapter entitled 'The Barons Confer' Smiley meets with representatives of the colonial authority and the Foreign Office; it is mentioned how Colonial Governor Wilbraham is acutely aware of his status 'due to a growing shortage of colonies'. J. le Carré. *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London: Coronet, 2000), p. 206.

¹⁰⁴ Philby told his version of events in *My Secret War* (London: Granada, 1969) complete with an introduction written by his former wartime agent Graham Greene.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix I for full plot synopsis.

¹⁰⁶ American military presence in Laos and Cambodia, though officially denied at the time, had begun with various bombing missions and Special Forces incursions designed to frustrate North Vietnamese supply lines in 1971. A. Wiest. *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), p. 224.

¹⁰⁷ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 119.

subject abroad had altered in a further twenty years of global decline. Rather than the critical assessment of empire and colonialism, as well as anti-Americanism, associated with Greene's fiction, Westerby is encouraged towards the opposite by both his editor and his profession.

Unlike *The Quiet American*, in which the 'Old-Hand' of Empire is irritated at the naivety of American interference in colonial matters and seeks to reassert his position, *The Honourable Schoolboy* depicts a British intelligence presence in the Far East left financially bankrupt and operationally redundant. Where the novel begins with the closure of the British Secret Service headquarters in Hong Kong, it ends with the collapse and destruction of independent British intelligence network in the Far East. These are not unnecessarily emotive terms; having been outplayed politically by government men Lacon and Enderby, both of whom are adherents of the Special Relationship, Smiley's networks are rolled-up and British intelligence is traduced to the position of American supplicant.

In comparison to the other British colonies in Greene and Fleming's novels, Hong Kong occupies a unique place in British overseas possessions. In his travel volume *Thrilling Cities* (1963), Ian Fleming described Hong Kong as 'the last stronghold of feudal luxury in the world' however, he also praised its commitment to modernity; Fleming presents Hong Kong as an imperial city caught on the verge of modernisation, compounded by the disconcerting presence of 'six-hundred & fifty million Communist Chinese' just over the border.¹⁰⁸ The mix of imperial privilege, barely-concealed threat and a thoroughly business-driven culture had long defined Hong Kong since its foundation as a crown-colony in 1842 after the aggressive actions of the Royal Navy precipitated the Treaty of Nanking.¹⁰⁹ The seemingly traditional mix of violence, division and political double-dealing is central to Brendon's assessment of Hong Kong as forever a pawn in the Sino-British Great Game; a portrait le Carré similarly paints in *The Honourable Schoolboy*.

Although it possesses many of the hallmarks of British rule overseas le Carré depicts Hong Kong as a curious anomaly of colonial space; its status as a business

¹⁰⁸ I. Fleming. *Thrilling Cities* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Louis et al, *Oxford History of British Empire*, p. 110.

arrangement secured by lease makes Hong Kong radically different in character to a colony such as Sierra Leone or Jamaica. Colonial space in the Far East was never subject to the same civilising principles as British missions in Africa or India.¹¹⁰ Hong Kong also has the distinction of being the last remaining Asian possession of the empire; as such, le Carré uses it as a repository for all the worst of British excess, social division and spatial exclusion in the Far East.¹¹¹ For example, simultaneously evoking the fraught social world of Freetown in *The Heart of the Matter* and a world away from the stately club life Bond enjoys in Jamaica, le Carré depicts The Foreign Correspondent's Club as:

A score of journalists, mainly from former British colonies – Australian, Canadian, American – fooled and drunk in a mood of violent idleness... Luke was... an old man of twenty-seven... occupied with a Wanchai bar-girl called Ella for whose sake he had punched the pig policeman on the jaw and suffered the inevitable consequences with the minimum necessary force, the said Superintendent Rockhurst, otherwise known as the Rocker... had knocked him cold and kicked him smartly in the ribs.¹¹²

The club is site of material, sexual and social degradation set in a volatile space on the brink of anarchy.¹¹³ Secured by the abuse of power exemplified by the colonial caricature of the Rocker (a vicious counterpart to Scobie's well-meaning colonial policeman) the 'civilising' principles of empire appear abandoned in Hong Kong like so many former imperial territories. The club's atmosphere is riddled with internecine conflict which breaks apart the remnants of colonial, European or white solidarity; without the unifying principles of empire or an outlet for their energies, its subjects are left in a state of 'violent idleness', redundant, frustrated or ineffective in an era of imperial decline. Le Carré's Hong Kong represents the teleological endpoint of imperial governance; the decline of the empire in the post-war world first loses its values, its influence, order and finally its sovereignty.

¹¹⁰ H. Janin. *The India-China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Carolina: Jefferson Publishing, 1999), p. 99.

¹¹¹ J. Morris. *Hong Kong: Epilogue to an Empire* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 13.

¹¹² Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 18.

¹¹³ See chapter three for further analysis on the representation of gentlemen's clubs in espionage fiction.

Le Carré juxtaposes the undercurrent of violence in the club with that of the prestige of High Haven, the Circus' Hong Kong residence.¹¹⁴ The general atmosphere of decline relevant to the British position in the Far East is evident from the novel's opening chapters. Whereas Fleming and Greene's choice of colonial spaces are designed to signify British power and privilege, le Carré suggests that few traces of either remain in Hong Kong.

High Haven after all had been built by the Royal Navy in the Twenties in all the grand innocence of that service, to receive and impart a sense of power. But that afternoon...if the trees had not kept the fog out they would have had nothing to look at but the two white pillars with bell-buttons marked 'day' and 'night' and the chained gates they supported...They could pick out the drain pipes, fire escapes, and washing lines and they could admire the green dome which the Japanese army had added during their four year tenancy.¹¹⁵

Despite being situated on the exclusive Victoria Peak where 'even a couple of decades ago a person of Chinese race required a pass before he could set foot there', the journalists from the Foreign Correspondent's Club arrive at High Haven and find it deserted.¹¹⁶ In antithesis to the fashion that Fleming uses Richmond Road to signify all that is orderly about British presence in Jamaica, High Haven reveals the degraded position of British power in Hong Kong. Set back from the gates and shrouded in the fog that pervades many of le Carré's novels, the assembled journalists are able to pick out minor but telling details.¹¹⁷ Le Carré uses apparently incidental observations to describe the significance of High Haven's closure; for instance, the journalists note the drainpipes first, here representative of British influence and colonial prosperity literally going down the drain. The drainpipes are followed by the fire escape, which

¹¹⁴ Victoria Peak was and is the site of Hong Kong's elite. See B. Shelton *et al*, *The Making of Hong Kong: From Vertical to Volumetric* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).

¹¹⁵ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, pp. 27-28.

¹¹⁶ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 32. The line 'a couple of decades ago' suggests the 1950s, a period when Britain sought to re-inscribe its colonial power in Asia after Japanese occupation had ended.

¹¹⁷ See chapter three for further analysis of the prevalence of fog in le Carré's fiction; Thompson argues in *Crime, Fiction, Empire* that fog, as a staple of crime fiction especially found in the work of Arthur Conan Doyle, illustrates spy fiction's heritage (p. 61).

most obviously suggests the departure of the Circus personnel; rather than deal with the aftermath of the Circus' betrayal by Haydon, its agents have chosen to abandon their responsibilities and save themselves. Finally, the washing lines are indicative of the inevitable airing of the Circus' dirty linen in colonial society and a portent of how the Circus will, by the end of the novel, be figuratively hung out to dry by its government.

Further, le Carré includes various indicators of the British inability to protect and preserve colonial space. The Japanese army's occupation of Hong Kong during the Second World War is referenced, having left physical and memorial traces of its presence on the state and composition of post-war colonial space.¹¹⁸ That the evacuation of High Haven is not the first instance where the British administration has left Hong Kong acts, like much of the wider panorama of the post-war British empire and commonwealth, as a reminder of quite how impermanent and fallible the rule of British power can be. Similarly, le Carré alludes to the twin pillars of empire, that of trade and the import of British values, with his description of the gates.¹¹⁹ The two bells, for 'day' and 'night', evoke a past where the British establishment, and its espionage operatives, operated around the clock. One of the journalists tellingly presses the bell for night; le Carré suggests that with the end of British presence in Hong Kong the long period of imperial twilight has ended and that the sun has finally set on the empire. That the gates themselves remain locked places further emphasis on the illogical and disordered state of colonial space; the British administration still attempts to safeguard a space of no further benefit to them.

Given that le Carré presents Hong Kong in such an impoverished state, it begs the question of why Britain would wish to retain it as a colonial possession. The justification for expending the scant resources of Smiley's Circus in Hong Kong lies in the particular contextual circumstances surrounding le Carré's novel. Given the rapid decline of the Commonwealth during the 1960s, Brendon suggests that despite Hong Kong's status as a political and territorial liability, the desire to save face

¹¹⁸ Though perhaps not as shocking as the capitulation of Singapore in 1942, the loss of Hong Kong to the seemingly unstoppable advance of the Japanese Imperial Army was a major blow to British prestige in South East Asia. See P. Snow. *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese occupation* (Yale: University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁹ James, *Rise & Fall*, p. 184.

outweighed the strategic considerations of British withdrawal; faced with decline in the West, Britain clung to its Eastern outpost ever tighter.¹²⁰ Le Carré presents Hong Kong as a signifier of British conduct throughout the globe, explaining British international policy as a belligerent, reverse-form of domino theory, stating that:

[I]n times of travail, Britain's tendency was to rely more, not less, on spies. Her entire empire history urged her to do so. The thinner her trade routes, the more elaborate her clandestine efforts to protect them. The more feeble her colonial grip, the more desperate her subversion of those who tried to loosen it.¹²¹

Evoking the aggressive expansion of British interests in times past seems particularly appropriate given the precedent of Hong Kong's original capture.¹²² The actions of the Circus are carried out in the belief that if Hong Kong can be maintained then perhaps the standing of the nation can increase elsewhere as a consequence. Failing the increase in British influence, the most overriding concern of all, as evinced in Greene and Fleming, was the perceived need to remain relevant in the US dominated world. Operation Dolphin is intended both as a conciliatory gesture, designed to 'nurture the Special Relationship and revive the spirit of mutual confidence which existed before – Haydon', but also as a demonstration.¹²³ Again like Bond's missions to Jamaica, a core objective of Dolphin is to show Britain's American allies that Britain remained not only relevant but pre-eminent in the informal empire of post-war US hegemony. Le Carré recognises the slow inevitability of British decline as set in motion by the end of the Second World War and looks to satirise the position of the

¹²⁰ Brendon, *Decline & Fall*, p. 646. It is worth considering just how far Britain would go to save face a few years later in the armed dispute over the Falklands with Argentina. Incidentally the first time Britain had engaged in armed conflict without explicit US approval since Suez, perhaps the decision to go to war over the Falklands may, for many, be finally vindicated; recent reports suggest oil deposits in the Falkland vicinity. However, Anglo-Argentine relations over the Falklands have again begun to decline and at time of writing, the thirty year anniversary of the Falkland's conflict, Argentine ports are closed to ships flying the Falklands colours.

¹²¹ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 36.

¹²² It was only in 1898 that the lease agreement of 99 years was signed. See S. Tsang. *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (New York: I.B Taurus, 2007), pp. 37-38.

¹²³ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 215.

faded imperial power endeavouring to re-establish itself in a world so radically changed.¹²⁴

In typical le Carré fashion any hope of a positive outcome for the British secret service is rendered impossible by both their conduct and outmoded ideology. Whereas Bond was Fleming's way of illustrating how the middle-classes could serve the national cause through aspirational patriotism, le Carré intimates that the former governing class of Britain were primarily interested in serving themselves. In many respects, Jerry Westerby shares a great deal in common with Bill Haydon; le Carré's way of suggesting that despite his misconduct, many in the British establishment still endorsed the man if not his actions.¹²⁵ In terms of characterisation, le Carré's reference to Greene is deliberate; Westerby also has much in common with Fowler from *The Quiet American*.¹²⁶ Aside from the shared occupation as a reporter, Westerby illustrates and updates the Fowler figure's out of touch perspective and slackening grip on a changing colonial space. Both characters are caught up in situations that simultaneously expose the ruthlessness beneath their principles and the absurdity of their actions. Similarly, the degraded status of both Westerby and Fowler intimates that modern Asia is just as unwelcoming to the British as it was in the 1950s.

In updating the concerns of *The Quiet American*, le Carré draws focus on the contemporary state of US/UK relations in Asia, with specific, perhaps unavoidable, reference to the conflict in Vietnam. As British presence in the East contracted after the war, encouraged by the de-colonisation policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, American commitment grew stronger; guided by the principles of the Truman Doctrine, those of euro-containment applied to Asia, and the fears of the Domino Theory, American investment grew to approximately half-a-million men

¹²⁴ Le Carré explored similar themes in *The Looking Glass War* (1965). British governments too authorised various minor (and largely unsuccessful) military endeavours between the Suez Crisis and the Falklands Conflict to retain territorial and political control.

¹²⁵ Again, Greene's introduction to Philby's memoir stated his admiration for Philby's convictions, even if they weren't the right ones. See Philby, *My Silent War*, p. vi.

¹²⁶ Westerby is another of le Carré's 'establishment' characters like Bill Haydon and Jim Prideaux from *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974), as he put it 'trained to rule the waves' and out of place in contemporary geopolitics. J. le Carré. *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (London: William Clowes Limited, 1988), p. 70.

engaged in Vietnam at its largest point of mobilisation.¹²⁷ Despite Australian involvement under the ANZUS pact of 1951 and massively increased bombing campaigns, many years of attrition, growing popular unrest at home and the escalation of Sino-Soviet supplies to the North Vietnamese Army resulted in American reversal and humiliation culminating in 1975 with the fall of Saigon.¹²⁸

The motivation for the American-led breaking of British power in the East can be traced to non-intervention in Vietnam, and is included in le Carré's novel. Harold Wilson's refusal to directly involve Britain in Vietnam is the sticking point that chequers Anglo-American relations in *The Honourable Schoolboy*. After escaping from Laos having tracked down the source of the Soviet gold Nelson Ko is passing to Drake, Westerby is given refuge in a US Air Force base in Thailand:

The airbase was neither beautiful nor victorious. Technically, it was under Thai command, and in practice the Thais were allowed to collect the garbage and occupy the stockade close to the perimeter...It was not the biggest base. Jerry had seen larger. They passed lines of Phantoms and helicopters and as they approached the white huts he realised they comprised a separate spook encampment with their own compound...they entered by a side door...the short corridor was empty and soundless. A door stood ajar at the end of it, made of traditional fake rosewood.¹²⁹

Le Carré makes multiple references to the sense of detachment that pervades the air force base. The base is revealed as not only separated from its surroundings but inherently divided too, with internal distinctions made between regular air force personnel and the CIA agents present, officers and other ranks down to white and black servicemen; colonial space, even the supposedly democratic American variety, is just as divided as in Fleming or Greene's novels. The Air Force base is similarly detached from the conflict in Vietnam as it is from its immediate surroundings; much is made of how the base is 'soundless' and 'empty', as though occupation of overseas

¹²⁷ M. K. Hall. *The Vietnam War* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007), p. 41.

¹²⁸ C. M. Pugh. *The ANZUS Crisis* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989). The origins of the ANZUS pact began as a result of the British inability to protect Australia and New Zealand from the Japanese threat in 1941 and particularly after the fall of Singapore in February 1942.

¹²⁹ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, pp. 492-493.

territory contributes little to the defence of American interests. Much like Greene's intimation in *The Quiet American*, military or clandestine presence on foreign soil dissipates rather than strengthens the position of the occupying country.

Whilst at the base, Westerby hears news that Saigon has fallen to the North Vietnamese Army, ending the Vietnam War. True to his imperial pedigree, Westerby cannot help but have his moment of self-congratulation; looking out at the runway he watches American bombers take off: 'This is how they tried to win, Jerry thought: from inside soundproof rooms, through smoked glass, using machines at arm's length. This is how they lost'.¹³⁰ Again echoing Fowler's criticisms of Pyle in *The Quiet American*, Westerby is dismissive of American conduct in colonial space; he intimates that by remaining detached from the realities of colonial occupation and failing to integrate its presence with that of native space, the US loses its dominance in Asia. Le Carré's depiction of Westerby's smugness echoes Fowler's dismissive attitude to Pyle a generation before.

Despite the rapid contraction of empire in the interceding twenty years, British condescension towards American foreign policy remained as strong as ever. Myron J. Aronoff argues that le Carré's novels illustrate how 'envy and fear of America replace [British] faith in a decaying empire'.¹³¹ Le Carré suggests that for Westerby to dispense such a censorious verdict from his soundproofed vantage point on the US base is another example of British post-war hypocrisy. Le Carré criticises the British attitude that relishes the failure of other nations as a means of distracting attention from, or whilst choosing to ignore, its own. Similarly, Westerby denounces the spatially exclusive approach of US occupation seemingly without irony, without any recognition that the British administration in Asia has always practiced the same policy. In much the same fashion as Fowler is able to continually criticise the presence of American power whilst relying on its protection, Circus agents belittle American efforts in Vietnam whilst engaged in the operation that rolls up their own network; le Carré compounds Westerby's dismissive attitude with dramatic irony, providing the reader with the knowledge that Westerby's own actions help secure the decline of British power.

¹³⁰ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 496.

¹³¹ Aronoff. *The Spy Novels of John Le Carré*, pp. 142-143.

The Honourable Schoolboy illustrates the inherent danger of colonial self-delusion particular to British conduct in Asia. Despite being quick to assess the efforts of other nations as doomed to failure with typical world-weary sagacity, the British remain committed to maintaining control of their own eastern possessions through clandestine means. Operation Dolphin is illustrative of the double-bind that British power in Asia encounters; to continue is impossible but to retreat would be unthinkable. Despite knowing that complete control of Hong Kong is illusory, the British have no option but to pursue power regardless, aware that despite their efforts true command eludes them. As Craw, a long-term agent in China, explains to new recruits at the Sarrat, the Circus training school:

We colonise them, your graces, we corrupt them, we exploit them, we bomb them, sack their cities, ignore their culture and confound them with the infinite variety of our religious sects... Yet when we have done our worst, and more than our worst, my sons, we have barely scratched the surface of the Asian smile.¹³²

Le Carré lays bare any pretence of British presence in the East being part of the civilising mission of empire. Craw's speech is recognition that British control of Hong Kong and the engagement in Operation Dolphin is not to affirm the Special Relationship, but rather represents the pursuit of national self-interest. Craw's speech to new recruits perpetuates the misguided efforts of the British and the futility of their endeavour; in spite of the combined assault by British force, culture, morals, church and state, true mastery and knowledge of the East is seemingly unattainable.

Le Carré also reinforces the artificiality of power in British Asia through Craw's reference to the tropes of unknowable Oriental space and the inscrutability of its inhabitants. In doing so, the 'East' that Britain covets is rendered as illusory as their control of it. Colonial space in *The Honourable Schoolboy* is mimetic, malleable and produced. Hong Kong is produced by reflecting the divisions of British society and instating them within colonial space, to the point where any hope of connecting with

¹³² Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 223.

an 'authentic' China (if such a thing exists) is impossible. For example, as Craw visits one of his sleeper-agents he considers himself to be 'in China here...the China he loved most, and China was waking for the festival of night: singing, honking, wailing, beating gongs, bargaining...watching motionless from doorways how delicately the fancy-looking foreign devil picked his way among them'.¹³³ Craw immerses himself in China but never connects with it, always excluded by his self-imposed distinction.

Similarly, le Carré questions the existence of British power outside of colonial space, intimating that a colonial space produces only symbolic power. As Westerby leaves Hong Kong for Bangkok on the trail of the Soviet gold seam, he considers the colony he is leaving behind:

When you leave Hong Kong it ceases to exist. When you have passed the last Chinese policeman in British ammunition boots and puttees, and held your breath as you race sixty foot above the grey slum rooftops, when the out-islands have dwindled into the blue mist, you know that the curtain has been run down, the props cleared away and the life you lived there was all illusion.¹³⁴

Hong Kong is a blank canvas in le Carré's novel; a cipher for whatever solipsistic imagining of colonial space it is required to be at the given time. It is Craw's romantic, 'authentic' China of peasants and slums, the fool's paradise of the Foreign Correspondent's Club, the privileged, moneyed environs of Ko's penthouse or race track, and none of them at once. British Hong Kong is a hybrid space of imitation, exclusion and inclusion and racial division; like Africa for Greene, the possibilities, potential fortunes and identities that may be formed in Hong Kong are fluid and dangerously susceptible to the methods used to secure them.

Le Carré's novel exposes the overarching paradox of colonial possession; that in spite of all the exertion necessary to maintain Hong Kong and secure a British presence in Asia, Britain itself is no more secure as a result. Colonial space does not increase the strength of a nation but instead leaves it all the more vulnerable by exposing it to

¹³³ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 223.

¹³⁴ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 373.

attack over a wider area. The export of violence to colonies does not render the home isles safer but rather demands that more and more territory be defended to the same degree. The widespread international commitments that Barnett identifies in post-war British foreign policy fail to secure the continued relevance of the empire; in many cases they even serve to accelerate the process of inevitable decline, exacerbating the existing deterioration of power. As le Carré writes of Westerby: 'He had never seriously doubted, in his vague way, that his country was in a state of irreversible decline, nor that his own class was to blame for the mess'.¹³⁵ The dispassionate tone of the novel gives its proceedings an air of historical inevitability, that Hong Kong and the American-induced end of colonial sovereignty in the East is the closing chapter in a story of imperial reverse that began in 1776.

Conclusion.

Twentieth-century espionage fiction has nearly always been associated with foreign spaces and the preservation of British power abroad. Likewise, the pre-war conception of Britishness was one based on the signification of prestige and power inherent to the possession of an overseas empire. However, as a result of the decline in British economic and military power after the Second World War and the ascendancy of America as a global superpower, colonial responsibility, the so-called 'white man's burden', passed largely to the United States. Though Britain would continue to fight what were essentially 'colonial wars' in a variety of Asian and African countries throughout the 1950s and 1960s, America would take the most prominent role in preserving former colonial spaces from the spread of Communism. The spy fiction of Greene, Fleming and le Carré illustrates the way in which this transferral of power influenced the portrayal of British identity and the ways in which Britain attempted to remain relevant throughout the Cold War by reconfiguring colonial space to support the American-led defence of the western world.

The reliance on the myth of a colonial Empire, like that associated with the Second World War, became as equally debilitating for Britain as it was cohesive. As the

¹³⁵ Le Carré, *Honourable Schoolboy*, p. 509.

1950s gave way to the 1960s, the notion of national and international solidarity as built on an overseas empire grew to be less about protection and more about prohibition. The narrative arc in le Carré's 1970s Karla trilogy goes on to illustrate how Britain's interests across the world are sidelined through over emphasis on the wartime Special Relationship, as begun in *The Honourable Schoolboy*; pursuing parity with the United States only results in Britain being forced to make further political and sovereign concessions. However, British colonial interests would again come to the fore only a few years later in the Falklands conflict of 1982. Beginning with her speech to the Cheltenham Ladies College in July of that year and repeatedly throughout her first term of prime ministerial office, Margaret Thatcher would manage to rearticulate anew not only the rhetoric of British war myth but also that of nationalism with a colonial edge.¹³⁶ Raphael Samuel and Angus Calder both argue how Thatcher's speeches drew on the imagery of 'Churchillianism'; harmonising the modern and the traditional in order to manufacture the perception of social consensus.¹³⁷ Thatcher's assessment that '[T]he lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history' is one that would not have seemed out of place a generation, or a century, earlier.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ M. Thatcher. *The Collected Speeches of Margaret Thatcher* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 189.

¹³⁷ A. Calder. *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), pp. xiv-xv. R. Samuel. *Island Stories: Theatres of Memory Vol. II* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 333. Thatcher's 'Churchillianism' sought to embody both the wartime spirit and Churchill's belief in a strong overseas empire. In terms of contemporary fiction, David Lodge's memoir of wartime and post-war life, *Out of the Shelter* (1970), was revised in 1984 and published with a new introduction. Lodge explains his decision to amend his text, stating that the war and the idea of Empire had taken on a new found relevance after the Falklands and the way in which 'all the old feelings soon stirred up again'. D. Lodge. *Out of the Shelter* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p. ix.

¹³⁸ Taken from www.margaretthatcher.org. Accessed 3/12/2011.

New Jerusalem Mapped? – Overview & Conclusion.

The espionage fiction of Graham Greene, Ian Fleming and John le Carré published between 1945 and 1979 is, like the contextual circumstances that influenced its production, illustrative of various discontinuities, disjunctions and paradoxes related to space, sovereignty and national identity in post-war Britain. That spy fiction became a cultural space in which to dramatise national concerns during an era of great social and political change is not in question; however, contrary to much of the existing criticism of the genre, spy fiction was not simply a vehicle for post-war jingoism or strident anti-Communism. Rather, this thesis has demonstrated that spy fiction addresses more complex contemporary fears in relation to the preservation of spatial sovereignty throughout a range of environments. Similarly, rather than the spy acting as a corrective force, reinforcing British power, reiterating a unified British identity and securing control over space, the spy is instead responsible for a paradox in which his actions continually undermine the values he is supposed to preserve; instead of securing sovereignty, the spy infiltrates, destabilises and compromises sovereign space and power again and again.

The interrelation of space, sovereignty and power which characterised the Second World War was preserved in the pages of popular post-war fiction and would exert a tangible influence upon the work of Greene, Fleming and le Carré. The memorial culture of post-war Britain that developed in the wake of the Second World War would similarly influence the construction of British identity and the composition of space in a variety of ways, both empowering and debilitating, for decades to follow. The spy fiction of Greene, Fleming and le Carré all illustrate the way in which the connection between individual memory and historical values of nationhood were engendered via the production or perceived signification of space. In Fleming's novels, memorial space acts as a portal through which either the spy's particular experience or contemporary actions are connected to those of universal historical narrative. By placing the spy in spaces of historical significance, Fleming's espionage fiction depicts a process by which the past and present are combined in the post-war period. By connecting memory and history through space, spies are induced to continue spying; their actions, though performed in an uncertain moral climate, are

legitimated through association with the past defence of the nation, both recent and historic. Differing from Fleming, Greene and le Carré place the values of the past in contemporary space in order to illustrate the danger inherent to their continual and unquestioning preservation. The work of both Greene and le Carré demonstrates how over-emphasising the nation's wartime past has an increasingly damaging effect on post-war Britain to the point where British actions become politically outmoded and dangerously hubristic.

The national over-emphasis on Britain's wartime role most notably influenced the representation of contemporary geopolitics in spy fiction. On a national and international scale, namely in relation to the changing place of the nation in relation to America and Soviet Russia, the maintenance of British power and the ideals of Britishness at the end of the Second World War were linked both to the continued occupation of European territory in Germany and Austria and also to the defence of the home isles. The actions of spies in Greene, le Carré and Fleming's novels produce varied and often unintentionally detrimental effects on British territory whilst pursuing the preservation of power and the fortification of space. Greene demonstrates the ineffective nature of British measures to preserve spatial boundaries in the face of burgeoning Russian belligerence in Europe, indicating a deep vulnerability behind the façade of British power. Similarly, Fleming's representation of Kent and Britain is also compromised by Soviet activity, with enemy agents at large within the nation's boundaries. Le Carré's illustration of British presence in Germany in the late 1960s represents the end-result of these post-war attitudes to space and power; British attempts at remaining relevant in Europe result only in a divided and divisive presence abroad.

Given the changing international status of Britain, Fleming, Greene and le Carré were also concerned with the rapid alteration to domestic space, most notably taking place in relation to the city and to constructions of home. The preoccupation with urban and domestic space in post-war spy fiction represents a reflection of both the importance of and difference in social attitudes to rebuilding and reconstruction after the privations of the 1940s as well as the significance of 'New Jerusalem' in contemporary political and popular discourse. The widespread destruction of the Second World War meant that the concerns of both redeveloping city space and

improving housing were indelibly linked in the British consciousness and would in turn find expression throughout popular fiction after the war. London in particular was a space made representative of national resistance and British identity during the war through a range of propaganda, literature and other media; similarly, many of the same publications and productions that exhorted the nation to keep going throughout the war stated that the rewards of peacetime would be those of domestic comfort and security realised in New Jerusalem.

Greene, Fleming and le Carré reflected the concerns of their audiences by placing them at the forefront of their narratives; in the spy novels of each author, the fight for freedom so often begins at home. However, the process of fighting for freedom in espionage fiction proves paradoxical and counterproductive, as is the case with the spy's defence of the domestic environment. The actions of the spy continually dissolve the peace he is charged with preserving, either through undermining the principles of domestic security or in provoking retaliation as he undermines the security of others. Instead of securing and enjoying domestic space and the increasing affluence of post-war Britain, the spy remains constantly engaged in a fight for what he cannot attain. Similarly, Greene, Fleming and le Carré all reveal the way in which London and urban space is both never secure and never a singular, knowable community. Rather, city space is a production comprised of various layers of experience; London is not a singular, fixed sovereign entity but a shifting multiplicity of individual perceptions of space continually changing and constantly under threat. As a result of this fluid composition of city space the secret services in each author's fiction are often rendered at odds with the city they are entrusted to protect, being at once within London and outside of it also.

Despite this preoccupation with home, twentieth-century espionage fiction never lost its association with foreign spaces and the preservation of British power abroad. British efforts to preserve sovereign power in national and international arenas are revealing of the way in which the spy novels of Greene, Fleming and le Carré repeatedly engage with a key spatial motif of the genre, that of travel and technology. In post-war spy fiction, foreign and domestic travel is used in various ways, either as a means of acknowledging the declining British capacity to police its overseas territories, as a device by which to demonstrate British superiority in terms of

technological design or to provide vicarious pleasure for a readership seeking escapism. Similarly, increased social and physical mobility as a result of economic policy and infrastructural redevelopment illustrated how much the social landscape of Britain had altered in the years since the end of the Second World War and how the availability of transport had increased access to spaces both foreign and domestic. However, despite often fulfilling expectations of the espionage genre associated with travel, those of exotic travel or the allure of fast cars, the novels of Fleming, Greene and le Carré also illustrate the way in which transient spaces resist control and instead allow for the subversion and circumvention of power. Instead of being a means of enabling rapid speed of movement and efficient preservation of power, travel technology in the form of ships, aeroplanes, trains and motor vehicles are all used against the spy to frustrate his actions.

Even in an era of economic and military decline, the understanding of Britain as a global power derived from national involvement in the control of overseas territory and a responsibility for world affairs remained strong. Greene, Fleming and le Carré would respond to this association in a variety of ways, reflecting and critically engaging with popular attitudes towards the loss of former colonies and the simultaneous ascendancy of America as the world's foremost superpower. Each author would depict the way in which British spies would contribute to the reinvigoration of colonial space as a means of making Britain an active participant alongside America in the Cold War, albeit most often with ultimately negative consequences. Far from the traditional perception that Britain's colonial empire was a key safeguard to national interests, the bulwark of popular imagination, Greene, Fleming and le Carré all illustrate the ways in which efforts to preserve control over colonial space weaken the British nation and increase the position of America. Indeed, the irony common to Greene, Fleming and le Carré's novels concerning colonial space is that despite dramatising fears of Soviet threats to British sovereignty, the dissolution of Empire was ultimately the doing of Britain's closest ally, the United States.

This thesis has demonstrated the way in which popular espionage fiction of the post-war period contains a variety of spatial and sovereign paradoxes related to the preservation and propagation of British power. Contrary to the popular expectations

of the genre, post-war spy fiction continually concerns the frustration, subversion and shortcomings of British actions and their effect on British national identity; though spies such as Bond and Smiley are often successful in preventing various plots against the nation come to fruition, their efforts to do so rarely secure British power or territory for long nor do they ever reverse or even appear to arrest national decline. Similarly, the novels of Fleming, Greene and le Carré explicitly question the popular perception of selflessness associated with the spy's actions; instead of positioning the spy as the staunch defender of British moral and legal values, each author highlights the ethical, philosophical and operational ambiguities inherent to spying, repeatedly demonstrating how in order to maintain the integrity of British sovereignty the spy must continually destabilise the sovereign space of other nations.

Appendix I: Plot Summaries by Author.

Ian Fleming:

Casino Royale (1953): Bond is instructed to take on a prominent French Communist, Le Chiffre ('the cipher' or 'number'), at the Baccarat tables of the Royale with a view to bankrupting his operation. Avoiding three attempts on his life and an extended bout of torture, Bond ultimately succeeds in relieving Le Chiffre and the Communist party of forty-million Francs. After recuperating, Bond retreats with Vesper Lynd, a fellow British agent and the novel's principal love interest, to a guest-house overlooking a nearby bay. Lynd is there revealed to have been blackmailed into working as a mole and takes her own life at the novel's end.

Diamonds are Forever (1956): Bond is instructed to investigate a diamond smuggling ring operating between Sierra Leone, London, New York and Las Vegas by posing as a smuggler himself and infiltrating the American crime syndicate responsible. After a variety of encounters involving gangster's moll Tiffany Case, Las Vegas crime family the Spangled Mob and Felix Leiter, former CIA agent now working for Pinkerton's security, Bond successfully halts the smuggling operation, rescues Tiffany and returns to England by ocean liner, the *Queen Elizabeth*.

Dr. No (1958): Bond is sent to Jamaica on convalescent leave after his recovery from his poisoning at the hands of SMERSH in *From Russia With Love* (1957). Whilst there, he is instructed to investigate the disappearance of the Jamaican Section Chief Commander Strangeways and gather what intelligence he can on the owner of a nearby island and Guano plant, the mysterious Dr. Julius No. Soon after his arrival in Jamaica, Bond is embroiled in Dr. No's plan to disrupt American missile tests over Jamaica, ultimately killing No and stopping his nefarious scheme.

From Russia, with Love (1957): In an attempt to discredit and disgrace the British Secret Service, SMERSH decides to publicly humiliate Bond. A cipher clerk, Tatiana Romanova, is sent to Istanbul with orders to defect and seduce Bond in the process; she is given a SPEKTOR encryption machine as bait. SMERSH simultaneously

orders their chief executioner, 'Red' Grant, to assassinate Bond and Romanova once the pair have been filmed making love through a two-way mirror and thus providing material for blackmail. In the book's conclusion they attempt to escape to Paris aboard the Orient Express, travelling undercover as a married couple. In the climactic final chapters, Bond manages to overpower Grant and the couple escape to Paris; however, once there Bond is poisoned by Rosa Klebb and ends the novel unconscious.

Goldfinger (1959): Bond is tasked with investigating the activities of Britain's richest man, Auric Goldfinger. It transpires that Goldfinger is the international treasurer for SMERSH and is at the head of an elaborate plot to steal the American gold reserves held in Fort Knox, thus devaluing the Dollar and, by extension, crippling the world economy. Bond infiltrates his organisation, is captured but, with the help of Felix Leiter, defeats Goldfinger and saves Fort Knox.

Live & Let Die (1954): Bond is sent to New York to investigate SMERSH agent and Harlem gang-boss, Mr. Big. With CIA agent Felix Leiter's help, Bond tracks Mr. Big's organisation through Florida to Jamaica where Mr. Big and his men are smuggling 17th century gold coins into the USA. Bond eventually defeats Mr. Big with the help of frenzied piranhas and Quarrel, his Cayman Islander guide.

Moonraker (1955): Bond is given a mission to investigate a murder at the site of Britain's entry into the nuclear arms race, the eponymous 'Moonraker', developed by businessman and social-climber Hugo Drax. After first beating him at cards in Blades, Bond discovers that Drax is a former Nazi spy now engaged in a plot to destroy London as revenge for Germany losing the war. At the end of the novel Drax is defeated when Bond and Gala Brand sabotages the gyroscope of the Moonraker to land in the channel, preventing Drax's escape by submarine.

On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1963): Bond continues to search for Blofeld after the events of *Thunderball*. His investigations bring him into contact with Corsican gangster Marc Ange Draco who offers to help Bond find Blofeld if Bond were to marry Draco's depressive daughter, Tracy. Bond eventually finds Blofeld in Switzerland where he is preparing to attack Britain's agricultural economy by

brainwashing girls who suffer from food allergies; allegedly curing them through hypnosis, Blofeld intends instead to psychologically condition them before sending the girls home unwittingly carrying biological agents. Bond attacks Blofeld's base with the help of Draco but Blofeld escapes. At the novel's end Bond and Tracy, recently married, are departing for their honeymoon when they are attacked by Blofeld and Irma Bunt; Tracy is killed in the ensuing gunfight.

Quantum of Solace: The Complete James Bond Short Stories: Nine short stories previously published in separate volumes, including *For Your Eyes Only* (1960) and the separately after Fleming's death in 1964.

The Man with the Golden Gun (1965): After his mysterious disappearance at the end of *You Only Live Twice*, Bond arrives in London, having been brainwashed by the KGB, and attempts to kill M. Rehabilitated by the MI6 doctors, Bond is given a mission to redeem himself in which he must find and kill Francisco Scaramanga, allegedly the best gunman in the world. Again with the help of Felix Leiter, Bond tracks Scaramanga to Jamaica where he eventually kills him.

The Spy Who Loved Me (1962): The one Bond novel that does not feature Bond as its central protagonist. Vivienne Michel is left in charge of the motel she works at in the remote north-east of New York State. Two gangsters arrive to burn down the motel in order to claim the insurance money; Vivienne is to die in the fire and take the blame in the process. Just as the men are about to kill her, Bond happens to pass by claiming a flat tyre. Bond kills both men in the ensuing struggle and spends the night with Vivienne, leaving before she wakes.

Thunderball (1961): Bond is charged with retrieving two nuclear weapons stolen by SPECTRE, a criminal organisation headed by Ernst Stavros Blofeld which is holding the British government to ransom. Bond must track down the bombs in the Bahamas before the deadline or Blofeld will destroy two major cities. With the aid of Felix Leiter, Bond tracks the bombs to Emile Largo; they eventually fight during which Largo is killed by his erstwhile girlfriend, Domino, and Bond's mission is successful.

You Only Live Twice (1964): Bond is given a final chance by M to atone for a string of recent mistakes made whilst on missions and prove that he is still useful to MI6. It is revealed that Bond has been suffering psychological trauma after the death of his wife at the hands of Ernst Stavro Blofeld in retribution for Bond's actions against SPECTRE in *Thunderball* (1961) and *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1963). M sends Bond to Japan to gather information regarding a cryptographic machine code-named Magic 44. When he makes contact with Tiger Tanaka, head of the Japanese Secret Service, Tanaka agrees to give Bond the information on condition that he eliminates a Dr. Guntram Shatterhand, ostensibly a Swiss botanist carrying out biological research, who has created a 'garden of death' on the southern island of Japan, Kyushu. It transpires that Shatterhand is actually Blofeld and Bond recognises an opportunity to simultaneously take his revenge and complete his mission.

Graham Greene:

Our Man in Havana (1958): James Wormold, an ex-pat vacuum salesman, is recruited by the British secret service in Cuba; not possessing any knowledge or experience of espionage, he invents agents and fakes intelligence (by photographing magnified parts of his vacuum cleaner) which convinces his London handlers that the Cuban rebels are assembling a nuclear device as a result of Soviet assistance. Soon, however, his invented agents start taking on lives of their own and the situation spirals out of Wormold's control. With the assistance of his MI6 secretary he manages to kill a would-be assassin, foil the local chief of police's plan to marry his daughter and send a microfilm back to London (which later turns out to be over-exposed). Recalled to London seemingly in disgrace, he is instead given a medal and a teaching position to cover-up the way he had taken in his Secret Service handlers.

The Heart of the Matter (1948): Major Henry Scobie, chief of police in Sharptown Sierra Leone, struggles daily to prevent the network of criminality, corruption and smuggling run by the colony's Syrian community whilst also trying to maintain his unhappy marriage and fend off the social snobberies of the English expat community. During the course of the novel, Scobie finds his resolve weakened by various incidents which in turn cause him to question his principles. He eventually begins an affair with the widowed survivor of a shipwreck, Helen Rolt. The affair with Helen

precipitates a far greater relaxation of Scobie's morality and soon he finds himself accepting gratuities from Yusef, a Syrian shopkeeper and local petty criminal involved in diamond smuggling. Scobie's actions eventually cause the death of his house-boy which in turn prompts his decision to commit suicide and leave the insurance payout to ensure his wife's future security.

The Human Factor (1978): Maurice Castle, a world-weary member of MI6's Africa Section, is made aware of a sensitive security plan developed between Britain, South Africa and the United States to use tactical nuclear weapons in sub-Saharan Africa in the event of war. Castle, a former field operative forced to flee apartheid South Africa with his black African wife Sarah and her child, is eventually revealed as a double agent reporting to the KGB; his family's safe passage out of Africa having been part of the deal that 'turned' him. Castle eventually flees London with the help of his Communist handler and finishes the novel living a bleak existence in Moscow.

The Quiet American (1955): Set against American intervention in French Indochina during the early 1950s, Alden Pyle is sent to Saigon as part of the American Aid Legation; the posting is a cover for his espionage activities which involve the promotion of a 'third force' to settle the conflict between French imperialism and growing Vietnamese nationalism. Once there Pyle meets British reporter Thomas Fowler. Pyle falls in love with Fowler's Vietnamese mistress, Phuong, and proposes marriage to her. The rivalry between the two men causes Fowler to research more deeply into Pyle's activities and he discovers that Pyle and the CIA are supplying weapons to a Vietnamese warlord, General Thé. After it is revealed that Pyle had organised a bomb attack which accidentally kills a number of civilians instead of nationalists, Fowler takes action through his Viet-Minh contacts which eventually results in Pyle's murder.

The Third Man (1949): Pulp-fiction writer Rollo Martins is invited to Vienna by old school-friend Harry Lime. Martins arrives in Vienna to find Lime apparently deceased. Disbelieving of British Colonel and chief of police Calloway's accusations against Lime, Martins resolves to discover the true circumstances of Lime's supposed death and clear his friend's name. In doing so, Martins uncovers a conspiracy involving the sale of black-market penicillin with his friend Lime at its head. As

Martins' knowledge of Lime's activities grows, he allies himself with Calloway and the British Military Authority in Vienna to track Lime to the sewers, where he is eventually shot and killed whilst trying to reach the Russian zone.

John Le Carré:

A Murder of Quality (1962): George Smiley is asked to investigate a murder at a prestigious private school by an old friend. After various investigations, he discovers a blackmail plot against one of the schoolmasters over alleged homosexuality during the war.

A Small Town in Germany (1968): The novel concerns the British diplomatic establishment in the West German capital of Bonn and a missing employee named Leo Harting. In a volatile atmosphere of political demonstration by German left and right-wing groups, Harting disappears with unspecified confidential information. The loss of sensitive material places the British delegation in a compromising position with regard to the major political figures of the rising German nationalist movement. The British Foreign Office sends Alan Turner, an MI6 operative, to track down the missing man and files. In his pursuit of Harting, Turner discovers that Harting had found evidence that exposed German nationalist leader Klaus Karfeld as responsible for testing poison gas on Jewish internees during the war. The Jewish Harting attempts to assassinate Karfeld in retribution but is himself killed in the process and the evidence is presumably covered up to avoid diplomatic incident.

Call for the Dead (1961): The first of le Carré's novels concerns George Smiley's efforts to discover the truth of fellow Circus agent Samuel Fennan's apparent suicide. After an accusation of treachery is made against Fennan, Smiley conducts a vetting interview in which Fennan is cleared. However, a few days later he is found dead. During his investigation, Smiley discovers that Fennan's wife, Elsa, is in fact an East German spy working for Dieter Frey, a former agent of Smiley's during the war, now a senior East German spymaster. Eventually, they confront one another on Battersea Bridge and Smiley kills Frey by pushing him into the river during a struggle.

The Honourable Schoolboy (1977): The Hon. Jerry Westerby, impoverished aristocrat, part-time author, journalist and Circus agent, is assigned by George Smiley to an operation codenamed 'Dolphin' designed to capture a Communist agent with ties to Sino-British businessman, Drake Ko. In the novel's complicated and convoluted plot, Dolphin is part of George Smiley's process of rebuilding the credibility and effectiveness of the Circus in the wake of the Haydon scandal. However, at the novel's climax, Smiley is double-crossed by ministers Lacon and Enderby who allow the CIA to capture Ko themselves in the interest of rebuilding the post-Vietnam Special Relationship.

The Looking Glass War (1965): A novel mainly about inter-service rivalry that results in the staging of an ill-planned and ill-executed commando operation behind the East German border. *The Looking Glass War* concerns an unnamed branch of the secret service, known as the Department, which has not had a success since the end of the war; they recall a former operative, Fred Leiser, and train him for a mission near Rostock. However, given sub-standard equipment by the Circus (who wish to close the Department down) and as result of their own inept planning, Leiser is swiftly captured, presumed killed and the Department rolled up.

The Spy Who Came in from the Cold (1963): Alec Leamas, 'burnt-out' head of the West Berlin station, returns to Britain after his network of East German agents is rolled up by his opposite number, Hans Mundt of the Abteilung. The Circus and Control ask Leamas to agree to a final mission, namely to provide false information to the Abteilung that would implicate Mundt as a British double agent and thereby result in his execution by the East German government. Leamas fakes a decline into alcoholism and appears to be dismissed from the Service as a means of appearing ready to defect. Leamas is later taken to East Germany where he is interrogated by Mundt's deputy, Fiedler, before then being used as a witness in a show trial against Mundt. It transpires that Mundt is a British double agent after all and that the real target of the Circus' operation was Fiedler, who already suspected Mundt's deception and had to be silenced. In the novel's conclusion, Mundt orders Leamas and Liz Gold, an English Communist and Leamas' lover, to be shot whilst attempting to escape into West Berlin.

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy (1974): After various intelligence failures abroad, including the shooting and capture of agent Jim Prideaux, evidence is discovered that suggests a mole within the British Secret Service. Brought out of retirement, Smiley is instructed to find the mole as discreetly as possible and investigates four potential candidates, all of whom hold senior positions within the service. He eventually lays a trap for the mole and discovers it is Bill Haydon; a long-serving intelligence officer loosely based on Kim Philby.

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