

## 8 Everything Must Go

### Popularity and the Postcolonial Novel

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It is a fact of history that the state of the British Empire and the idea of what it meant to be British in a global context altered dramatically in the two decades following the Suez Crisis of 1956. The loss of power, prestige and influence inherent to the maintenance of Empire, deftly re-named the Commonwealth in 1952, meant that, in the decade that followed Suez, the remaining British possessions around the globe steadily began to drop away. The period after Suez represents a time of intense and concentrated change, one in which the post-war era shifted suddenly and swiftly into a postcolonial one. However, as Ania Loomba quite rightly posits, ‘we might ask not only when does the postcolonial begin, but where is postcoloniality to be found?’<sup>1</sup>

As well as in the former colonies of the British Empire, the exploration of postcoloniality in the 1960s and 1970s was to be found in the literary output of some of Britain’s best, and most popular, contemporary novelists. Novels that dealt with evidently imperial themes were both commercially and critically popular in this period. For instance, it is a further fact of history that, in the first ten years of the Booker Prize, a prize dedicated to recognising ‘the best’ in literary fiction, seven of the winning novels were concerned with postcolonial themes and the shifting sands of Empire, both past and present, with three of these relating to India in particular.<sup>2</sup> These high-profile literary successes were representative of a more general turn towards fictions of Empire and after, with authors composing a cross section of class, gender and ethnicity choosing to engage with the Imperial legacy of Britain in a variety of ways. As such, the popular novel in this period can also be assessed as an inherently political one, with interest in how Britain’s colonial actions had shaped the modern world intensifying in reaction to events on a national and global scale.

However, the resurgence of colonial themes in British fiction in this period and their enthusiastic reception on the part of the public that received them – a trend that Salman Rushdie would later call ‘Raj revivalist’ – also owed a great deal to the long and established history of colonial writing and the deep-rooted publication culture that arose specifically from British experiences of India since the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

This combination of narrative and commerce is in many ways fitting; along with romance, India had always meant big business to Britain and the British Empire. The accumulation of wealth was the principal objective of colonialism, from the early and ad hoc days of British visits to trading outposts on India's western coast in the 1630s through to the concern over nationalist agitation within the cotton industry in the 1930s.<sup>4</sup> It is perhaps unsurprising then that textual production and the publishing industry was just as lucrative a pursuit for Anglo-Indians as any other. Historians and critics, including Ralph Crane and Simon Gikandi, have recognised the long association between India and textual production, with Gikandi in particular noting the ease with which the colonial narrative, and indeed the grand narrative of imperialism, has been translated into fictional and factual publications.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, a cursory examination of the British Library's current holdings reveals the multitude of letters, diaries, memoirs, journals, guides, how-tos, histories, novels, poetry, romances and, of course, seemingly unending official documentation relating to India and Anglo-Indian society.<sup>6</sup> This raft of documents suggests that the British relationship to India had always been maintained as much by its textuality as its physical tangibility; in the years after independence, as the reality of Empire slipped swiftly into myth, never was this more apparent.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter will explicitly engage with the popular representation of India in a range of fiction drawn from the 1970s, a decade of political disintegration and decline that, in turn, fostered a resurgent interest in Britain's imperial past. With equal emphasis on works that dealt directly with colonial and postcolonial India, I will argue that a range of post-imperial and postcolonial novelists of the 1970s employed and revisited various popular literary forms in order to critically engage with the legacy, history and culture of the British Empire. The chapter will be divided into two distinct, but contiguous, sections. The first will consider prize-winning fictions by Ruth Praver Jhabvala and Paul Scott that concern postcolonial themes, examining the role and status of the Britons who remained in India after independence. The second will explore the way in which J.G. Farrell, himself a Booker Prize winner, and George MacDonald Fraser both use popular forms such as the adventure novel and memoir to explore postcolonial themes and to comment on Britain's present through focus on its past.

John Storey identifies four main ways of determining what is meant by the term 'popular culture.' According to Storey it can variously signify cultural products that are well or widely liked and thus possess a quantitative dimension in terms of sales, as a form of culture 'left over' after what constitutes 'high culture' has been decided, as a mass culture that relies on the passivity of a non-discriminating audience, and finally as a culture that emerges from the people as a sort of folk art.<sup>8</sup> This chapter adopts a mixture of these critical positions in its understanding of the

term ‘popular.’ In the first instance, it reflects the quantitative approach and will refer to those signifiers of literary or cultural esteem bestowed upon a work of fiction in the form of critical or public acclaim, sales or reputation. Second, it will refer to the form of the text itself and in particular to its choice of literary mode, convention or style. As the chapter will illustrate, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive, and a work can be critically acclaimed whilst written in a deliberately ‘low cultural’ or even ‘middlebrow’ fashion (in the case of J.G. Farrell’s *The Siege of Krishnapur*), just as much as it can be critically marginalised yet consistently popular with a reading public (such as G.M. Fraser’s *Flashman* series).

When it comes to the novels under discussion, the line between these various categories is often (deliberately) blurred by the authors in question, either as a comment on the publishing culture that exists around Britain’s former colonial Empire or the modes of storytelling and narrative transmission that it generated throughout its long history. In light of this understanding, the chapter will explore the politics of popularity and their relationship to the postcolonial novel. I will illustrate how the critiques of Empire engaged in by Fraser, Scott and others are tempered by ambiguity; the re-engagement with established popular form through the inclusion of irony, subtlety of authorial voice and humour means that whilst at first glance these novels may appear and read in a fairly innocuous manner, closer inspection reveals that they are engaged in a far more concerted critique of Empire.

### **Empire and After: Ruth Praver Jhabvala, Paul Scott and ‘The end of a long, inarticulate love’<sup>9</sup>**

In August 1947, the declaration of Indian Independence brought three hundred years of British colonial presence in the subcontinent to an end. However, the finality suggested by the process of partition and British withdrawal from government did not extend to Anglo-Indian society, and a large proportion of Britons living in India at the end of the Raj decided to stay on, either reluctant or unwilling to give up the lives in India to which they had become accustomed. In many cases, this was the only way of life they had ever known. The post-war growth of the Anglo-Indian novel in the decades after independence also reflected the continued British attachment to its Indian Empire. Though the 1940s and 1950s were a comparatively quiet period for new Anglo-Indian fictions to that of the 1970s, John Masters’s series of novels began a new era in Anglo-Indian fiction, bringing him fame and popularity in the United States as well as in Britain.<sup>10</sup> Masters’s novels marked the beginning of a resurgence of Anglo-Indian fiction in the 1960s and 1970s as the effects of the end of Empire came to be more keenly felt by a Britain in the throes of an identity crisis.

Despite the thematic parallels between the Anglo-Indian novel and its post-war context, it would be too simplistic to assume a direct representational relationship between literature and society as well as between the end of Empire and popular fiction. Bernard Porter, for example, argues that the preoccupations of individual novelists may not reflect the majority culture of their particular time and that the effects of the Empire on art and literature over the past two hundred years have been exaggerated.<sup>11</sup> In terms of postcoloniality, Porter dismisses any direct or long-lasting link between the end of Empire and British culture, instead reducing the legacy of colonialism, and Anglo-India, to what he calls trivial 'visible detritus.'<sup>12</sup> To Porter, the Empire's legacy was to be found in a handful of disparate locations, such as the various borrowed words (chutney, verandah, mulligatawny) that had made it into the English language, the names of various hotels and the taste for India Pale Ale and Tonic Water.<sup>13</sup> However, whilst Porter is correct in his assertion that this period represents a shift from a sense of tangible Empire to that of myth, he overlooks the manner in which myth, nostalgia and fantasy can nevertheless produce material, tangible effects. Rather than the end of Empire diminishing literary interest in history and the historical novel as Porter's opinion might suggest, an examination of the literary history of the period indicates the reverse. Indeed, along with Raphael Samuel's analysis of the growing public interest in British history and heritage, both in Britain and its former colonies, A.S. Byatt states that there was a 'sudden flowering of the historical novel in Britain' in the post-war period, representative of a wider authorial and public fascination with the rapidly fading world of Britain's Imperial grandeur.<sup>14</sup>

At a time when the nation was beset by internal divisions over devolution, increased levels of immigration and the protracted struggle involved in attempts to join the European Union, the taste in British fiction of the period reflected a more widespread longing for the apparent and comparatively secure 'Golden Age' of Empire, stoked in no small part by the rhetoric, and popularity, of public figures such as Enoch Powell.<sup>15</sup> Powell, and the sentiment his popular discourses on immigration engendered, presented growing social tension in British race relations as being a direct consequence of the loss of Empire. There existed a split in the British historical consciousness during this period between those who favoured a return to the values of the past as a means of correcting contemporary national decline and an equally prevalent belief in the outdated nature of such views.<sup>16</sup> The British Empire thus returned to the forefront of 1970s literature, with a particular focus on colonial and postcolonial India as a means of exploring the contemporary dilemma of British nationhood and international decline. As Scott McCracken explains, 'written popular narratives can tell us much about who we are and about the society in which we

live.<sup>17</sup> Though it had been only a few years since the end of British rule in some African colonies compared to the twenty years since Indian independence (Swaziland was the last British colony in Africa to achieve independence in 1968), the longest standing, and most keenly felt, colonial relationship had been that between Britain and India, the ‘jewel in the crown’ of the nation’s colonial possessions.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore understandable that the fictional return to Empire was largely re-envisioned in an Indian context.

The extent to which the Empire lingered in the minds of British and Anglophone authors in this period can be measured through analysis of the intersection between postcoloniality and one of the most significant and long-lasting awards in literary prize culture of the last forty years: the Booker Prize. Inaugurated in 1969, the Booker Prize is a clear reflection of its historical moment. That the Booker’s chosen objective was to determine ‘the best novel written in English’ from across the Commonwealth at a time when Englishness and identity was undergoing such redefinition is an indication of its relationship to the post-imperial and postcolonial literary zeitgeist. As such, the Booker Prize should not be read as politically or ideologically neutral. For instance, in *The Booker Prize and the Legacy of Empire* (2002) Luke Strongman argues that the intersection with the context of postcoloniality should instruct entirely any reading of Booker prize-winning novels and the Booker itself: ‘All of the Booker Prize winning novels have an implied relationship with Empire, whether this be writing in the form of counter-discourse, subscription to imperial rhetoric, nostalgia for Empire or of an articulation of identity in the fluid internationalisms which emerge after Empire.’<sup>19</sup> Whilst the terms of this relationship may differ between time periods, continents and the representation of individual colonies, it is, as suggested by Andrew Thompson’s assessment of the ‘maximalist’ approach and in opposition to the opinion of Porter, nonetheless always present in the literature of the era.

As Graham Huggan and Luke Strongman have indicated, the status of the Booker Prize, and the prize culture in literature more broadly, is conflicted and often contradictory. On the one hand, the Booker is a mark of literary distinction and critical validation, awarded to an author of outstanding merit and the continuation of a tradition of prize culture and esteem that James English asserts stretches back little altered through time from the present to ancient Greece.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, however, Huggan argues that the Booker’s supposedly ‘high’ cultural status has from its inception been troubled by its undoubtedly populist nature, not to mention the concern for ‘razzmatazz’ that its promotion and ‘vulgar, Miss World’-style awards ceremony display.<sup>21</sup> Huggan suggests that this conflict has historically extended to the kinds of fiction that the Booker has shortlisted and been awarded to, and that, as a result of various extraneous considerations and agendas, the

adjudication will often have ‘little or nothing to do with the act of writing or the art of literature.’<sup>22</sup> Rather than solely reflecting ‘highbrow’ literary work, the Booker has often lent a veneer of literary respectability to what are essentially middlebrow works of fiction reflective of the particular thematic concerns and interests of the panel at a given point in the award’s history. In the early years of the Booker, these concerns were primarily that of decolonisation and the British experience of Empire. Indeed, Huggan observes ‘viable orientalist myths’ of the kind familiar to popular pulp fiction in a number of the winning novels from the 1970s and 1980s that he labels revisionist histories.<sup>23</sup> Such a conflict fosters a feeling of inherent tension to both the winner and the award itself, with the ‘high’ status of the prize held in check by the ‘low’ nature of the work.

Within the number of Booker-winning novels that contain postcolonial or post-imperial themes published in the prize’s first decade, three titles deal directly with India and reflect many of Huggan’s observations regarding the Booker’s revisionist leanings; these are J.G. Farrell’s *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), Ruth Praver Jhabvala’s *Heat and Dust* (1975) and Paul Scott’s *Staying On* (1977).<sup>24</sup> These three novels are representative of the way in which British fiction on India in the 1970s splits into two distinct, though interconnected, branches; first, the literally post-imperial or **postcolonial**, those that focussed on decolonisation and the period immediately after that of colonial rule, and that sought to explore continued British engagement with India in the historical present. Second, those which chose to re-engage directly with the history of the British Empire through historical fiction or historiographic metafiction; these texts adopted a more recognisably postcolonial approach and drew focus on the effects of colonisation on both coloniser and colonised.<sup>25</sup> Jhabvala’s and Scott’s novels are representative of the former category, choosing to explore the aftermath of Empire on an intimate and more personal level, focussing on both platonic and romantic relationships between Britons and Indians. Scott’s and Jhabvala’s works are clearly post-colonial inasmuch as both novels are overwhelmingly concerned with processes of transition and adjustment, as well as the determination of identity in the new context of independent India, whilst always keeping an eye on the colonial past.

In a reflection of the relationship between past and present that characterises so much of British writing on colonialism in this period, Jhabvala’s *Heat and Dust* tells two parallel stories of Anglo-Indian relations. The first **take** place in 1920s Satipur and relates how Olivia, an English-woman married to a civil servant, begins a relationship with the local nawab in order to escape from the boredom of her marriage and the restrictions of her life in Anglo-Indian society. The second narrative, told in parallel with the first, is set in the contemporary present and focusses on an unnamed narrator (revealed to be Olivia’s step-granddaughter)

who retraces Olivia's steps and travels to India. Jhabvala's narratives are joined by the fact that both Olivia and the unnamed narrator fall pregnant, but while Olivia aborts her child and lives in exile and in shame in India, the unnamed narrator decides to keep her child, suggesting a more tolerant and hopeful future, a 'rebirth' for Anglo-Indian relations after the divisions of the past and one that inverts the typical metaphorical colonial relationship of an invasive masculine West and 'passive' feminised East through procreation.

Aside from its high-profile status as a Booker winner, Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* is significant to a study of popularity and postcolonial fiction for a number of reasons. The form, theme and narrative of the novel draw inherently on the traditions and history of Anglo-Indian writing and follow its established literary conventions, particularly that of a journey of personal or spiritual growth told in first-person narration by an inexperienced visitor to India.<sup>26</sup> For instance, the split temporal and narrative perspective of *Heat and Dust* means that the novel is essentially constructed as an amalgamation of travelogue, diary and epistolary novel, combining the personal views and experiences of its two female protagonists with their documentation of Indian society in their respective eras. In so doing, Jhabvala acknowledges the history of textual production associated with British experiences of India. For example, after a brief preamble, the sections from the contemporary present are organised into dated entries and paragraphed as though in diary format, recording events shortly after they are experienced:

16 February. Satipur. I have been very lucky and have already found a room here. I like it very much. It is large, airy, and empty. There is a window at which I sit and look down into the bazaar. My room is on top of a cloth-shop and I have to climb a dark flight of stairs to get to it.<sup>27</sup>

The dated diary format has a long association with both India and the wider expansion of the British Empire. Felicity Nussbaum argues that the private diary is a production of the late eighteenth century, a time when autobiography developed a set of practices 'distinct from other kinds of writing.'<sup>28</sup> The diary's eighteenth-century origins make it contemporaneous with the consolidation of British power in India, and other historians, such as Rebecca Steinitz and Claudia Klaver, have noted that the popularity of India diaries or similar travelogues within the literary marketplace grew steadily as a habit amongst the Victorian middle classes over the following century.<sup>29</sup> Jhabvala's novel mimics the often overtly amateur status of such publications, using short, simple sentences and prose largely unadorned with any great descriptive worth. Essentially, the novel attempts to convey the impressions of the narrator as simplistically and directly as possible, mostly as a means of making

sense of India itself; as the narrator explains, India is '[N]ot what I had imagined at all...all those memoirs and letters I've read, all those prints I've seen. I really must forget about them.'<sup>30</sup> In her attempts to understand contemporary India, Jhabvala's narrator and Jhabvala herself are seemingly presented with an appropriately postcolonial problem; Jhabvala and her narrator both choose a form that recognises the history of popular writing on India but assert that such writing is now outdated and not representative of contemporary India. Nonetheless, whilst the narrator disregards the wealth of writing on India that had come before her, like Jhabvala, she adds to it.

Alongside the diary, the other popular form that Jhabvala's novel recalls is that of the travelogue. The novel, in essence, is the story of an individual both dissatisfied with her life and curious about India; both common ingredients in narratives of travelling **common** throughout the era of Empire. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* Marie Louise Pratt writes that

Travel books...gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized. Travel books were very popular. They created a sense of curiosity, excitement, adventure, and even moral fervour about European expansionism.<sup>31</sup>

In the postcolonial circumstances of Jhabvala's work, however, these feelings are preserved but given a new context. The narrator is undeniably curious and, when she later pays for hospital treatment of a homeless woman, given to a degree of moral fervour. However, where Pratt sets **this** against the context of European expansionism, Jhabvala's is against that of decolonised, independent India. Yet, despite the change in context, Jhabvala maintains many historical aspects of travel writing, such as the expectation that letters and writing can capture the elemental essence of the place being described; at one point, the narrator states that 'Chid's crumpled letters...appear soaked in all the characteristic odours of India, in spices, urine, and betel.'<sup>32</sup> The journey of self-discovery suggested by Pratt's analysis is also preserved in Jhabvala's work, though is again subject to a contemporary reframing; instead of coming to India to seek a fortune as many nineteenth-century travellers did, Jhabvala makes many of her English visitors to India hippies, seeking enlightenment: 'Why did you come?' I asked her. 'To find peace' she laughed grimly, 'but all I found was dysentery.'<sup>33</sup> Again, Jhabvala's intimation is one of contradiction; her novel suggests that modern India is no place for English men and women, yet they are drawn to it nonetheless.

This theme of frustrated expectations further confirms the way in which Jhabvala's novel, to borrow a phrase from Linda Hutcheon, is a



text in dialogic relationship to a range of writing on India that precedes it. In *Inventing India: A History of India in English Language Fiction*, Ralph Crane argues that Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* should be considered a postmodernist work concerned with intertextuality: '...it is surely no coincidence that Jhabvala's major characters in the 1923 story are called Olivia and Douglas. *Olivia in India* by O. Douglas (Anna Buchan, the sister of John Buchan) consists of a series of letters penned by Olivia whilst in India, and in *Heat and Dust* it is the letters of Jhabvala's Olivia which later lead the unnamed narrator to India, where she herself keeps a journal.'<sup>34</sup> Similarly, Strongman argues that a key influence on Jhabvala is that of E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924), however, whilst *Heat and Dust* is a novel that also deals with scandal arising from sexual impropriety, it has as much in common with a colonial narrative such as Kipling's *Kim* (1901) in which a white character achieves self-fulfilment through their experiences in India, deciding to remain there at the novel's conclusion. Whereas the English and Indian protagonists of Forster's novel are cordial but remain inherently divided at the narrative's close, *Jhabvala's Heat and Dust* is much more hopeful and embodies the future of Anglo-Indian relations in the form of the narrator's mixed-race pregnancy.

Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* is both a diachronic and synchronic examination of Anglo-Indian relations as well as the culture of textual production that exists throughout the history of Empire. Whilst the novel is mostly set and published after the end of formal colonialism, the structure and parallels Jhabvala sets up within it suggest that British feelings towards India continue to retain a semblance of how they were at the height of the Raj.<sup>35</sup> In its reuse of traditionally imperial forms of writing in a postcolonial context, the novel is simultaneously preservative of the old Anglo-Indian clichés but also suggests new ways of looking and being, especially through the tolerance of hybridity and the breakdown of social and racial distinctions suggested through the narrator's pregnancy. Its temporal juxtaposition can be seen as a means for Jhabvala to explore her present context against that of the imperial past and hold each up to new scrutiny. Yet in the closing pages of the novel, Jhabvala revealingly reiterates a common colonial feeling towards India: 'There are many ways of loving India...but all...are dangerous for the European who allows himself to love too much.'<sup>36</sup> It appears that despite the postcolonial context of her novel, the attitudes of the past are still ever present within its pages.

Scott's *Staying On* tells a similar story to Jhabvala's in terms of the preservation and representation of the values of the Raj. The novel concentrates on two minor characters from Scott's earlier series of Indian novels known as *The Raj Quartet*, former army officer Tusker Smalley and his wife Lucy who decided to stay on in Pankot, a hill station that

was Tusker's former posting during his career in the Indian army.<sup>37</sup> Drawing on Scott's own experience of Indian society acquired during his military service (as well as in the Indian Army during the Second World War), *Staying On* is a portrait of the petty snubs and rigid adherence to the hierarchies of Anglo-Indian society as well as a novel which illustrates the rapid and in many ways dramatic changes that India had undergone since independence. Though the majority of the narrative is set in 1972, many of the book's key scenes are told in flashback as the Smalleys adjust to life in business as 'box-wallahs' and are gradually ostracised and abandoned by the English community in Pankot.<sup>38</sup>

Like Jhabvala, though Scott sets his novel in the contemporary present, the form, theme and plot of the novel adhere closely to an older well-established genre of Anglo-Indian writing, namely, the romance or domestic novel. In 'Married to the Empire: The Anglo-Indian Domestic Novel' Alison Sainsbury argues that the domestic/romantic novel is a key genre of Anglo-Indian writing and historically popular with readers in India and Britain.<sup>39</sup> Sainsbury notes that the production of these novels rose and fell in accordance with context and a range of significant events, in fact largely dying off with the end of the Raj; however, despite these influences, such novels conformed to recognisable plots which, according to critic Bhopal Singh, address 'the unhappiness, misunderstanding, and complexities of married life in India.'<sup>40</sup> Sainsbury argues that such novels are concerned with 'domestic life; with courtship and marriage, with the ordering of Anglo-Indian households, with the relations between family members and among households in the Anglo-Indian community.'<sup>41</sup> Scott's *Staying On* conforms almost exactly to this analysis, however, with crucial contextual differences of its own.

Rather than the typical happy ending of such a novel, *Staying On* begins and ends with Tusker's death. This allegorically represents the death of the 'old India'; Tusker Sahib and the last remnants of the Raj society like him are shown to be literally 'dying out' in the context of the new India, one marked not by hierarchies of old but by urban redevelopment and a focus on leisure and profit. For example, the Smalleys are being forced out of their leasehold property to make way for a new hotel complex run by an exclusively Indian business consortium. Similarly, Tusker and Lucy's marriage is pushed to breaking point as if without the Empire there is nothing left to hold them together. Indeed, in possibly the most poignant scenes in the novel, Tusker and Lucy's last real moment of intimacy occurs in the handover ceremony on 15th August 1947:

There was no sound otherwise until on the stroke of midnight the Indian flag began to go up...and the band began to play the new Indian anthem and all the crowds out there in the dark began to sing

the words...you never heard such cheering and clapping. I couldn't clap because Tusker still had hold of my hand and didn't let go until all the floodlights came on again and the troops marched off to the sound of the band.<sup>41</sup>

In choosing to record this moment, Scott's novel attempts to capture all the elements of the British relationship with post-colonial India; *Staying On* is arguably a domestic novel, but Scott's own argument is that domesticity in post-colonial India for those that stayed on is bound up with history and the grand narrative of Anglo-Indian relations through Empire and after. The beginning of independence is not only the end of the Empire, but also a personal ending for many of its participants, now without that which had determined their sense of self for so much of their adult lives. Tusker's frustrations stem from the fact that, unlike his wife, he has been unable to maintain his identity in the new context of independent India; he is referred to as Colonel Sahib by their household staff, but it is an empty courtesy.

Despite the strain on the Smalleys' marriage and the aimlessness they feel that underpins the narrative, the novel remains very much one of farce and comedy, with Scott noting pointedly that 'one of the troubles with the British in the days of the Raj was that they had taken themselves far too seriously.'<sup>42</sup> This feeling is emphasised throughout the novel by Tusker's obsession with maintaining a neat garden for propriety's sake, another element of the 'domestic' theme, as well as the novel's continual fixation with sex and advancing sexual (and social) impotence on Tusker's part. In much the same way as Crane argues of Jhabvala's work, *Staying On* becomes an ironic blending of multiple genres, mixing humour and pathos together in reflection of its literary and historical context, and the divided British attitudes towards India. Scott mocks the pomposity of Britons in India such as the Smalleys, whilst at the same time illustrating how the end of Empire was not merely a political change but rather a deep emotional loss.

Scott's novel ridicules and commemorates British India in simultaneity, mixing styles as a means of capturing the contradictory nature of the Empire's end. For all Tusker's and Lucy's misgivings over the 'new' India, the novel also emphasises the opportunities for both economic and personal change underway in India since independence. In its resolution, *Staying On*, again like Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust*, mixes its message: the novel ends on a note of hope; however, it is a compromised one influenced by circumstance. With Tusker's death, Lucy is able to return home to England and get by on the '£1500 a year' from Tusker's pension.<sup>43</sup> As Jhabvala does with her disillusioned hippies, Scott intimates that modern India is no longer the place for the Smalleys, nor others of their generation or even their nationality. Contemporary India finally, and rightfully, belongs to Indians.

**'Mad, senseless, incredible' – J.G. Farrell, George MacDonald Fraser and Fictions of the Indian Rebellion<sup>44</sup>**

Much like Anglo-Indian fiction of the late 1960s and 1970s, public opinion on the British Empire remained conflicted too, with many welcoming the end of what they believed to be an anachronism in the post-war world whilst others lamented the decline of British international standing and the successive waves of immigration into Britain at this time.<sup>45</sup> Beyond Jhabvala and Scott, a range of contemporary authors recognised the way in which popular fiction could be used to address such divisions and question how such decline occurred. Alongside the postcolonial novels of Jhabvala and Scott, and in conjunction with the development of a critical language designed to analyse the end of colonialism, popular writing on India and Empire becomes identifiably postcolonial in the sense of resisting or critiquing the imperial project. By entering into debates of this kind, Scott McCracken observes that popular fiction 'mediates social conflict...it acts as a medium between reader and world through which the social contradictions of modernity can be played out....Battles are fought across its pages, victories won and defeats suffered.'<sup>46</sup> In order to play out these figurative battles of post-imperial modernity, popular postcolonial works of the 1970s often sought to represent actual battles from imperial history. In the novels of J.G. Farrell and George MacDonald Fraser, this would result in particular focus on the Indian Rebellion, a battle that reflected both the brutality and the supposed adventurous romance of the British colonial presence in India and that thus came to symbolise the clash over the legacy of imperialism.

The Indian Rebellion of 1857–58, largely referred to as the 'Indian Mutiny' in British literature and culture pre-1947, was one of the key events in the history of British India.<sup>47</sup> Allegedly beginning over the greasing of rifle cartridges with beef and pork fat, offensive to the Hindu and Muslim sepoy of the East India Company army, the Rebellion surprised the British civil and military administration in India, and as a consequence many cities and garrisons were left not only under-defended but also unprepared for siege warfare.<sup>48</sup> Over the course of the next thirteen months, the British gradually reclaimed territory and reasserted their control over India. However, the conflict was a bitter and violent struggle with both rebel and British forces responsible for various atrocities, chief among them the massacre of British women and children at Cawnpore by Sepoy troops and the retributive executions carried out by the British. The Rebellion had a lasting impact; Richard Steadman-Jones states that it was 'a moment of crisis that became crucial to British depictions of imperialism' from the latter nineteenth century onwards, its legacy often instrumental in the suppression of Indian nationalist sentiment.<sup>49</sup> Not only did it alter the governance of British India, but its dual-narrative of

heroic struggle against the odds and eventual British triumph lent itself to fiction and non-fiction alike, resulting in a long-lasting and lucrative publishing culture in which works dealing with events of the Rebellion were extremely popular with British audiences for decades afterwards.<sup>50</sup>

The Rebellion of 1857–58 served as the basis for a great number of personal accounts in the form of diaries and memoirs published shortly after events and various scholarly and popular histories published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As stated earlier, the service memoir is a cornerstone of colonial textual production and one that enjoyed a lucrative market both in India and Britain alike. Accounts of the Rebellion, satisfying British curiosity over Cawnpore as well as restoring belief in the efficacy of the Empire's defences, remained popular for decades and were produced by soldiers of all ranks, thus illustrating the link between textual production, myth and cultural perception.<sup>51</sup> The popularity of such publications led to, and was aided by, official histories of the Rebellion, including G.W. Forrest's authoritative *A History of the Indian Mutiny – Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents*, compiled in three volumes published between 1904–12, and more amateur efforts, such as I. Gilberne Sieveking's *A Turning Point in the Indian Mutiny* (1910).

The sustained focus on India served also as inspiration for novels of varying quality and character; many, like Farrell and Fraser, focussed directly on the Mutiny itself whilst others would return to India as the setting for tales of British heroics. Some, like Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* appear to do both. *The Siege of Krishnapur* won the Booker Prize in 1973; in essence, the novel tells the story of the Siege of Lucknow and uses a great number of histories and memoirs of the Mutiny in its construction, often transposing the text directly with very little alteration. Much like Scott and the domestic novel or Jhabvala and the romance, Farrell adopts a recognisably imperial format and genre for *The Siege of Krishnapur*, albeit one with some subtle differences and a far more overtly critical intent. The characters and plot bear all the traits of a nineteenth-century adventure novel; for instance, the Collector is the garrison's steady moral centre, Harry Dunstaple is the dashing hero and Fleury is the liberal idealist who, after his experience of battle, is brought round to the cause of Empire by the book's close. Farrell is not imitating this format or the original texts as merely a pastiche as some critics have occasionally assumed but, as McLeod argues, exposes the form and its archetypes to 'comic critique'.<sup>52</sup> Missing this comedic critique, Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* has often been mistakenly labelled as an exercise in conventional realism; however, as McLeod explains, this is to overlook the subtlety of his authorial voice and to miss the way in which Farrell 'opened a critical view of colonialism' replicating and ridiculing its cultural output.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the 1970s novelists whose work received a stamp of validation in the form of a Booker award or nomination, there were other contemporary writers who, whilst less successful with the judges, were nonetheless popular with the reading public. George MacDonald Fraser's *Flashman* series, which, like the Booker itself, began in 1969 and ~~continued until Fraser's death in 2008~~, was one such example. Popular appreciation of Fraser's novels had always been forthcoming; on the occasion of his death in 2008, many obituaries drew attention to the rapid and enduring global popularity of his work.<sup>54</sup> However, unlike Farrell, academic interest never followed, and Fraser remains a critically marginalised figure to this day. A chief reason for this marginalisation stems directly from Fraser's popularity; like many other authors who wrote only seemingly comic works, Fraser's literary project has been written off either as pastiche or, worse, as mere entertainment.

In some instances, what critical attention has been paid to Fraser's work has adopted an overtly dismissive position towards both the novelist and his output as well as the return towards fictions of colonial India in general. Gautam Chakravarty's *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* assesses a range of post-war Anglo-Indian novels set in and around 1857 as part of its opening chapter, only to dismiss them with the claim that such writing is 'vestigial to a project that came to an end in 1947....'<sup>55</sup> Chakravarty conflates the intentions of John Masters's *Nightrunners of Bengal* (1954), J.G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur*, Norman Partington's *And Red Flows the Ganges* (1972) and Fraser's *Flashman in the Great Game* (1975), arguing that such novels amount to 'little more than ironic coda or naïve nostalgia' in the era after Empire.<sup>56</sup> I would argue that we must place the resurgence of novels focussed on conflict in colonial India at this time in relation to their context; either an immediately postcolonial one or, for those who are writing a little later, within an era of burgeoning postcolonial discourses and widely recognised British international decline. The fact that Partington, Farrell and Fraser published 'Mutiny' novels within a close three-year period of one another is indicative of a definite, if not necessarily unified, return to the mythology of colonial India, but theirs is a much more divisive and conflicted portrait of Empire than the general turn towards Empire and its values in this period.

Chakravarty's analysis fails to stand up to close scrutiny when it is applied to the work of novelists such as Fraser or Farrell. Upon reading a novel such as *Flashman in the Great Game*, it becomes increasingly difficult to describe such a work as 'naïve,' either politically or historically; the wealth of references which underpin each of Fraser's novels are used not in a baldly reiterative and therefore supportive way but rather as a means of highlighting their ridiculousness. To take the rhetoric of Empire at face value in Fraser's novel is a misreading of the author's intent, as made evident in his tone, style and introductory notes. In fact,

whilst Scott and, to a lesser degree, Jhabvala vividly evoke the sense of helplessness felt by individuals whose lives are affected by large-scale political and social change, it is their novels that deal in a mostly cursory way with the historical and moral legacy of Empire. Instead, it is authors such as Farrell and Fraser whose work seeks to explore most fully the ambiguity inherent to the post-imperial literary consciousness, often with detailed research into the events their novels represent.<sup>57</sup>

To dismiss Farrell (a double Booker Prize ~~winner, in 1973 for *Krishnapur* and posthumously in 2010 for *Troubles*~~) and Fraser is to deny that these works spoke to a receptive public and were recognised for their contemporary relevance and mass appeal. In light of Huggan's analysis of the Booker Prize, the fact that Fraser's work failed to win an award does not diminish its significance either in relation to the other novels explored here or the period under discussion, nor does it weaken the potency of his criticism of Empire. Recalling Storey's criteria of popularity, Fraser and his work fall into the categories of popularity through quantitative sales but also as an example of that which is 'left over' after high culture has been decided.<sup>58</sup> Though critically and academically overlooked, Fraser's novels are not without a sense of cultural cachet, especially when it comes to navigating the political and nationalist landscape of their particular time and place. Moreover, Flashman and his values remain potent signifiers of a certain kind of privilege and attitude within the collective national consciousness in the contemporary present.<sup>59</sup> Fraser and Farrell's mimicry of the popular mode to advance critical and satirical perspectives on Empire suggests that instead of the assertion that it is either popularity or critical acclaim that gives a text its power, the relationship between the two is more nuanced and reciprocal than at first understood. Far from inhibiting the ability to advance meaningful critique, popularity can instead act as a vehicle for the voice of dissent within mainstream discourse, with cultural products engaging with the politics of popularity as they adopt its forms.

Fraser's *Flashman in the Great Game* is an example of this process. The novel tells the story of its much-decorated ~~titular~~ 'hero' Harry Paget Flashman (recipient of the Victoria Cross, the Order of the Bath and the Order of the Indian Empire, all won with subterfuge or under false pretences) as he is caught up in Russian intrigues designed to foment rebellion in central India in the summer of 1857. Like all of the *Flashman* series, the novel is written as a memoir, compiled by the elderly Flashman towards the end of his life in 1915, and Fraser presents himself not as author but as editor, whose job is to 'correct his [Flashman's] spelling, deplore his conduct and provide the usual notes and appendices.'<sup>60</sup> In relation to the politics of popularity, Fraser's conceit is twofold here. Not only does he draw on the long-established popularity of the Victorian memoir, but he is also influenced by a classic of Victorian publishing, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), which serves as the

inspiration for his titular character. With great historical irony, Flashman, the coward and bully of Rugby School, becomes a leading imperial figure and one thought to embody the spirit of his age. Fraser's criticism of the great era of the British Empire is apparent; that beneath the pomp, the circumstance and the supposed glory of Victorian colonial endeavours lay a morally corrupt and venal truth.

In a style more often associated with an overtly postmodern novelist, Fraser dissolves the boundaries between fact and fiction within *Flashman in the Great Game* on a repeated basis. Aside from the framing device of the novel itself, both the memoir genre and *Tom Brown's Schooldays* appear within the narrative, allowing Fraser to acknowledge their popularity and consider how popular texts and their readership are complicit in advancing the ideology and accepted history of Empire. For example, as well as Fraser's direct use of Mowbray Thompson's *The Story of Cawnpore* (1859) and in addition to the memoir format of 'The Flashman Papers' as Fraser's novels are styled, Flashman writes his own memoir based on his military career:

So I settled in as Havelock's intelligence aide – a nice safe billet in the circumstances, but if you would learn the details of how I fared with him you must consult my official history, Dawns and Departures of a Soldier's Life (in three handsomely-bound morocco volumes, price two gns. each or five gns. the set...),<sup>61</sup>

Fraser clearly acknowledges here the culture of publication that arose around the service of Empire as well as the around the Rebellion. Moreover, his choice of title for this instalment of the series, *Flashman in the Great Game*, metafictionally acknowledges the slew of espionage novels based on the 'Great Game' itself. However, Fraser goes further by criticising and questioning the history of Empire and deliberately undermining the accepted truthfulness of such eyewitness accounts; noting a discrepancy between the 'official history' and the truth, here too rendered as a fiction, Fraser suggests that the history of Empire demands re-evaluation and reconsideration.

By placing the veracity of imperial history in doubt, Fraser is able to present a more effective and incisive criticism of Empire and the relevance of Empire in the postcolonial present. However, the criticism he applies is couched in deliberately ambiguous terms. Towards the end of the novel, Flashman considers contemporary (i.e., early twentieth-century) revisionism over the history of the **Mutiny**:

But what amuses me most is how fashionable views change – why, for years after Cawnpore, any vengeance wreaked on an Indian, mutineer or not, was regarded as just vengeance; nothing was too bad for 'em. Now it's t'other way round, with eminent writers crying shame.



And saying nothing justified such terrible retribution as Neill took, and we were far guiltier than the niggers had been. Why? Because we were Christians, and supposed to know better? – and because England contains this great crowd of noisy know-alls that are forever defending our enemies' behaviour and crying out in pious horror against our own. Why our sins are always so much blacker, I can't fathom.<sup>62</sup>

Fraser made no secret of his admiration for many of the achievements of Empire, but to read this section of the novel as indicative of his views would be to miss the point of *The Flashman Papers* entirely.<sup>63</sup> By using such bigoted rhetoric and placing it in the mouth of a great imperial hero, revealed to us as equally deplorable, any nostalgia for Empire is removed. Instead of an indication of Fraser's adherence to Empire, it is a condemnation of that Empire's dubious moral values. Equally, it is a direct address to a readership that might also bear similar sentiments or opinions on the present state of 1970s Britain and attitudes to Empire. This passage demonstrates how popular fiction can, as McCracken points out, question and holds up for scrutiny 'the kind of values a particular audience has a vested interest in creating or sustaining.'<sup>64</sup> Fraser's critique strikes at adherents of an Empire that encouraged such persecution and, rather than whitewash the history of colonial Britain, he reveals its ugly truths. Fraser was always concerned with honesty as he expressed in *The Hollywood History of the World*; taking issue with popular fiction that falsifies the truth to reflect contemporary social or political sensibilities, he writes, '[i]n other words, damn the truth if it doesn't fit with what one would like to believe is true – an attitude which, honesty aside, seems to me offensively patronising.'<sup>65</sup> *The Flashman Papers* become Fraser's means of combatting such actions; Flashman, for all his own deceit and falsehood, is Fraser's attempt to reveal what he saw as the true face of the British Empire.

## Conclusion

The popularity of fictions of India and the wider Empire in the post-war era is not in doubt. The Booker Prize-winning novels of Jhabvala, Scott and Farrell and the popular works of Fraser analysed in this chapter are indicative not only of how imperial themes were a widespread pre-occupation among British writers in the 1960s and 1970s but also that there was a receptive readership. Whilst critics such as Michael Denning have argued that popularity and sales are no justification for critical attention or literary importance in and of themselves, it is clear that these novels and many others like them from the same period aim to do far more than simply achieve popularity.<sup>66</sup> Instead, popularity and popular forms become tools used by each of these authors as a means of furthering and deepening their critique of the history of Empire.

By subjecting popular forms to questions of alterity and coupling them with contemporary postcolonial and postmodern critical theory, these novelists produce hybrid forms in order to explore the cultural and temporal plurality of 1970s Britain. In the case of Jhabvala and Scott, it is a question of how to make sense of a past now physically vanished but which lingers so strongly in memory. For Farrell and Fraser, it is more about how such nostalgic views of the British imperial past impede acceptance of the change in modern Britain after Empire. Ultimately, in their re-examination of the imperial past and employment of a variety of popular literary tropes, these novelists all seek to fathom the circumstances of the British postcolonial present.

## Notes

- 1 Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2005), 18.
- 2 Those novels dealing with the former territories of the British Empire or with postcolonial themes included P. H. Newby's *Something to Answer For* (1970), V. S. Naipaul's *In a Free State* (1971), J.G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), Nadine Gordimer's *The Conservationist* (1974), Ruth Praver Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* (1975), Paul Scott's *Staying On* (1977) and William Golding's *Rites of Passage* (1980). Due to a change in the rules in 1970, a group of novels published early in the year were disqualified from the running. In a 2010 re-run of the competition entitled the 'Lost Booker,' J.G. Farrell's *Troubles* (1970), another postcolonial novel, was chosen as the winner.
- 3 Andrew Teverson, *Salman Rushdie* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 6. For evidence of how Britain's cultural nostalgia for the Raj has lasted, one needs look no further than Channel 4's lavish (and woefully inaccurate) *Indian Summers* (2015).
- 4 Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London: Abacus, 1997), 14–5.
- 5 Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia, 1996), 2.
- 6 The prodigious volume of administrative documents produced by the ICS is responsible for a common workplace expression; the infamous red tape of bureaucracy derives from the tape used to tie up the mountains of paperwork produced by the Indian Civil Service. See James, *Raj*, 315.
- 7 Andrew Thompson's introduction to *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* mentions how there was an 'intense (and intensifying pluralism) to British society' in the twentieth century that makes it difficult to generalise over the affect of Empire; however, though this subjectivity makes forming any uniform response to Empire impossible, such a pluralism nonetheless suggests a widespread knowledge of how ideas of Empire underwrote British life, from international relations to the social make up of cosmopolitan and urban spheres of existence. See Andrew Thompson, ed., *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 21.
- 8 John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*. Seventh Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 5–9.

- 9 This quote is taken from the cover jacket of *Staying On* (London: Granada, 1978); the edition is from the year after Scott's Booker award and attributed to Philip Larkin, one of the judges for 1977.
- 10 The fiction of John Masters, including *The Nightrunners of Bengal* (1951) and *The Deceivers* (1952), is usually considered in terms of its overt nostalgia, depicting a longing for the lost grandeur of Empire. However, this is not strictly the case as Masters's novel *Bhowani Junction* (1954), set in the final days of British rule in India, far more deftly addresses the complications of social hierarchy and race. Though there is no space to discuss Masters's work in any detail here, he is nonetheless an important figure in the development of post-war Anglo-Indian fiction and an author largely marginalised by scholarship. Richard Steadman-Jones explores Masters's complex formulation of nostalgia post-Suez and his cross-political appeal; see 'Colonial Fiction for Liberal Readers: John Masters and the Savage Family Saga,' in *End of Empire and the English Novel Since 1945*, eds. Rachael Gilmour and Bill Schwarz (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2015).
- 11 Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 134, ix.
- 12 Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 299.
- 13 Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 299–301.
- 14 A.S. Byatt, *On Histories and Stories: Selected Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), 9; Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994), 139.
- 15 Tom Nairn's *The Break Up of Britain: Crisis and NeoNationalism* (London: New Left Books, 1977) is widely considered one of the representative political texts of the era and indicative of tensions over British identity at this time.
- 16 See Sam Goodman, 'This Time It's Personal: Reliving and Rewriting History in 1970s Fiction,' in *The 1970s: A Decade of Contemporary British Fiction*, eds. Nick Hubble, John McLeod and Phillip Tew (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 117–44.
- 17 Scott McCracken, *Pulp: Reading Popular Fiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 1.
- 18 The colonial relationship between Britain and India was much more long-standing than that of Britain and the majority of the nation's African colonies, with a British presence in India of over 300 years. Further, in the minds of many Britons, the link between Empire and India was not an exploitative one but one of mutual benefit. As a result of the so-called 'civilising mission' of Empire in India, particularly after Thomas Babington Macaulay's influence in the 1830s, the development of the railways and the efforts of the Empire Exhibitions of 1924/25 in London and 1938 in Glasgow, India was a country where Britain convinced itself it had made a positive difference to the lives of ordinary Indians.
- 19 Luke Strongman, *The Booker Prize and the Legacy of Empire* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 4. It is arguable that this connection between the Booker and postcoloniality continues to this day; 2013 winner Eleanor Catton's *The Luminaries* bears many of the same hallmarks as identified by Strongman, including an author from a former colony (Canada) and a suitably imperial context (Victorian New Zealand).
- 20 James F. English, *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards and the Circulation of Cultural Value* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 1–2.
- 21 Graham Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001), 107.

- 22 Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic*, 118. Huggan's assertions are further borne out by the Booker's tendency to use 'celebrity' judges renowned more for their popular appeal than for their literary expertise, such as actor Dan Stevens from the ITV production *Downton Abbey*, who served as a judge in 2012.
- 23 Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic*, 115.
- 24 A fourth novel that arguably addresses Indian identity is V. S. Naipaul's *In a Free State* (1971), though the setting (the United States) means that it differs greatly from Farrell, Jhabvala and Scott's work. However, that Naipaul, the only ethnically Indian (though born in Trinidad and Tobago) writer amongst this group, is looking to the United States and not India or Britain may well be revealing in its own right.
- 25 Linda Hutcheon's formulation of historiographic metafiction outlined in *The Politics of Postmodernism* (1989) comes chronologically later than the novels discussed in this chapter; however, it is nonetheless useful in analysing the stylistic and thematic choices of authors such as Farrell and Fraser and is explored in further detail later in the chapter.
- 26 For an overview of the tropes and conventions of romance novels see: Hsu-Ming Teo, *Desert Passions: Orientalism and Romance Novels* (Austin, TX: University of Austin Press, 2012) and Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- 27 Ruth Praver Jhabvala, *Heat and Dust* (London: John Murray, 2003), 6.
- 28 Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Johns Hopkins, 1995), xi.
- 29 See Rebecca Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth-century British Diary* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Claudia Klaver, 'Domesticity Under Siege: British Women and Imperial Crisis at the Siege of Lucknow 1857,' *Women's Writing*, 8.1 (2006): 21–58.
- 30 Jhabvala, *Heat and Dust*, 2.
- 31 Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.
- 32 Jhabvala, *Heat and Dust*, 93.
- 33 Jhabvala, *Heat and Dust*, 20–21.
- 34 Ralph J. Crane, *Inventing India: A History of India in English Language Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 87.
- 35 After the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and the decline of the East India Company, the administration of colonial India was taken over by the British Crown. This period became known as the 'Raj,' the Hindi word for 'rule' in the context of royalty.
- 36 Jhabvala, *Heat and Dust*, 170.
- 37 Tusker's Indian Army service is another significant factor in explaining his personal bond to India itself. India has dominated Tusker's professional and personal identity for throughout his adult life, and so to relinquish his connection to India would be to lose a core part of his sense of self.
- 38 Paul Scott, *Staying On* (London: Granada, 1978), 206.
- 39 Alison Sainsbury, 'Married to the Empire: The Anglo-Indian Domestic Novel,' in *Writing India 1757–1990: The Literature of British India*, ed. Bart Moore-Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 163–88.
- 40 Alison Sainsbury, 'Married to the Empire,' 164.
- 41 Scott, *Staying On*, 171.
- 42 Scott, *Staying On*, 117.
- 43 Scott, *Staying On*, 232.

- 44 George MacDonald Fraser, *Flashman in the Great Game* (London: William Collins, 1975), 152.
- 45 Dominic Sandbrook, *State of Emergency: The Way We Were, Britain 1970–74* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), 258–9.
- 46 Scott McCracken, *Pulp*, 6.
- 47 Though generally referred to as the ‘Indian Rebellion,’ usage of the term ‘Indian Mutiny’ occurs here in accordance with the wording of the sources used, not for any ideological reasons.
- 48 The causes of the Rebellion were manifold and much more complex than the traditional narrative suggests. Historians have variously cited internal divisions within Britain’s Sepoy or native troops as a result of the Indian caste system and a British preference for high-caste recruitment as an explanation for the rebellion, along with widespread anger among Indians over the British annexation of Oudh in 1856; the rumour over the cartridges was thus merely a catalyst, causing more deep-seated unrest to develop into rebellion. For a complete history, see Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 49 Richard Steadman-Jones, ‘Colonial Fiction for Liberal Readers: John Masters and the Savage Family Saga,’ in *End of Empire and the English Novel Since 1945*, eds. Gilmour and Schwarz, 75. Historians such as Piers Brendon have suggested that Reginald Dyer, the commanding officer at the Massacre of Amritsar in 1919, may have been led to act with such brutality out of a fear of another widespread ‘Mutiny’; see Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781–1997* (London: Vintage, 2008), 323.
- 50 Gautam Chakravarty’s *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), surveys the wealth of fiction and other publications on the Rebellion produced in the 150 years since the events themselves.
- 51 Some titles include: *The Indian Mutiny and in Particular a Narrative of Events at Cawnpore June–July 1857* (1890) by Joseph Lee; *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny* (1894) by R. G. Wilberforce; *Memories of the Mutiny* (1894) by F. C. Maude; *Annals of the Indian Rebellion* (1859) by N. A. Chick.
- 52 John McLeod, *J. G. Farrell* (Tavistock: Northcote House, 2007), 64.
- 53 McLeod, *J. G. Farrell*, 98–9.
- 54 Stanley Reynolds, ‘Obituary: George MacDonald Fraser,’ 4th January, 2008. [www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jan/04/pressandpublishing.georgemacdonaldfraser](http://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jan/04/pressandpublishing.georgemacdonaldfraser) [accessed 28th October, 2015].
- 55 Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, 8.
- 56 Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, 5.
- 57 Farrell’s process of transposing real-life personages and events is well documented; see McLeod’s *J. G. Farrell* or Sam Goodman, ‘A Great Beneficial Disease: Colonial Medicine and Imperial Authority in J.G. Farrell’s *The Siege of Krishnapur*,’ *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 36.2 (2015), 141–56.
- 58 Various obituaries of Fraser call attention to the wealth and income that the *Flashman* series brought him; see Anon, ‘George MacDonald Fraser,’ 3rd January, 2008. [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1574373/George-MacDonald-Fraser.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1574373/George-MacDonald-Fraser.html) [accessed 2nd January, 2016].
- 59 Ed Milliband’s comparison of Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron to Flashman in 2011 and its enthusiastic reception from newspaper cartoonists is one such example of how Flashman lives on into the present. See BBC, ‘Cameron Like Bully Flashman, says Milliband,’ 11th May, 2011. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-13363120](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-13363120) [accessed 30th October, 2015].
- 60 Fraser, *Flashman in the Great Game*, 8.

- 61 Fraser, *Flashman in the Great Game*, 236.  
 62 Fraser, *Flashman in the Great Game*, 234.  
 63 See Saul David, 'Flash Man,' *The Telegraph*, 16th April, 2006. [www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3651482/Flash-man.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3651482/Flash-man.html) [accessed 1st February, 2016].  
 64 McCracken, *Pulp*, 5.  
 65 George MacDonald Fraser, *The Hollywood History of the World* (London: Michael Joseph, 1988), 140.  
 66 Michael Denning, *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 2–3.

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