The Weak and the Wicked: Non-conscripted Masculinities in 1940s British Narrative Cinema

The BBC series *Dad's Army* (1968 – 1977) was a classic of the British sitcom. Often cited as an exemplar of comic form and characterisation it also, as Jeffrey Richards details, existed as a quasi-mythical vision of a Golden age of Englishness, where "a nation of eccentric individualists could be blended together to defend the county in wartime".[i] In this chapter, however, I want to suggest that, underneath the jokes, the men of *Dad's Army* shed light on what was a very real problem for filmmakers in the war itself: how to depict non-enlisted, non-conscripted males and, at the same time, aid in the war effort. Privates Jones, Pike, and Walker especially (as the pensioner, the mummy's boy, and the spiv) represented, as Summerfield and Peniston-Bird convincingly detail, reoccurring and preformed versions of non-conscripted masculinity that also appeared time and time again in British wartime narrative cinema[ii]. They directly mirrored character types that provided a noticeable counterpoint to the more dominant hegemonic versions of mythic maleness proliferated by mainstream and government-sanctioned culture. Here I want to concentrate mainly on popular narrative cinema (drama and comedy) rather than either documentary or newsreels as throughout the war the latter forms were noticeably more varied in their depictions of masculinity, although the line between what was fictional and what was fact was continually blurred.

In 1942, at the height of the war, there were around 15,000,000 males between the ages of 14 and 64 registered as British subjects. Of these 3,784,000 were in the armed and auxiliary services leaving 11,216,000 (almost three times as many) male civilians working and fighting on the Home Front.[iii] Most of these men worked in the engineering and building trades but transportation, shipping and the railways provided a constant source of employment throughout the conflict. The figures here, provided by the Government after the war, do not include the influx of men from the various parts of Europe - from France, from Poland, from Germany - neither, of course, does it include servicemen and military personnel who were stationed in Britain itself.

Escalations in male conscription during 1941 drastically affected the country's workforce and heightened the sense of a nation being slowly drained of its able-bodied men. Angus Calder cites one labour manager as saying "Men over sixty and even over seventy. Men taken from non-essential work. Women and girls from all sorts of jobs and from no job at all. Cripples, weak hearts, discharged servicemen, half-wits, criminals, all sorts of people so long as they can stand or even sit and turn a handle. These are our material".[iv] However, most of the labour shortages were in areas outside of direct war-work (especially those that provided civilian goods and services) and even by Calder's conservative estimates two thirds of the male population were still in Britain, still on the Home Front, challenging the myth that it was a feminine space peopled by women and the 'left-overs' of masculinity.[v]

The early (and much maligned) propaganda film *The Lion Has Wings* (1939) is one of the few British wartime films to specifically depict masculinity on the Home Front. Aside from the fairly recognisable characterisations of upper class airmen, aircrew and female war-workers, audiences were also presented with images of the millions of men it took to keep the British war machine fighting. Here, in the opening sections of the film are scores of fit, intelligent-looking aircraft workers, miners, engineers, steel workers, railway men, mathematicians, draftsmen, builders and foundrymen none of whom conform to the dominant image of the

non-enlisted wartime male as someone who failed the call-up or who languished in reserved occupations. Aside from documentary representation such willingness to depict the full variety of non-conscripted maleness becomes noticeably weaker as the war progresses. I want to suggest here that this elision of a vast portion of the masculine wartime public was not only supported by the majority of British fiction films but formed part of the mythical construction of the people's war and consequently the Home Front. It was in the country's interest to proliferate an image of non-hegemonic masculinity that reached an apogee in *Dad's Army* and that still has never quite been challenged.

Hegemonic Masculinity

War galvanises masculinity. What it means to be a man, or rather what it means to be manly, is culturally distilled before being mobilised through official and unofficial channels and blended with concepts of what it means to be a good citizen. Conflict also affects the range of masculine possibilities, so that what was permissible in peacetime is often seen as both unmanly and, by extension, unpatriotic in war. As Leo Braudy states in relation to the First World War:

> In the diffuseness of peacetime, different masculinities might be indulged, but in war military masculinity [is] the core of national cohesiveness, and, not coincidentally, the essence of defining us against *them*.[vi]

Naturally, hegemonic images of masculinity in wartime become irreducibly connected to the armed forces and to the various historical and cultural narratives that support them; evocations of mythical manliness seek to create continuity between successful conflicts of the past and the present, and the feminine is often seen as a luxury that, *perhaps*, can one day be returned to. In times of mass communication the media has a vital role to play in this process and can be used both to shape and ultimately to trace the shifts in gender construction.

World War Two was no exception. As Sonya O. Rose has argued, it was a time when British hegemonic masculinity was constructed using two, seemingly contradictory, images of manliness: "the temperate hero" who provided a more humane alternative to the perceived hyper-masculinity of the German male and a "soldier hero" who represented a form of ordinary valour in the face of overwhelming physical danger.[vii] These two versions of masculinity were, as Rose details, intimately connected to the larger strategy of opposing the perceived characteristics of the Nazi party with a British sensibility that was *both* chivalrous and homely. If the solider hero presented an image of the stoic British bulldog, then the temperate hero presented one of the warm family-man who could play with his children and miss his wife as well as fight on the front line. Some of this sense was explored by J.B. Priestly in his famous radio broadcast of Sunday 9th June 1940:

> The Nazis understand – and it is their great secret – all the contemptible qualities of men. They have a lightening eye for an opponent's weakness. But what they don't understand, because there's nothing in their nature or experience to tell them, is that men also have their hour of greatness, when weakness suddenly towers into strength; when easy-going tolerant men rise in their anger and strike down evil like the angels of the wrath of God. [viii]

This image appears time and time again in the cinema of the era. In films like *Went the Day Well?* (1942), *Millions Like Us* (1943) and *The Bells Go Down* (1943) it is possible to detect the mixture of the warrior spirit and the homely father that Rose describes as being "cobbled together…from aspects of both anti-heroic and heroic forms of masculinity".[ix] Andrew Spicer also details how the war mobilised a specific form of cinematic hero that was characterised by his "unexceptional ordinariness". Such heroic images can be seen to have been concretised in the performances of a range of different actors from John Mills to Tommy Trinder.[x]

The images that form the basic store of manliness in any given period are always surrounded by a series of dialectically positioned traits and characteristics. The Home Front, especially as it was depicted in wartime cinema, was a place where masculinity was both questioned and upheld and representations of non-conscripted males (i.e. those not in the services) were a perennial problem for British filmmakers eager to aid in the war effort but also to offer narratives that were set at home.

It is worth pausing for a moment here to revisit the concept of hegemony especially as it relates to gender and sexuality. For Antonio Gramsci, hegemony was the process by which subaltern populations and groups are supressed and ruled by dominant ones. Hegemony then does not merely refer to the dominant mode *per se* but to the mechanism through which it assumes its dominance on what Gramsci terms "the domain of contradictions".[xi] The hegemonic power or image not only accepts oppositions and contradictions but thrives upon them, as long as they never usurp it. The dominant group is also in constant development and revolution; it has superseded previous regimes and will, itself, be superseded eventually. Taking an idea from Marx's "Preface to a *Critique of the Political Economy*" of 1859, Gramsci also makes the prescient point that these competing modes and ideologies are formed long before they materialise in a given culture. Hegemonic dominance does not happen overnight, it draws upon familiar ideas and cultural images that are already in existence, sometimes reinventing them, sometimes reviving them.

This last point is particularly important for our topic here because both the dominant and the subaltern images of British wartime masculinity were in existence long before the war began. They were not invented by a propaganda machine but were instead part of a continually moving field that stretched back to the 1920s and before. Raymond Williams' notions of 'residual' and 'emergent' cultures describe neatly the tectonic shifting of masculine modes in this period, as residues of older masculine images were redeployed to aid in the war effort.[xii] Films like 1941's *Love on the Dole* and Humphrey Jennings' *The Silent Village* (1943) are as much concerned with pre and post war Britain as with the period 1939 to 1945 and the same can be said of its depiction of masculinity.

Here I would like to examine three 'versions' of non-enlisted masculinity that repeatedly occur in fictional British wartime cinema – the pensioner, the mummy's boy and the spiv - and make specific reference to three films of the period: *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943), *Band Waggon* (1940) and *Waterloo Road* (1945). As stated earlier, there are direct lines to be drawn between these films and representations in later cultural texts like *Dad's Army* suggesting, I hope, that these three character-types were not contingent or accidental, but formed an integral part of what many writers have conceived of as the myth of the People's war.[xiii]

Jones – Or, The Pensioner

The image of the Home Guard as a collection of old men and outsiders did not begin in 1968 with *Dad's Army*, as Angus Calder writes:

> The Old Sweat of the First World War was known to refuse to drill, to refuse to accept responsibility, or to get hoity-toity when he found he had to share a rifle with two (or perhaps ten) other Volunteers. One swore irreverently that its zone commander had been tended personally by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War; but the press concluded that the oldest L.D.V. was probably a former regimental sergeant major from Crieff, in Perthshire, who had first seen action in the Egyptian Campaign of 1884-85.[xiv]

This image not only suggests a distillation of the character of Private Jones but also what his character-type represented for surrounding notions of masculinity. Like Jones, the 'Old Sweat' of the Home Guard was a residual mode of maleness that stretched back to colonial and therefore simpler forms of warfare. It was not simply a case that these particular old men differed in degree from modern hegemonic masculinity, they differed in type: their frames of reference, particularly of course in relation to the fighting, were not only outmoded (as with, for instance, Powell and Pressberger's *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*) they dangerously underestimated the current situation.

J.B. Priestly's Postscript of Sunday 16th June 1940 is instructive here. Priestly likens the L.D.V to the shepherds and woodsmen of "Thomas Hardy's fiction in which his rustics meet in the gathering darkness on some Wessex hillside". He then goes on to draw parallels between the Napoleonic wars of Hardy's boyhood and the present day conflict concluding that "all this raiding and threat of invasion, though menacing and dangerous enough, was not some horror big enough to split the world – but merely our particular testing time; what *we* must face, as our forefathers faced such things…".[xv] By the middle of the war, this position was becoming untenable and the sense that the rules of war had changed drastically, and that Britain had also to change, was gaining prominence.

The Home Guard however formed only one of the residual narratives that surrounded depictions of ageing men in wartime films. The music hall provided a stable of comic male characters that would be deployed throughout the period; uppermost in this was the image of the 'old codger', enshrined in performers like Frank Randle, Will Hay, Moore Marriott and Robb Wilton. British cinema had a long tradition of borrowing from music hall and variety theatre and production companies such as Butchers and Mancunian regularly plundered the popular stage for their performers. The translation of stage act to screen was often a simple one and the films of character actors like Frank Randle and Arthur Lucan (Old Mother Riley) are often passed over by film criticism because of this. However, as Richards and Sheridan state, these cheaply made comedies and melodramas were hugely popular and their stars were big draws in their day.[xvi]

Will Hay's characters in films such as *The Goose Steps Out* (1942) and *The Black Sheep of Whitehall* (1942) provided a more nuanced depiction of non-hegemonic masculinity than any of those in *Dad's Army*. Hay's characters were satires on class and pretention as well as age and stretched far back into a career that began in 1914 after he joined Karno's Speechless Comedians.[xvii] Hay's career was built on the subtle and gentle satirising of the bourgeoisie –

the pretentious but ultimately ignorant schoolteacher, the inept barrister or the unorganised fire chief. His characters had social power but they were out of control and it's easy to see what they would have meant for music hall audiences during the privations of the inter-war period. Throughout his life, Hay played characters that were far older than he was himself and they were as inept as they were middle aged. Hay's wartime films placed him firmly on the Home Front as he assumed roles in reserved occupations like policemen, firemen and schoolmaster (teacher and schoolmaster were covered in the Schedule of Reserved Occupations of 1938). Even without Moore Mariott to accentuate the problems of age, Hay's characters were always men out of their time: Captain Benjamin Viking of *Where's That Fire?* (1940) more closely reflected Priestly's Hardyesque collection of rural mechanicals than the technologically advanced fire service they find themselves up against; and William Potts in *The Goose Steps Out* recycled Hay's familiar character from the film *Boys Will Be Boys*, initially released in 1935.

Hay's masculinity is certainly outside of the wartime hegemonic norm and clearly represents a residual mode that stretches back to the 1920s and 30s. However this residue was redeployed by filmmakers and producers and gleefully consumed by a cinema going public wary of the kind of red tape and small minded bureaucracy that threatened British action in the 'phoney war' years of 1939 and 1940. In the People's war it was upper middle class males who were viewed with the most suspicion, most particularly intellectuals who fell outside of the twin images of the temperate hero and the warrior spirit. Mass Observation cites a surveyor who, in 1942, suggested that Sir Stafford Crips might be "too closely surrounded with "bright" intellectuals to provide popular appeal" for most people and, as Rose details, the links between intellectualism and dangerous pacifism was seen as almost inevitable.[xviii] Perhaps because of this, Hay's brand of humour, that pricked the fragile bubble of bourgeois pretence, proved hugely popular throughout the war.

The most noticeable ageing character however throughout the war was that of Colonel Blimp. Created by David Low in the 1930s in a series of cartoons for the London Evening Standard, Colonel Blimp was not strictly non-enlisted (he was after all a Colonel) however there are obvious parallels between Blimp and characters like Private Jones and Captain Mainwaring.

Powell and Pressberger's character of Clive Wynne-Candy both draws, and departs, from Low's cartoons. Wynne-Candy is satirical *and* sympathetic and, again, represents the combination of age and class in transition. The narrative of *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* compares the successive military campaigns of the Crimea, the First, and then the Second World War finding in these conflicts a manifestation of an increasingly precarious position regarding the British sense of fair play and mannered civility. Both in the cartoon and in the film, Blimp is contrasted with the ideological needs of total war. The statesmen-like gentility of nineteenth century conflicts (and, to a lesser extent, the First World War) have no place in a war characterised by mass extermination, doodlebugs and Nazism. Throughout the film, Wynne-Candy comes to realise that he is an anachronism, a fact that he (and the film) sees as regrettable but necessary.

The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp can be considered in terms of its positioning in the conflict, coming after the phoney war but before what Churchill euphemistically termed "the rough and tumble of D Day".[xix] In February 1942, the House of Commons debated what Frederick Pethick Lawrence called "Blimpery in all fields of life".[xx] It is obvious from this

discussion that Blimp represented something fundamental in terms of masculinity to British society and moreover something that the authorities wanted to distance themselves from. Sir Stafford Crips ends the debate with the resounding phrase that they should bury the "the late and not lamented Colonel Blimp" forever.

As Rattigan discusses, Powell and Pressberger's depiction of Blimp is less condemnatory than might be suggested from this exchange.[xxi] There *is* nostalgia in their characterisation, a nostalgia that is only heightened by the dreaminess of the technicolour cinematography; however there is also regret that contemporary politics has forced humanity to abandon the values it once had and that once meant so much. Clive Wynne-Candy is, like Private Jones, a relic of simpler wars that were characterised by colonial might and a comforting geographical distance. Throughout the film he comes to realise this but it is a truth that contemporary audiences on the Home Front would have been well aware of; in fact this image appears in other films of the period most noticeably the Chelsea pensioners in Carol Reed's *The Way Ahead* (1944) who offer advice and criticism in equal measure whilst sitting on the side lines.

British wartime cinema's depiction of ageing masculinity skirts the line between propaganda and satire. Clive Wynne-Candy's foolishness is more than mere folly, it is a dangerous naiveté in the face of total war and the Nazi's industrial military complex. It is difficult in this dismissal of ageing maleness not to see a reflection of the public attitude towards Neville Chamberlin who, despite being only 5 years older than Churchill, was always associated in the public mind with age and privilege. Sonya. O. Rose, for example quotes an article in the *Picture Post* that frames this in no uncertain terms:

> Above all the leaders [of Britain] must be men. For the last twenty years they have been a lot of old women. The Old Woman Democracy of Neville Chamberlin, John Simon and Samuel Hoare has got to give way to the Leader Democracy of such men as Churchill, Duff Cooper, Bevin, Morrison and Amery.[xxii]

What is interesting here is the cross-party nature of this list. What is being suggested as a panacea for the country in 1940 is not political (Churchill, Duff Cooper and Amery were Conservatives, Bevin and Morrison Labour) neither was it based in class but linked inevitably to the hegemonic vision of masculinity.

Pike - Or, the Stupid Boy

In his extensive study of masculinity in British cinema, Andrew Spicer isolates two 'alternative masculinities' in wartime film, the Fool and the Rogue. As Spicer details, these not only existed outside of the usual hegemonic boundaries but also had a relationship with each other; for every fool there was a rogue and for every rogue a well-meaning fool. Spicer's conception of the wartime Fool posits a continuum between characters played by the likes of George Formby, Will Hay and The Crazy Gang and the Shakespearian jester who possess licence to prick the pretensions of the King because "[a]s Fools or Rogues, they battle… the pompous, the pretentious , the bullies and the kill joys".[xxiii]

This is a liberating image and it certainly has validity, the characters played by Frank Randle, Arthur Lucan or George Formby can all be read against the concept of the carnivalesque that Andy Medhurst asserts is endemic within the music hall tradition.[xxiv] Their drunkenness, stupidity, ignorance and downright doltishness were, in their own right, a liberating force from

the constraints of wartime austerity. At the end of George Formby's *Let George Do It!* (1940) for example, Formby is famously depicted punching Hitler after first hailing him mid-sentence with the line "Oi windbag!" It was a sequence that Mass Observation detailed as being the most popular in the film and was one only a fool could carry off. [xxv]

The foolish however, although undesirable, are not necessarily unmanly and in wartime cinema the masculine hegemony is re-enforced by other, more subaltern images. Arthur Askey played a series of foolish characters throughout his career. Beginning in the concert parties of the First World War and cutting his teeth in variety and music hall. Big Hearted Arthur was a huge success in the radio series *Band Waggon* which ran from 1938 to 1940. *Band Waggon* displays elements of variety theatre rooted in the 1930s and heralds the emergence of a new form of zanier Marx Brothers-inspired comedy that would find its natural apotheosis in *Round the Horne* and *The Goon Show* in the 1950s and 1960s. Askey starred in eight wartime films and in all but two (*King Arthur was a Gentleman* (1942) and *Bees in Paradise* (1944)) he plays non-enlisted parts. Askey's size and cheerfulness alone placed him outside of traditional notions of manliness but, as Robert Murphy outlines, in his early films especially there is also an effeminacy that is gradually abandoned throughout the war:

> In *Band Waggon* 'Stinker' [Richard Murdoch] and 'Big' [Arthur Askey] are to all intents and purposes a gay couple. [In one scene] Askey puts a bolster between them when they have to share a bed in the castle, but the clanking of the ghost (Moore Marriott) soon has them clutching each other in terror.[xxvi]

Murphy goes on to describe how subsequent films re-negotiate the relationship between Askey and Murdoch, lessening the suggestion that both are un-conscripted through reasons other than occupation. In two of their next three films (*Charley's Big Hearted Aunt* (1940) and *I Thank You* (1941)) the hint of homoerotism is neatly avoided through Askey's cross-dressing that nods towards pantomime and female impersonators such as Arthur Lucan and Robb Wilton. In *The Ghost Train* (1941), as Murphy states, Murdoch takes a much more traditional male lead and is clearly a counterpoint to Askey's effeminate childishness.

Askey's characters are, like Private Pike, Mummy's boys; their relationship to women is child-like with very little of the shy proto-sexuality of George Formby. If the latter acts like a teenager on a first date, the former acts like a toddler, blissfully unaware of the inappropriateness of his behaviour and his inability to acknowledge the charms of women. In *Back Room Boy* (1942) Askey begins the film in a relationship with a woman but this is soon lost and he travels to a lighthouse to escape women forever; in *Miss London Ltd* (1943) he traverses a whole agency full of beautiful women without a hint of the sexual interplay that would undoubtedly characterise a Formby or a Frank Randle film.

Crucially Askey's characters are mostly depicted living on the Home Front. However this is never overtly thematised as it is with many comedy films of the period where non-enlistment becomes a barrier to be overcome and, more often than not, also a way of getting the girl. It might be tempting to view Askey as a manifestation of a country's desire for the carnivalesque but it is just as possible to view this as yet another playing out of non-hegemonic masculinity. Even when Arthur is called up (in 1942 and 1944) his status is more platoon mascot than serious soldier or airman. The ideological subtext of this is clear: children and fools have no place in a man's army.

The seminal moment for the Askey character however comes in *Back-Room Boy* (1942), as Arthur Pilbeam makes his way to carry out the important war work which is described initially as "terribly important" and having "millions depend on him". After a series of scenes designed to inflate the importance of his employment, it is revealed to be nothing more taxing than the pressing of a button that provides the pips for the World Service clock. Arthur is a pipsqueak himself and so it makes sense that his role in the war should be reduced to providing such insignificant noises. Although there is an attempt at a romantic storyline with Betty, Arthur's closest relationship in the film is with Jane the young evacuee, played by Vera Frances, who acts as a surrogate sibling that only serves to accentuate his own childishness. In the final scenes, Arthur's emasculation becomes complete as Betty is given his job and, despite getting the girl for once, Arthur runs off holding Jane's hand rather than Betty's, a suggestion that he is more at home with the sexless children than the sexy adults.

Walker – Or, the Spiv

Robert Murphy first identified the cycle of films that detailed the figure of the spiv.[xxvii] The spiv skirted the borderline between legality and criminality and experienced a brief popularity in the films of post-war austerity Britain. As Peter Wollen points out, their initial characterisation was dark, drawing from Film Noir but given a distinctly British sheen.[xxviii] By the late 1950s and 1960s however depictions of the spiv had solidified into the comic and a long line of gaudy suited, trilby wearing wide boys from Max Miller, through Flash Harry to Private Walker denuded and declawed what were originally deeply ambiguous examples of maleness. Although linked to rationing and wartime shortages, the spiv only really makes his presence known in cinema after 1945. The 'spiv cycle' begins with Gainsborough's *Waterloo Road* (1945), although Wollen makes a convincing case that Clifford Odets' film *None but the Lonely Heart* (1944) predates it by a year. It is however only with films like *Appointment with Crime* (1946), *Dancing with Crime* (1947), *Brighton Rock* (1947) and *They Made Me a Fugitive* (1947) that the genre really begins to take shape.

The social and cultural position of the spiv in the postwar period has been covered neatly by writers like Murphy and Wollen, however as David Hughes suggests, there was another aspect to the spiv that is instructive for considerations of non-hegemonic masculinity: his sexuality. The familiar look of the spiv, his sartorial exuberance in the form of loud silk ties, flashy suits and wide brimmed hats was in direct contrast to the greyness of clothing rationing but also provided a flashy alternative to the acceptable image of the enlisted male, as Hughes states:

> [The spiv] over-compensated for the drabness, becoming almost feminine in the process, decked out in the patterns and shades of cheap bulls-eyes, all their tough swagger just a device to conceal a soggy cowardice underneath.[xxix]

The spiv was a rare peacock on the Home Front, his louche sexuality was depicted as both dangerous and fascinating. In *Waterloo Road*, Stewart Granger's character Ted Purvis exemplifies the early (pre-comic) conception of the spiv; he possesses a flashy masculinity that is held in direct contrast to the temperate hero of John Mills' Jim Coulter, a serviceman. Purvis' suits (cut in the American style) display a suspicious disregard for rationing and he is constantly linked to the gaudiness of the amusement arcade where he and his cronies spend most of their time.[xxx] The narrative sees him pursuing the affections of Tillie Coulter, Jim's

wife, whilst he is away on active service, articulating the perceived fear that non-enlisted men were free to steal the women of the enlisted. The spiv, with his flamboyance and easy money was as much a figure of sexual licentiousness as criminality. He was also forever linked to the consumerist desire so interrupted by rationing. The spiv was both provider and consumer of black-market goods and as such was held with doubled suspicion by authorities.

As Adrian Horn details, the uniform of the spiv also reflected the increasing influence of American culture in British society.[xxxi] The wide lapels and broad shoulders of the zoot suit were taken from US gangster movies and imported into England via US servicemen. The link between the spiv and the more dangerous elements of American culture was summed up in the 1949 Mass Observation study on Juvenile Delinquency when it described the scene at a local dancehall:

> Most of the people here are of the working class. Only one or two 'Dago' or 'Spiv' types are present. They are dressed in their own, or rather the American singular style –i.e. cut back collar with large knotted tie; 'Boston Slash Back' hair cut; and a 'house coat' style of jacket usually in light fawn with brown flannels to match.[xxxii]

Ted Purvis is obviously the older brother of these young ne'er-do-wells and as such represents an emergent masculine mode that would solidify in the 1950s with youth subcultures like the Teddy Boys and the Mods.[xxxiii] In *Waterloo Road* however he represents a sexually excessive danger lurking within the bosom of British society, a criminal but also a flashy outsider who would steal your wife as well as your watch.

As Britain struggled through the age of austerity, the spiv became more and more prominent in crime cinema. As Richard Hornsey details he became an image of excessive consumption, not only a route into the black market but the antithesis of the upstanding masculinity needed to build the New Jerusalem.[xxxiv] The introduction of bread and potato rationing in 1946 and 1947 meant that the need for black market goods became more pressing and widespread; however the reasons for such measures were no longer based in the fight against evil but in governmental mismanagement of national resources. However, the post-war spiv cycle was always more concerned with sin than crime as the petty thievery and racketeering associated with these gatekeepers of the black market were constantly twinned with transgressions of a more sexual kind. In this way the spiv represented a quilting point for numerous social anxieties and said as much about the sanctity of the family unit as the law.

Primarily created after the war, the spiv would continue to feature in comedies like *Dad's Army* and the *St Trinians* films right up until the 1970s. However much of their louche sexuality would find its way into the youth and popular culture of the 1950s as the Teddy Boys would adopt much of their sartorial extravagance, if not their petty criminality.

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The image of the temperate hero, as Rose details, was crucial to the war effort and appears in many British films of the period. It offered a palatable alternative to what Lynne Segal calls "the martial men" of the Third Reich and formed an integral part of the folklore of the People's War.[xxxv] However, in order for this image to be concretised, alternatives needed to be posited and discarded and depictions of what was not manly were as important as what

were. The old, the weak and the wicked were beyond the bounds of the hegemonic mode and therefore provided alternative expressions of masculinity both for those who were fighting and (perhaps more importantly) those on the Home Front.

Williams' notion of residual and emergent cultures (although based on large-scale epistemic shifts in his own work) offers a way of viewing the constantly moving state of masculine hegemony. It is not the case that alternative masculinities are *created* simply to shore up the dominant mode, instead residues of previous identities are seized upon and emerging trends are highlighted. This is perhaps why issues of gender can never be untangled from age, class and social history, they are always in constant negotiation, always processual. Privates Jones, Pike and Walker - as the pensioner, the fool and the spiv - represented this process occurring, as British society drew upon the music hall of the 1930s *and* the influx of American culture that would manifest itself fully in the 1950s, for its images of errant men.

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