

CLASS, SEXUALITY AND THE BRITISH CINEMA 1956-63

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is concerned to provide an analysis of a selected group of British films - the social problem film and the working-class films of the 'new wave' - in relation to the social and economic context of their production and reception during the years 1956-63. It examines, first, the economic, political and ideological relations characteristic of British society during this period, second, the specific economic and industrial relations in which the films were made, third, the dominant aesthetic conventions upon which the films drew and, finally, the individual details of the films themselves. By focussing, in particular, on the films' representations of class and sexuality the thesis attempts to assess not only how the films were 'influenced' by their context of production but how they were themselves 'influential' in shaping the ways in which the social world was to be perceived and understood and so contributed to more general relations of economic, political and cultural power.

INTRODUCTION

It is not so long ago that the British cinema could be described, with some justice, as the 'unknown cinema'.¹ While critical interest in Hollywood could be seen to be accelerating it had not been accompanied by any comparable degree of enthusiasm for the British film. Indeed, if anything, it was precisely the effort to critically rehabilitate the American cinema, through an adoption of the critical practices of auteurism, which had, in fact, precipitated the corresponding denigration of the British. For, while the American cinema could be happily mined for evidence of personal artistry and stylistic complexity, the study of the British cinema, by comparison, seemed incapable of delivering any degree of equivalent reward. "Why are good British films so bad?", exclaimed Peter Graham as a prelude to his work of demolition on the films of the British 'new wave'.² Victor Perkins was no less scathing: "There is as much genuine personality in Room at the Top, method in A Kind of Loving, style in A Taste of Honey as there is wit in An Alligator Named Daisy, intelligence in Above Us the Seas, and ambition in Ramsbottom Rides Again".³ In both cases, it was the absence of any genuine artistic (i.e. directorial) personality in British films which lay at the heart of their objections. But, even with the shift towards "qualified auteurism", in the form of genre studies, in the early seventies, the British cinema was to continue to fare badly by comparison with its American counterpart.⁴ In contrast, to the dynamism and richness of vocabulary characteristic of such American genres as the western or gangster film, the genres most typical of the British cinema (the historical drama or war film, for example) appeared languid and threadbare.

More recently, however, this ^{critical} abandonment of the British cinema has begun to be corrected. In some cases, this has involved a qualification of earlier assumptions. Auteurism has been retrieved by a focus on directors like Michael Powell and Alexander Mackendrick while the value of genre study has been vindicated through studies of Hammer horror and Gainsborough melodrama.

In other cases, it has involved a reorientation of critical approach towards a more general concern with the relations between British films and their social and historical context.⁶ Although this may be regarded as a consequence of the relative lack of reward in a more specifically 'aesthetic perspective', subsequent writing has shown that it need not.⁷ Charles Barr's study of Ealing, for example, is able to tease out connections between films and their social context without any sacrifice in attention to aesthetic detail. But, while a concern to relate films to society may have proved itself popular, the manner in which such relations are to be specified does still remain an unsettled question. As it is a concern which also characterises this study, it may be just as well to begin with some clearing of the conceptual ground.

Film and Society

Perhaps, the most popular way of conceptualising the relationship between 'film and society' has been through the idea of 'reflection': that films in some way mirror the society of which they are a part.⁹ It is, indeed, this analogy of the "mirror" which gives the title to one of the best-known books on the British cinema: Raymond Durnat's A Mirror for England.¹⁰ The problem with this notion of 'reflection', however, is that the detail of just what and whom may be seen as being 'reflected' tends to be left rather vague and imprecise. Charles Barr, for example, draws attention to Durnat's claim that "a new contentedness with the status quo is registered by Ronald Neame's The Card". As he correctly points out, "whose contentedness is not made clear: Neame's, Rank's, the regular Guinness-comedy audience, the nation's".¹¹ The actual social groups and social relations which characterise 'society' are left unspecified, 'society' becomes little more than the 'mood' or 'spirit of the times' which the films themselves register. Thus, when Durnat argues that it is "logical and usual to consider even impersonal and anonymous art-works as expressions of a general

consensus", this is adopted as a taken-for-granted assumption rather than put to the test.¹² It may be the case that the films he examines do, in fact, reveal a 'consensus' in the messages and meanings which they provide, it does not imply that there is then a consensus in society or, if there is, that this is then spontaneous, unaffected by the unequal exchange and distribution of ideas and values in a society divided by class, gender and race. In other words, far from expressing a 'general consensus' films may just as probably be in the business of creating images of consensus where none exists, attempting, indeed, to secure the conditions under which 'consensus' in a divided society may be 'won'.

Film and Ideology

It is these more specific relations between 'film and society' which a theory of ideology has traditionally attempted to account for. Its emphasis is less on the way that films passively 'reflect' the attitudes and values of a homogeneously conceived society than the manner in which films themselves may assume a participatory role in an unequal and divided society through their active construction of the ways in which the world is to be perceived and understood. As Stuart Hall suggests, an ideology may be defined in terms of "the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works."¹³ But while social groups may employ different, and even opposing, versions of social reality this does not mean that ideologies can then be seen to compete in some free and equal market-place for ideas. By virtue of their command over economic and political resources, some groups, rather than others, will be better placed to apply and communicate their particular definitions and accounts of social reality. As a result, it is the ideologies of the most powerful groups within society which are most likely to achieve a dominance and thus the capacity to impose themselves upon other social groups as the most

'obvious', 'natural' or 'commonsense' way of looking at the world.¹⁴ It is, indeed, the success of dominant social groups in both justifying and legitimating their domination and thus winning the 'active consent' of subordinate groups for their continuing rule which Gramsci sought to account for by his use of the term 'hegemony'.¹⁵ But, as Raymond Williams suggests, this should be seen not as some simple process of 'indoctrination' or 'manipulation' but, rather, as "a saturation of the whole substance of lived identities and relationships".¹⁶ That is to say, the dominant ideology, or ideologies, assume the forms of a 'practical consciousness', becoming^{ing} a lived reality for the members of a society, not only framing and delimiting but also, indeed, constituting the very parameters of their understanding and perception of the social world. It is for this reason that Hall et.al. reject the conventional notion of a social 'consensus':

"What the consensus really means is that a particular ruling-class alliance has managed to secure ... such a total social authority, such decisive and ideological leadership, over the subordinate classes that it shapes the whole direction of social life in its image ... it encloses the material, mental and social universe of the subordinated classes for a time within its horizon. It naturalises itself, so that everything appears 'naturally' to favour its continuing domination. But, because this domination has been secured by consent ... that domination not only seems to be universal (what everybody wants) and legitimate (not won by coercive force), but its basis in exploitation actually disappears from view. Consensus is not the opposite - it is the complementary face of domination."¹⁷

Of central importance, in this respect, is the role which is performed by the mass media. As Stuart Hall also suggests:

"Many institutions contribute to the development and maintenance of hegemonic domination: but, of these, the mass media systems are probably (along with the schools) the critical ones ... They 'connect' the centres of power with the dispersed publics: they mediate the public discourse between elites and the governed. Thus they become, pivotally, the site and terrain on which the making and shaping of consent is exercised, and, to some degree,¹⁸ contested. They are the key institutions in cultural hegemony."

Although Hall's point of reference is primarily television, his observations can be seen to include the cinema.

There are, however, qualifications. The dominant ideology, or ideologies, for example, do not simply reduce, or correspond, to the interests of dominant social groups. As Williams reminds us, the securing of hegemony is neither automatic nor effortless: "it has to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified" just as "it is also continually resisted, limited, altered (and) challenged by pressures not at all its own".¹⁹ Hegemony, then, does not depend on the straightforward imposition of a uniform ideology "from above" but also on the capacity to absorb, and make its own, ideological discourses "from below".²⁰ By the same token, neither does the dominant ideology simply represent some already fixed and pre-given class or group identity. The economically dominant class does not enter the arena as an already-constituted and homogeneous force: its apparent reality may, indeed, be one of internal competition and division (as in the case of the tensions between industrial and finance capital). Ideology, then, does not simply reflect a given class identity but may itself become, through its articulation and orchestration of ideological elements, an active agent in the construction of an effective class unity in the first place.²¹ Chambers et.al. suggest the potentially important role which the media may perform in this respect. Drawing on their studies of television broadcasts, they conclude that "far from expressing or reflecting a given class interest, television is one of the sites where ideological elements and positions are articulated into a specific type of political class discourse".²² It is for this reason that it is insufficient to simply substitute the idea that films 'reflect' society with one in which films are now seen as 'reflecting' ideologies. Not only does this ignore the more generally active role in ideological production which films may perform but also the specificity of the manner in which they do so. Films do not simply serve as the neutral transmitters of ideological meanings already generated elsewhere but are themselves actively productive of such meanings. Films represent, in the words of Stephen Heath, a 'specific signifying practice' whereby meanings are not simply relayed but actively

constructed through specifically textual operations and dynamics.²³ Films may, indeed, rely upon or take for granted particular ideological assumptions but they also 'work' these assumptions according to their deployment of specifically aesthetic codes and conventions. As a result, ideological meanings are not so much 'reflected' or reproduced in film texts as refreshed, reworked and even, on occasion, subverted.

Society, Ideology and the British Cinema 1956-63

What these formulations provide, then, is not some easy-mix recipe for the identification of the ideological role of film but, rather, an orientating framework, a way of asking questions, which must ultimately rely on an empirically-based (if not then empiricist) enquiry for its final substantiation.²⁴ It is, indeed, such an enquiry which the ensuing analysis hopes to provide. In the process, so is it also intended to contribute to the growing enthusiasm for a critical re-examination of the British cinema. In order to do so, it opts for a specific rather than general focus, for depth rather than breadth. It deals with a comparatively short period - loosely the years between 1956 and 1963 - and with only a selection of the films characteristic of this era, primarily the British social problem film and the working-class films of the British 'new wave'. In line with the observations above, its concern is not simply with the films alone but also the social and economic context in which they were produced and received. By focusing, in particular, on representations of class and sexuality, it attempts to map out how these films not only contributed to the ways in which the social world was to be perceived and understood but how, in doing so, they also connected to, and to some extent, reinforced more general relations of economic, political and cultural power.

To be able to establish these connections satisfactorily requires an initial consideration of the social and ideological relations more generally characteristic of British society during this period. Such an account is

provided by Chapter One.²⁵ Although the method of analysis adopted by this study could clearly apply to other periods, the period selected does provide nonetheless a peculiarly pertinent test case. For it was during this period, loosely the years of McMillan, in which Britain's post-war blend of a mixed economy, Keynesianism and the welfare state appeared, finally, to have "delivered the goods". Economic growth combined with rising living standards had created a new era of material well-being and 'affluence' and, in so doing, laid the foundation-stone of a new social 'consensus' in which the traditional divisions of class, political party and, even, ideology itself were believed to be at an end. But while this central image of the 'affluent society' did, indeed, connect with real social and economic changes it was, at the same time, over-eager in its assumptions, too ready to anticipate permanent and even developments from trends which were often only temporary as well as contradictory. Despite rises in living standards, what the 'affluent society' had not achieved was either a reversal of the British economy's long-term structural decline or a diminution in relative class inequalities. Far from presiding over the withering away of class and the 'end of ideology' it was the rhetoric of the 'affluent society' itself which was to assume the proportions of a fully-blown ideology. Rather than the 'affluent society' securing the conditions necessary for a spontaneous movement towards 'consensus' it was the ideology of affluence itself, with its promise of bounty to come, which was actively combative in the manufacture and mobilisation of 'consent'.

Not, then, that this society of 'affluence' could claim to have resolved all of its problems. Panics over teenagers, working wives and racial tension all testified to the social anxieties which remained. But while these unsettled the new 'consensus' in one way so, by the way they became represented, could they also be deployed to reconfirm its basic contours. Just as the ideology of 'affluence' sought to deny the continuing existence of classes, so too did the predominant definitions of social problems attempt to make invisible the deep-seated connections between these problems and a continuing

structure of social and economic inequality by converting them into issues of morality and public order alone. Their real index of determination so removed from view, it then became possible to anticipate their 'resolution' in ways which were entirely compatible with the capacities of the present social order (and, thus, the accompanying 'consensus').

Such was the pervasiveness of the assumptions underpinning the ideology of 'affluence' that even those groups who were most vocal in their disapproval of the new order (the Angry Young Men, CND, the New Left) could not entirely escape its stranglehold. By virtue of their stress on the cultural and the ethical, they too readily conceded, or divorced from their criticisms, the economic assumptions on which the ideology of affluence was predicated. Thus, for all of their undoubted impact, there was, in the final analysis, a tendency merely to invert the terms of the dominant ideology, highlighting the negative aspects of affluence, rather than breaking with its terms entirely and thus giving birth to a fully-fledged oppositional viewpoint.²⁶

The pertinence of these observations to an understanding of the films of this period should already be becoming apparent. It was through the social problem film, for example, that many of the era's anxieties became addressed: juvenile delinquency, racial tension, sexual deviance. Through the 'new wave' of working-class realism the very issues of class and affluence themselves became a topic. And, so, in a very general sense, did they also confirm many of the attitudes already outlined. In common with the ideology of affluence, the social problem film tended to ignore the socially structured inequalities and conflicts which continued to characterise British society and emphasized, instead, the possibilities of resolving problems to the benefit of the prevailing 'consensus'; while, for all of its apparent novelty and 'radicalness', the focus on working class themes and subject-matter provided by the films of the 'new wave' did not so much undermine the assumptions of 'affluence' and 'classlessness' as modify them from within by

a stress on its negative, rather than positive, impulses (the corruption of the traditional working class by materialism, for example). Not that this should be unexpected. For while the analysis of British society precedes that of the films themselves this should not be seen as projecting any hard and fast distinction between 'society', on the one hand, and 'films', on the other. As my opening remarks suggest, films of the period were not outside of society passively reproducing its themes and ideologies but were, in their own way, active in the production of these very themes in the first place. In this respect, the social problem film was as much a contributor to the definition and institutionalisation of what constituted a social problem as any other agency (in some cases, one of the most important). At the same time, this should not imply that there is then a neat and simple homology between these films and their social context. For the themes and ideologies with which such films dealt, and the ways in which they did so, must also be accounted for in more specific ways than just their connection with social and ideological relations in general.

Film and Economics

As Ed Buscombe has pointed out, most 'sociological' accounts of film tend to be characterised by an absence. Films are seen as just "mysteriously appearing", independently of the economic and technological relations in which they were produced.²⁷ By contrast, it is the argument of writers such as Murdock and Golding that it is, in fact, these economic relations which are the most decisive in determining the ideologies of media output. It is, they argue, precisely the tendency towards monopoly in ownership and control of the mass media, rather than just the distribution of economic power in general, which directly accounts for the exclusion of "those voices lacking power and resources" and, by corollary, the emphasis on those "propositions and assumptions" which constitute the ruling ideology.²⁸ It is the significance of these economic relations which Chapter Two attempts to assess. Its

emphasis, however, is less on the strict determination which Murdock and Golding's approach seems to imply than on the manner in which, in Williams' terms, such relations both exert pressures and set limits, both create possibilities for film production and impose restrictions.²⁹ Thus, it was the re-structuring of the British film industry, and its allocation of an increasingly prominent role to the independent producer, that allowed certain novel types of film production to emerge at the end of the fifties but also succeeded in holding such novelty in check, by virtue of a continuing combine control of distribution and exhibition. Thus, it was not, strictly speaking, true that monopoly control of the industry meant simply 'more of the same' for it also opened up a space from which different and alternative ideas and approaches were able to emerge. It was, indeed, this very tension between possibility and constraint which the films of the 'new wave' were to exemplify.

But while such an emphasis on the economic does help account for why certain types of films emerged in the way that they did, it does not, in itself, provide a satisfactory explanation of their ideological operations. This is partly because, as Buscombe suggests, such an approach is unable to account for "that which exists within the limits or that on which pressure is exerted"; it cannot, in other words, tell us "where ideology comes from".³⁰ That this should not, in fact, be expected is suggested by Buscombe's subsequent demand for a more "overdetermined" account of any film's "ideological complexity". Thus, while Our Daily Bread (Buscombe's example) "certainly demonstrates that the owners of the industry exerted pressure", its ideological effects could not be accounted for in terms of these pressures alone; it would also require a more general "reference to populism".³¹ By the same token, the ideological operations of British films of the fifties cannot be satisfactorily explained by reference to solely economic pressures and constraints; these too require a more general reference to the ideologies and attitudes characteristic of British society as a whole. Economic

analysis, in this respect, does not so much substitute for as complement a more wide-ranging sociological analysis.

But there is another reason why an economic analysis on its own would remain insufficient. For it is not just economic relations which exert pressures and constraints but also the aesthetic codes and conventions employed by the films themselves. As already noted, film conventions are not simply the neutral bearers of already constructed meanings but are themselves actively determinative in their production.³² It is these specifically aesthetic pressures and constraints which Chapter Three attends to, focusing, in particular, on the films' deployment of narrativity and 'realism'. It argues that irrespective of any specific choice of subject matter or content the use of these conventions necessarily gravitates towards the production of particular ideological effects. The emphasis on individuals, the removal of more general social and economic questions, the stress on resolutions to problems and difficulties, it is argued, derive primarily from the interior logic of the conventions employed rather than any intrinsic characteristics of the subject-matter dealt with. While these relations hold in a general sense they are, of course, complicated and worked through differently in individual films and it is an analysis of these more specific filmic operations in individual films with which the rest of the study is concerned. By focusing on, first, (in Chapters 4 and 5) the social problem film and, second, (in Chapters 6 and 7) the working class films of the 'new wave', these discussions attempt to bring out both the general patterns shared by groups of films as well as the individual variations within these. In doing so, they also intend to suggest both how these films not only drew upon and confirmed many of the dominant ideological attitudes of the period but also how they refurbished and reworked many of these very same themes. Because of the internal complexity of an individual's films operations it is not always the case that a film 'ideological effect' straightforwardly corresponds to some simple signified or message; they also result in complications,

tensions and, even, contradictions.³³ Despite their narrative ambitions towards resolution and closure, some of the films are, in fact, better at raising certain questions rather than actually answering them. It is these discontinuities, as well as just continuities, which the analysis hopes to reveal.

Film and Interpretation

This does, of course, raise the question of interpretation. Although, as one writer puts it, all criticism is "almost by definition an elitist activity" there is nonetheless a particular obligation on an analysis which is concerned with ideology that its readings of films should not be entirely divorced from what an actual cinema audience might be reasonably expected to have taken away from a film (even if this was not necessarily consciously articulated).³⁴ As Ed Buscombe observes of one such type of criticism: "it is a strange sort of propaganda which requires an ingenious interpretation of thirty or forty years later to make its point".³⁵ In absence of any evidence of how audiences actually read British films of the late fifties and early sixties, or, indeed, of the possibility of now being able to find out, it is, of course, impossible to be entirely confident about the 'ideological effects' which individual films, or a group of films, may or may not have had. What we have is only the films themselves. But while it would clearly be a mistake simply to assume the ideological effects of any film on the basis on an inspection of textual characteristics alone, it would be equally mistaken to conclude that these same properties did not then matter. For if the forms and conventions employed by any particular film do not finally determine an audience's interpretation of it they do at least guide and structure the ways in which the film ^{is} to be read. Indeed, if they did not do so it would be virtually impossible for a film to 'mean' anything at all to an audience insofar as it is the use of these conventions which form the very basis of a film's intelligibility in the first place.³⁶ This does not imply

that there is then some simple and singular reading of a film - there will always be degrees of ambivalence and 'free play' according to the way these conventions are combined and 'put into use' - but it does suggest that some interpretations of films are more likely to be plausible than others, that some interpretations do, in the final analysis, correspond more adequately to the 'evidence of the text' (and its deployment of conventions).

The intention of the analyses which follow, then, is neither to highlight my own critical ingenuity nor radically 're-write' these films according to deconstructionist protocols; its more modest ambition is to 'bring out' some of the ways in which these films appear to encourage particular ways of interpreting the world, particular ideological attitudes and assumptions, by virtue of their choice of film conventions (of narrative, character, performance, style and technique), which, precisely because they are 'conventional' can be interpreted in a relatively systematic and coherent fashion. Not that these analyses are then without novelty. Indeed, there is ample evidence to suggest that my accounts of these film go against the grain not only of contemporary critical writing but also, in some cases, the enthusiastic responses of friends and colleagues who still remember the impact of these films from their initial release. My point is not that my explanations of the films were generally available to and acknowledged by contemporary audiences, as they clearly were not, but that the attitudes and assumptions which my analysis reveals were nonetheless implicit in the films' organisation of their material and, indeed, all the more ideologically powerful because of the way they were able to pass without notice. Thus, while my analysis of the representations of women in the films of the 'new wave' is clearly indebted to recent feminist writing this does not make its conclusions simply a product of a modern perspective. These representations were, in a sense, always 'there'; that they should have passed without comment for so long is no more than a testimony to the degree to which they were accepted as both 'normal' and unproblematic and, thus, to

the extent to which ideologies of gender had become effectively 'naturalized'.³⁷

To this extent, the project of the study which follows can be seen as primarily analytical rather than evaluative. The space devoted to individual films is not so much warranted by considerations of their cinematic 'merits' or 'qualities' as their interest for an ideological analysis. But, by virtue of making this a central focus, there are inevitably implications for how judgements of cinematic value are to be reached in the first place. Assessment of cinematic quality is, of course, neither automatic nor settled but will of necessity vary according to the criteria of evaluation employed, whether these are made explicit or not. Clearly, an assessment of a film's ideological attitudes may not in itself provide the decisive criterion for the passing of a final judgement: there are, for example, quite legitimate reasons for the defence of the films of Sam Fuller and John Ford irrespective of their often unsympathetic politics. But such an assessment should, at least for those of us concerned "with progressive politics and with finding modes of cinematic representation congenial to them", form an important and central element. If this is so, then it must of necessity inform the critical attitude we finally take towards a film and, indeed, our initial responses. To take an example from this study. A film like Petticoat Pirates (discussed in Chapter Seven) has been conventionally dismissed as trivial and of little cinematic interest, and yet, by virtue of its treatment of gender roles, it does seem to possess a number of qualities entirely absent from such an aggressively misogynistic, but critically celebrated, film like Look Back In Anger. This does not automatically make Petticoat Pirates a 'better' film than Look Back In Anger, nor even a particularly 'good' film in itself, but it does, at least for me, make it a more generally 'congenial' film to watch.

The implications of this approach are worth stressing given my general selection of films for discussion. A recent editorial in Screen, for example, has complained that, despite the novelty of approach adopted by recent writing on the British cinema, "the films it tends to focus on (and the films it tends to exclude or to marginalise from its analysis) remains substantially the same. There is discussion of Millions Like Us or Sapphire and Saturday Night and Sunday Morning; there is no discussion of Black Narcissus or Dracula".³⁹

This may be so but what such a criticism would appear to underestimate is the importance of a reassessment of these films precisely because of the critical privilege they have enjoyed in the past. So while this study may indeed be found guilty of dwelling disproportionately on an accepted canon of films, the terms on which it seeks to account for these are clearly quite different. Of all the films made in Britain during the years 1956-63 it was, quite evidently, the social problem film and the working-class films of the 'new wave' which commanded most of the critical attention. The social problem film was generally welcomed for its commitment to 'important' and 'socially relevant' subjects and corresponding contribution to the 'good of society', while the critics, almost automatically, warmed to the 'realism' and 'honesty' of the British 'new wave'. What underpinned such responses, quite clearly, was the traditional prejudice of British critics in favour of those films which can be seen as in some way 'realistic' and/or 'socially responsible', rather than those which have adopted a more stylised or 'fantastic' approach to their film-making.⁴⁰

However, it is precisely these two assumptions - of 'realism' and 'social worth' - which the present study attempts to question. Far from applauding the 'realism' of such films and the 'accuracy' with which they were able to 'capture reality' it suggests that this relationship between film and reality is fundamentally misconceived. To paraphrase Godard, what it suggests is important is not the 'image of reality' (the adequacy of the image in relation to an external referent) but the 'reality of the image' (the cinematic means whereby a sense of the 'real' is constructed). And,

insofar as these images or representations may be seen to have ideological consequences so too is their contribution to society conceived in a different manner. Rather than reproducing the conventional liberal assumptions about, say, the social problem film's social and educative worth it explicitly makes these assumptions problematic. Most of these films did not contribute to the 'good of society' at all; they did, however, make a contribution to the 'good' of certain groups within society (and usually to those which were also the most dominant and powerful).

There is, however, another potential problem with this 'bias' in the selection of films for study. For while it may not conform to the conventional critical approach to these films, it may, nonetheless, be seen as implying that it is only these films, these 'realist' films, which can be sensibly and usefully studied in relation to a wider social context. As the editors of Screen rightly point out, it is not just 'realist' films but 'all cinema' which can be seen as working over "the fears, anxieties and desires which constitute the ideological matter of the conjuncture"⁴¹ In concentrating primarily on the social problem film and the working class films of the 'new wave', it has not been my intention to suggest that it is only these films which can be subject to the type of analysis which I propose. Other, less directly 'socially conscious', films (e.g. the horror film) could also be studied in this way and this is partly indicated by my inclusion of some comedy films for discussion in Chapters Six and Seven. Admittedly, these films do remain 'marginal' to the discussion as a whole but this should not be taken as implying that they are then, in some way, less appropriate or amenable to an ideological analysis. However, the emphasis of the analysis is, unapologetically, on the social problem film and the British 'new wave'. Although they did not represent the whole of the British cinema in this period they did represent a significant and influential part.⁴² Why they did so and with what consequences it is the aim of this book to investigate.

Conclusion

Writing in an earlier article I suggested, albeit a little portentously, the need for an analysis of the British cinema which would take into account the particular complex of circumstances in which film texts are materialised.⁴³ This would involve, I suggested, a consideration of both the general social and particular economic context of a film's production as well as its specifically cinematic, or signficatory, operations (which it could not be assumed could be simply 'read off' from these former relations). Despite changes of emphasis here and there, it is by and large these proposals which I continue to stand by and have attempted to make operative in this analysis. A declaration of principles is, of course, one thing; actually delivering the goods, another. The success and the value of the approach adopted will, in the final analysis, depend on the material which follows.

CHAPTER ONE

BRITISH SOCIETY 1956-63

From Austerity to Affluence?

"Almost at once, affluence came hurrying on the heels of penury. Suddenly, the shops were piled high with all sorts of goods. Boom was in the air."¹

"Ten years ago it was possible, and indeed usual, to look back on the 1950s as an age of prosperity and achievement ... Today we are more likely to remember the whole period as an age of illusion."²

There can be little doubt that the key to understanding Britain in the 1950s resides in the idea of "affluence", of a nation moving inexorably forward from post-war austerity and rationing to "Macmillan's soap-flake Arcadia"³ and purchase on the never-never. It was certainly in this confident, if now rather infamous, spirit that Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, was able to proclaim in 1957 that "most of our people have never had it so good. Go round the country, go to the industrial towns, and you will see a state of prosperity such as we have never had in my lifetime - nor indeed ever in the history of this country"⁴. And, to some extent, he was right. As Pinto-Duschinsky has argued, "From 1951 to 1964 there was uninterrupted full employment, while productivity increased faster than in any other period of comparable length in the twentieth century"⁵. During these years, total production (measured at constant prices) increased by 40%, average earnings (allowing for inflation) by 30% while personal consumption, measured in terms of ownership of cars and televisions rose from 2½ million to 8 million and 1 million to 13 million respectively.

Conservative pride, in this respect, derived from the fact that they were the government in power throughout this period, winning three elections in a row for the first time in the twentieth century. Having lost office in 1951, Labour had anticipated a retrenchment of traditional Toryism, as the new government reneged on the Attlee administration's commitment to welfare and full employment. In fact, the reverse was true. Following the principles of Rab Butler's Industrial Charter of 1947, the "New Conservatism" stood by

the welfare state and, with the exception of some de-nationalization, upheld the necessity of state intervention in managing the economy. "With a few modifications the Conservatives continued Labour's policy", writes Andrew Gamble. "So alike did the policies seem, especially in their economic policies, that it appeared indeed as though Mr. Butskell had taken over the affairs of the nation."⁶

"Butskellism", of course, was the term coined by The Economist to register the similarity in economic policy pursued by the Tory and Labour Chancellors and correctly identified the convergence which was beginning to emerge in the political arena. How this occurred can again be related to the question of affluence. For the Tories, the generals of the 'new affluence', their successful adaption to and management of a mixed economy seemed to prove, without recourse to traditional moral claims of the superiority of the market and private ownership, their superior fitness to run a welfare capitalist system. Pragmatics supplanted ethics: "Conservative freedom works". In the process, it was also believed that the forward march of Labour had been successfully halted:

"The fantastic growth of the economy, the spectacular rise in the standard of living, the substantial redistribution of wealth, the generous development of social welfare and the admitted humanization of private industry, have rendered obsolete the whole intellectual framework within which Socialist discussion used to be conducted."⁷

Or, as put more succinctly by Macmillan himself, "the class war is over and we have won"⁸. It was a verdict that Labour itself seemed compelled to accept.

Their response, as David Coates suggests, was to move increasingly away "from class perspectives and socialist rhetoric" towards a Revisionism which shared much of the Tory diagnosis.⁹ The context is clear: Labour were defeated in three successive elections with their share of the vote falling absolutely and proportionately on each occasion. Against this background, it was not surprising that by 1960 Abrams and Rose, in their influential analysis, could

ask the question, "Must Labour Lose?"¹⁰ By a process of inversion, the reasons for Tory success became the causes of Labour decline. "The changing character of labour, full employment, new housing, the new way of life based on the telly, the fridge, the car and the glossy magazines - all have had their effect on our political strength", observed Labour leader, Hugh Gaitskell.¹¹ In particular, the successes of Tory rule appeared to have negated the need for Labour's continuing commitment to public ownership of the economy, and it was at the 1959 party conference that Gaitskell led the attack to remove Clause 4 from the party constitution. As Crosland had argued, in his important Revisionist work The Future of Socialism, Britain no longer corresponded to a "classically capitalist society" and Labour's goals of full employment, welfare and abolition of poverty no longer depended on nationalization but were perfectly compatible with a mixed economy.¹²

Such economic and social changes were also assumed to be undermining the traditional base of Labour support. "The Revisionists", writes Coates "relied on the studies of voting behaviour to show that the old manual working-class was a dwindling section of the labour force, that affluence was in any case mellowing the class dimensions and that the electoral fortunes of the Labour Party turned on its ability to woo the new and rapidly growing white-collar, scientific and technical classes who were the key workers in this post-capitalist, scientifically based industrial system."¹³ This was a view, once again, shared with the opposition. Thus, the Right Progressives of the Tory Party, gathered round Crossbow, also argued that "economic growth dissolved the old class structure and created new social groups, in particular affluent workers and the technical intelligentsia, whom a dynamic Toryism could attract".¹⁴ In such a context of political agreement, "it became plausible to suppose that the consensus between the parties ... reflected a consensus in the nation. In the spectrum of political opinion from right to left, the

majority of the electors had moved towards the middle, the breeding ground of the floaters, leaving only minorities at the extremes ... Success in the political market now seemed to depend on capturing the centre and winning the support of the floaters".¹⁵ As such, we can see how the 'key terms' of affluence, consensus and embourgeoisement became gathered together "into an all-embracing myth or explanation of post-war social change".¹⁶ The new post-war mix of Keynes, welfare and capitalism had 'delivered the goods', the prosperity and affluence of the 1950's 'boom period', and in the process secured a 'consensus' amongst political parties on the framework within which governments should now work. At the same time, affluence was dismantling old class barriers, "embourgeoisifying" the old working class with rises in living standards and an accompanying conversion to 'consensual' middle class values.¹⁷

But, barely had the ink dried on such confident prognoses than the reality of Britain's economic difficulties became apparent with the balance of payments crisis in 1961 and subsequent imposition of a pay-pause, credit squeeze and higher taxation by Chancellor, Selwyn Lloyd.¹⁸ The roots of this crisis, however, were not local but deep-seated. As Glyn and Sutcliffe put it: "British capitalism faced increasing competition in world markets: it was continuously losing part of its share of world output and exports. Its level of investment and economic growth was low by international standards. This lack of competitiveness, combined with unwillingness to devalue the exchange rate, led to repeated crises in the balance of payments which were always answered by restrictions on home demand, further checking the rate of growth."¹⁹ Organically related to these problems was the Conservative party's reluctance to acknowledge its changed role in a world economic and political system characterised by the decline of Empire and increasing American hegemony. Its attempt to maintain sterling as a world currency led to an artificially high exchange rate, inhibiting to domestic growth and vulnerable to runs on the pound, while its commitment to an international

political and military role produced an expenditure on defence (7-10% of GNP) higher than nearly any other nation, except the USA and the USSR. As Schonfield has argued, such a heavy defence programme inhibited (non-military) industrial investment, restrained overseas demand and imposed an additional strain on the balance of payments (whose deficits often amounted to no more than a fraction of overall military expenditure).²⁰ In sum, although British economic growth had looked impressive in isolation when compared with other industrial nations it looked decidedly poor (lagging well behind such European competitors as West Germany, France and Italy). As such, Britain's economic 'miracle' rested upon purely "temporary and fortuitous circumstances"²¹ (such as the fall in world commodity prices) and lacked foundation in any policy of economic re-structuring or long-term investment (which once again lagged well behind its West European competitors).²² Moreover, such failures were exacerbated by the Tory administration's devotion to stop-go tactics of economic management and its policies of 'Bread and Circuses': what Pinto-Duschinsky describes as "the sacrifice of policies for long-term well-being in favour of over-lenient measures and temporary palliatives bringing in immediate returns".²³ Butler's purely expedient pre-election budget of 1955 provides the most notorious example.

What the rise in incomes and apparent abundance of consumer goods disguised then was the fragile and temporary base upon which such "affluence" had been secured. Moreover, what it also disguised was the persistence of inequality in the enjoyment of "affluence" and its continuing complicity with a structure of class division. As I have suggested, the assumption increasingly gaining credence in political rhetoric, with support from the academic community, was that capitalism was undergoing fundamental changes (indeed, no longer remaining capitalist at all), that inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth had been reduced and, as a consequence, that the old class divisions which such inequalities had maintained were in the process of being dissolved. However, as Westergaard and Reisler point out, there was no particular novelty attaching to the affluence of the 1950's: increasing

incomes had also characterised the pre-war era with gross wages rising by an average of about $1\frac{3}{4}\%$ from the early 1920's to 1938.²⁴ Moreover, such absolute increases did not in themselves imply any automatic decrease in relative inequalities. Indeed, once this question of distribution is examined a whole new light is shed upon the ideology of "affluence". Thus, despite some redistribution of income following the Second World War, the overall pattern detected by Westergaard and Reisler is that of "continuing inequality". In 1961 1% of the adult population derived 10% of total post-tax incomes (i.e. much the same as the poorest 30%) while the richest 5% enjoyed much the same income as that of the poorest 50%.²⁵ Figures for the distribution of private wealth reveal a similar picture. According to estimates made by The Economist for 1959/60 88% of tax-payers owned only 3.7% of private wealth while the richest 7% owned 84%.²⁶ Moreover, these figures retain a remarkable consistency with those from the early 1950's.²⁷ Despite the claims to the contrary, it is clear that economic inequalities had not been eroded. What is also clear is that their primary derivation also remained the same: the relations of capitalist production (with its structure of private ownership and associated control of the productive apparatus). While revisionist and post-capitalist commentators tinkered with slide-rules, what they missed was this relational character of social classes. Increases in income, shifts in occupational structure or changes in values (as emphasized by theses of 'embourgeoisement') only located movements within classes while the overall contours of class relations, constitutive of a capitalist mode of production, remained intact. Of course, occupational divisions and values are crucial to an understanding of how classes operate "on the ground". As Stuart Hall has observed, "class in its singular, already unified form is really a political metaphor ... 'fracturing' and diversity is the real empirical experience of the class".²⁸ But, nonetheless, it remains the economic relation, the relation between capital and labour, which prescribes "the parameters or outer boundaries of class structure".²⁹ In a sense, it was the

ideological achievement of the period to focus on the local shifts and transformations while concealing the essential continuity of the "outer boundaries". "Affluence assumed the proportions of a full blown ideology precisely because it was required to cover over the gaps between real inequalities and the promised Utopia of equality-for-all and ever-rising consumption to come", write Clarke et.al. "By projecting this ideological scenario, the 'affluence' myth aimed to give the working-classes a stake in a future which had not yet arrived, and thus to bind and cement the class to the hegemonic order. Here, precisely, the ideology of affluence reconstructed the "real relations of post-war British society into an 'imaginary relation'." ³⁰

Youth and the Hazards of Affluence ³¹

"And then came the gay-time boom and all the spending money, and suddenly you oldos found that though we minors had no rights, we'd got the money power." ³²

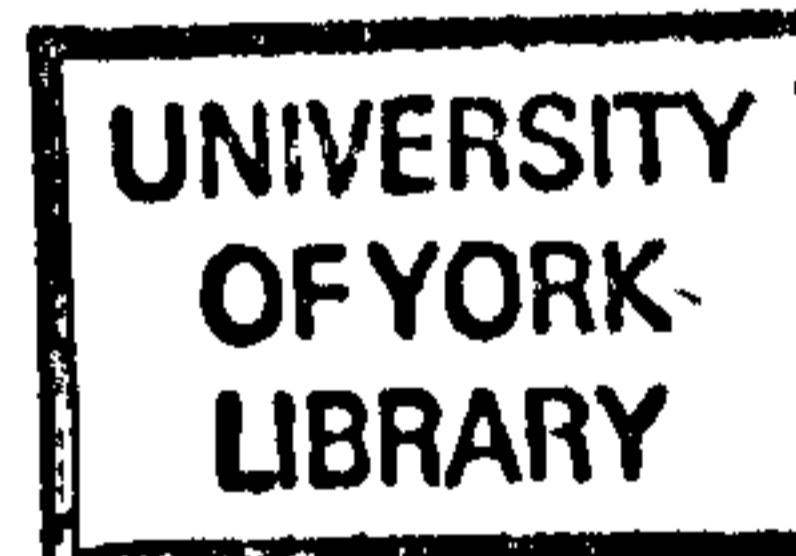
If it was classes that were presumed to be disappearing there can be little doubt that it was 'youth', by contrast, who were making an appearance. As Hopkins puts it, "Never had "Youth" - with the capital "Y" - been so earnestly discussed, so frequently surveyed, so extensively seen and heard." ³³ With its trail of Teddy Boys, Angry Young Men and nouveau riche pop stars it seemed to many that the 1950's was not only the "age of affluence" but also the "age of youth". Not that this was purely coincidental, for what above all seemed to define the novelty of youth in this period was its access to the benefits of affluence and, as a consequence, the ability to map out for itself of a distinctive cultural status. In this respect, what the 1950's discovered was not so much 'youth' as the "teenager". As a number of commentators have observed, 'youth' itself is something of a social invention, a cultural expression of social and historical circumstance rather than a biological fact. In particular, the expansion of compulsory education, decline of child labour and development of child-welfare legislation in the nineteenth-century created 'adolescence' (a term formalised in academic discourse by the writings of Stanley Hall) in

which young people were forced into a period of extended dependence.³⁴ The idea of the 'teenager', however, dates from much later and was apparently coined in the 1940's by American market researchers who wished to describe young people with money to spend on consumer durables. And, it is this linking of youth with consumption which came to define the role of the teenager in the 1950's:

"The distinctive fact about teenager's behaviour is economic: they spend a lot of money on clothes, records, concerts, make-up, magazines: all things that give immediate pleasure and little lasting use."³⁵

Indeed, this "distinctive fact" assumed a peculiar prominence with the publication of The Teenage Consumer by Mark Abrams in 1959 with its revelations that real teenage earnings had increased by 50% since 1938 (and possibly by 100% in terms of real 'discretionary' spending) and that teenage spending now amounted to £900 million a year.³⁶ Although the significance of such figures might be queried (Abrams estimates that in 1959 teenage expenditure accounted for only 5% of the total national consumer expenditure)³⁷ they undoubtedly fuelled the popular imagery of the incredibly affluent teenager devoted to an enormous expenditure on leisure:

"The Sunday Graphic in 1960 found a boy who could hang £127 worth of suits in his parents' back yard to be photographed, another who earned £5 a week and owned: five suits, two pairs of slacks, one pair of jeans, one casual jacket, five white and three coloured shirts, five pairs of shoes, twenty-five ties and an overcoat. A sixteen-year-old typist owned six dresses, seven straight skirts, two pleated ones, one overcoat and a mac, one Italian suit, one pair of boots, one of flat shoes and three of high heels. One eighteen-year-old drove a new car which he had bought for £800; many who earned something under £7 a week had motorbikes at £300. A hire purchase firm said they had 4,000 teenagers on their books and not a single bad debt."³⁸



Central to the imagery of the "affluent teenager" was the idea of a dissolution of old class barriers and the construction of a new collective identity based on teenage values. Abrams suggested that the teenagers' collective habits of consumption constituted a "distinctive teenage spending for distinctive teenage ends in a distinctive teenage world"³⁹ while Laurie contrasted this new breed of teenager with the street-corner gangs of ten years before: "The teenagers have

come into nationwide contact with each other. They have formed a society of their own".⁴⁰ Teenagers, indeed, represented the new "class" whose very badge of identity was their rejection of traditional class boundaries:

"No one, not a soul, cares what your class is, or what your race is, or what your income is, or if you're boy, or girl, or bent, or versatile, or what you are - so long as you dig the scene ... and have left all that crap behind you."⁴¹

It was in such terms, as Clarke et.al. suggests, that 'youth' came to symbolize the most advanced point of social change: "youth was the vanguard party - of the classless, post-protestant, consumer society to come".⁴² But, as these authors also suggest, this metaphor, of youth as the vanguard of social change, was also tinged with ambivalence: "Social change was seen as generally beneficial ('you've never had it so good!'): but also as eroding the traditional boundaries and undermining the sacred order and institutions of traditional society".⁴³ In particular, youth, came to serve as a metaphor for the 'underside' of the "affluent society": its slavish devotion to consumerism allegiance to superficialities and absence of "authentic" values. "Today's high income receivers are without background education and information necessary to the cultivation of stable tastes" observed one commentator. "They are exposed in innumerable ways to commercial exploitation, and induced to pay high prices for the merely novel and ephemeral ... Consequently people, and especially young people, become confused about their norms, values, tastes and standards."⁴⁴

In this respect, unease about affluence reflected a broader anxiety about the quality of life which new patterns of consumption and the explosion of mass communications (television, advertising, pop music, etc.) seemed to entail. Mass production, it was argued, eschewed the values of individual design and craftsmanship in favour of an imposed standardisation and phoney egalitarianism of taste; while the mass media (and in particular, television with its subservience to ratings and advertisers) necessarily gravitated towards the popular and lowest common denominator.⁴⁵ Thus, the Pilkington committee, set up to advise on the future of broadcasting in 1960, reported

the "dissatisfaction ... that programme items were far too often devised with the object of seeking, at whatever cost in quality or variety, the largest possible audience: and that, to attain this object, the items nearly always appealed to a low level of public taste".⁴⁶ Most influential, in this respect, was The Uses of Literacy by Richard Hoggart (subsequently a central contributor to the Pilkington Report). Although sharing the assumption of a cultural debasement consequent upon the emergence of a mass culture, Hoggart's point of contrast was not the 'high art' of more conservative critics but that of a traditional, but declining, working-class culture:

"My argument is not that there was, in England one generation ago, an urban culture still very much 'of the people' and that now there is only a mass urban culture. It is rather that the appeals made by the mass publicists are for a great number of reasons made more insistently, effectively, and in a more comprehensive and centralized form today than they were earlier; that we are moving towards the creation of a mass culture; that the remnants of what was at least in parts an urban culture 'of the people' are being destroyed; and that the new mass culture is in some important ways less healthy than the often crude culture it is replacing ... We are becoming culturally classless ... No doubt many of the old barriers of class should be broken down. But at present the older, the more narrow but also more genuine class culture is being eroded in favour of the mass opinion, the mass recreational product and the generalized emotional response."⁴⁷

As such, it was youth, and, in particular, 'the juke-box boys' who signified this cultural fall most clearly, spending "their evening listening in harshly lighted milk-bars to the 'nickelodeons'" and capitulating to the 'hollow-cosmos effect' of rock 'n' roll. "The hedonistic but passive barbarian who rides in a fifty horse power bus for threepence to see a fifty million dollar film for one and eight", he concludes "is not simply a social oddity: he is a portent".⁴⁸

This 'barbarianism' of youth, however, did not apparently stop at cultural philistinism: for what also came to dominate the imagery of youth in this period was the association of the teenager with sexual immorality and violence, such that the terms teenager and delinquent were to be applied almost synonymously. Figures for crime amongst the 14-21 age group had been

increasing from 1955 onwards while details of Teddy Boy violence (including the notorious Rock Around the Clock cinema riots of 1956) had fuelled an avid press interest. In 1958 teenage violence also interlinked with social anxiety about race and rapidly increasing immigration rates when a riot in Nottingham sparked off three nights of fighting between black and white youths in Notting Hill. Thus, by 1959, as one commentator observes, it was as if "the collective adult mind had become neurotically imprinted with the idea of the menacing teenager".⁴⁹ As if to confirm his point, Butler's White Paper in January 1959 introduced a programme of prison-building for young offenders together with plans for the administration of 'a short, sharp shock' at new detention centres and Borstals. Flick-knives were outlawed by an Act of Parliament the same year while Tory Party conferences bayed for blood. In 1958 thirty motions on crime and punishment were submitted while in 1960 ten of the resolutions on law and order explicitly advocated the return of corporal punishment. "Corporal punishment must be brought back", argued one Mrs. Tilney in 1958, "otherwise we shall find ourselves in a society dominated by young toughs who violate our girls and frighten or savagely attack older people."⁵⁰ In more subdued tones, the Albemarle Committee recommended increased funding for the Youth Service in 1960.

As with so many cases in the sociology of youth much of this "moral panic" can be associated with media amplification. As Montgomery suggests, "the wide coverage given to violence and thuggery by the press, film and television, gave the public an overdrawn, too lurid picture of the state of affairs".⁵¹ Although teenage convictions doubled during the fifties its peak was still only twenty-one per thousand in 1958. Moreover, offences for violence still represented only a small proportion of these. As Montgomery once again points out, in London they accounted for only two convictions a day for under 21 year olds: "figures which hardly justify the popular belief that there was a teenage crime-wave".⁵² In a similar spirit, Laurie has suggested that "the popular image of the giddy sex-craved teenager", as feared by Mrs. Tilney, "is rather out of

touch with the facts"⁵³ Drawing on the Central Council for Health Education survey on the sexual behaviour of young people, he points out that only a third of the boys between seventeen and nineteen and a sixth of the girls in the same age group had ever had sexual intercourse. Moreover, those that had, had usually only done so with a regular partner.⁵⁴ Even such a concerned observer as T.R. Fyvel was forced to admit in his study of Teddy Boys that sexual relationships were more usually characterised by 'insecurity' than any over-arching rapaciousness.⁵⁵

As Stanley Cohen suggests, the designation of youth as a whole in terms of sex and violence - the ascription of a number of stereotypical traits to the whole adolescent age group - represents a common ideological manoeuvre.⁵⁶ At the same time, it also constitutes a mirror-image of the affluent teenager mythology: for in both cases, the teenage group is rendered homogenous, bound together in the communality of either habits of consumption or a perplexing proclivity for anti-social behaviour. On inspection, however, the reality proves more complex. As Abrams, rather ambivalently, acknowledged his apparently "distinctive teenage spending" was almost "entirely working-class", with "typical teenage" commodities, such as magazines, being 'largely without appeal for middle class boys and girls'.⁵⁷ In a sense, this was only to be expected insofar as the extended education characteristic of middle class children tended to deprive them of the spending power enjoyed by many of their working class peers. Moreover, many of the most visible forms of youth culture, such as the Teddy Boys, were quite clearly working-class in origin and practice. The 'teenage phenomenon' was not at all some manifestation of a new 'classless' youth but almost exclusively working-class.

As Murdock and McCron suggest, it is this stress on 'classlessness' which has consistently underpinned the study of youth but only at the expense of denying an accumulating body of evidence:

"Theories of youth have been tied to the withering away of class primarily by the argument that the division between the generations has increasingly replaced class inequalities as the central axis of the social structure, and that this shift has been accentuated and confirmed by the emergence of a classless culture of youth, separated from, and opposed to, the dominant adult culture. Variations of this argument have underpinned a great deal of both the popular and sociological commentary on youth, with the result that in much of the writing, class is seen as largely irrelevant and either evacuated altogether or treated as a residual category. At the same time, however, research on youth, including much of the work generated from within the 'youth culture' paradigm itself, has persistently produced evidence which points to the continuing centrality of class inequalities in structuring both the life styles and life chances of adolescents."⁵⁸

In other words, far from transcending old class barriers the experience of the teenager was, and still is, in fact, both shaped and mediated by the structural constraints of a class-divided society.

In this respect, ideas about youth's mindless conformity to the values of mass culture and commitment to 'meaningless' violence assume a new significance. Clarke et.al., for example, argue how the youth sub-culture may be seen as the means whereby sections of working-class youth negotiate their shared conditions of existence, "resolving" at a symbolic level the problematic of a subordinate class experience (with its accompaniments of unemployment, educational disadvantage, dead-end jobs, low pay, and lack of skills).⁵⁹ Seen in this light, the working-class youth sub-culture represents less a group of passive consumers than creative stylists, appropriating and making use of commodities according to their own sub-cultural ends. As Hebdige observes, "Far from being a casual response to 'easy money' the extravagant sartorial display of the ted required financial planning and was remarkably self-conscious - a going against the grain, as it were, of a life which in all other respects was, in all likelihood, relatively cheerless and poorly rewarded".⁶⁰ By the same token, the attraction towards violence - apparently so inexplicable in an era of material well-being - may well assume a rationality (if not necessarily a justification) once it is inter-related with a continuing structure of relative class disadvantage. As Stuart Hall suggests, the degree of violence

which has characteristically been associated with traditional working-class communities "has a perfectly rational source in the conditions of life and work in which working-class men, women and young people are obliged to live, and which is indeed implicit in their very position as a class with a more-or-less permanent subordinate position in society".⁶¹ Not that this should lead us to assume that all working-class teenagers were then violent, for, as the evidence suggests, the degree of teenage violence was still more apparent than real.

As such, the dominant representations of youth in the 1950's tend to tell us more about the social groups producing them than they do about teenagers themselves. Friendenberg has suggested that the attribution to teenagers of "a capacity for violence and lust" serves the adult community "as the occasion both for wish-fulfilment and for self-fulfilling prophecy".⁶² While, both the double-edged condemnation of the culture's 'repressed' non-productive values and the implicit incitement to further acts of deviance through media exposure, as in the case of the cinema riots, provide evidence to support this, it is, perhaps, Stanley Cohen's notion of "ideological exploitation" which is the most appropriate. For Cohen, teenagers are not only economically "exploited" through the commercial provision of goods but ideologically in the way they are used to further the social and political ends of the dominant culture. In particular, their construction as 'folk devils' is fundamentally a normative one - fashioning and confirming the contours of the consensus.⁶³ Moreover, the need to reconfirm normative boundaries through the use of 'folk devils' can itself be seen as the surface sign of more deep-seated troubles. "Troubling times, when social anxiety is widespread but fails to find an organised public or political expression, give rise to the displacement of social anxiety on to convenient scapegoat groups" write Clarke et.al. "It is not surprising, then, that youth became the focus of this social anxiety, focussing, in displaced form, society's 'quarrel with itself'".⁶⁴ In this respect, the 'problem of youth' really has its roots in the anxieties of the parent culture: its concerns with the social changes wrought by 'affluence', the advent of mass culture and, more particularly, the changing role of the family and proliferation of 'perverse sexualities'.

A popular perception of the fifties is one of a period of domestic and sexual stalemate prior to the explosion of 'permissiveness' in the 1960's. As one writer puts it, it was the 'permissive society' of the sixties which finally began to free male and female sexualities from "the cloying stranglehold of marriage, family and domesticity which had characterized the 1950's".⁶⁶ With the end of the second world war, women abandoned their role in the labour force, the average age of marriage dropped and birth-rates increased with a 'boom' at the end of the forties. The social and domestic strains of wartime over, it seemed as if it was 'business as usual' and the traditional status of the home and the family was assured.

However, on a closer inspection the picture becomes more complex. Although the late forties had witnessed a baby boom, the tendency of the birth-rate was still downwards. Family size was decreasing and the bearing of children ^{was being} compressed into a shorter time-scale. Taken together with the decrease in the average age of marriage and increase in female life-expectancy, the prominence of the role of motherhood was diminishing in relation to a woman's overall life-span and was increasing her availability for work. Thus, in spite of the 'return home' of women after the war this proved to be of only temporary significance. Shortages of labour, a Government-led export drive and the renewed rearmament precipitated by the Korean war soon led to a return to work by, mainly married, women in the post-1947 period. Thus, the number of women in employment rose from 6,620,000 in 1947 to 7,246,000 in 1951 and 7,650,000 in 1957. Between the two census periods of 1951 and 1961 the proportion of married women working outside the home likewise increased from 1 in 4 to 1 in 3.

Although such a seasoned commentator as Richard Titmuss felt justified in designating such changes as 'revolutionary'⁶⁷, they were not matched by corresponding changes in cultural attitude. In a society where "the domestic

sphere, the world of work, the welfare state are all organised as if women were continuing a traditional role"⁶⁸, the dominant ideological tendency was to play down the significance of women's role in the labour force. The reality of women-as-worker might be acknowledged but only as a subsidiary role, one which remained subordinate to her traditional activities as a housewife and mother: "working was something women sometimes 'did', it did not define what they, essentially, 'were'".⁶⁹ In this respect, it became a prevalent misconception that women did not really need to go to work. It was either a way of 'getting out of the house' and 'meeting people' or, more pervasively, of making 'pin money', a mere supplement to an otherwise adequate household income.⁷⁰

In one way, such an ideology served a precise economic function. For if women's essential role was defined in relation to the family, to which paid employment remained secondary, so could they be expected to perform work which was the least skilled and worst paid (in 1958 women's average earnings represented 62% of men's). As such, the bulk of working women were employed in the distributive trades, in the clothing and textile industries and the manufacture of electrical goods. As Myrdal and Klein observe this "had nothing to do with their innate abilities or ... psychological characteristics ... but with the fact that their fate is so closely linked with their role in the family".⁷¹

But, what was also being obscured at the same time was the vital contribution that women were then making to the economic achievements of the period. Not only had economic growth depended on the availability of female labour (as well as that of immigrants) but it was also women's work which underpinned the rises in household incomes and patterns of consumption characteristic of the "affluent society". Yet it was the corollary of the emphasis on woman's domestic role that her place at the point of production should be undermined and reinstated at the point of consumption. The dynamic underlying "affluence"

was less female labour than female consumption. It was the 'housewife' - with her new washing machine, vacuum cleaner and New Look fashionwear - to whom affluence was aimed and who was its prime beneficiary:

"Liberated at an early age from cradle-watching, spending not only the household's money but "her own" (one third of wives, twice the 1939 proportion, having jobs), fashion's eager slave, the woman of the Fifties possessed at once the time, the resources and the inclination to bring to perfection the new arts of continuous consumption. She was the essential pivot of the People's Capitalism, and its natural heroine." 72

According to this formulation, then, women's work was not really work at all. For despite paid employment (on top of the conventional chores of housework) the new woman possessed time in abundance to perfect her art of continuous consumption. Neither was her income apparently a real wage (note the inverted commas) but one separate from the household money and frittered away in a slave-like pursuit of the inessential (such as fashion). Of no consequence, then, that women's earnings might more probably be used on basics or that the new consumer durables themselves might not necessarily be items of leisure but rather the tools of domestic labour (for example, a washing machine).

Yet, despite such downplaying of women's role as worker it was also apparent that increasing female participation in the labour force was provoking anxiety in some quarters and, indeed, prompting a variety of stratagems, especially in the fields of psychology and social welfare, designed to return women to their 'proper place' in the home and family. A crucial influence, here, was the work of John Bowlby on the mother's role in the rearing of children. In his book Child Care and the Growth of Love (1953), Bowlby sought to establish the absolute centrality of mother-love to a child's mental health (as crucial as vitamins to physical health) and the adverse consequences of "maternal deprivation". Yet it was not so much the ideas in themselves (many of which were derivative and vulnerable to criticism) which seemed to matter but the extraordinary impact they were to have on both academic and popular thinking. "Maternal deprivation was made the scapegoat for retarded development,

anxiety and guilt feelings, promiscuity, instability and divorce - even for stunted growth" writes one commentator. "It took the place in mid-twentieth century demonology that masturbation filled for the Victorians".⁷³ In particular, it seemed to query the propriety of women in employment. "The theme of latch-key children was taken up in the popular press", writes Elizabeth Wilson "and neglectful working mothers, their values perverted by materialism and greed for more and more possessions were blamed for juvenile delinquency".⁷⁴ Thus, despite evidence from the Second World War that children in daytime nursery care (as opposed to the institutionalized children of Bowlby's study) revealed no substantial differences in mental behaviour from children cared for at home, it was the working mother who was singled out for opprobrium.⁷⁵ "The mother of young children" writes Bowlby "is not free, or at least should not be free to earn."⁷⁶

From here it was not difficult to link the prevalence of the working mother (and the concomitants of disturbed children and juvenile delinquency) to a more generalised anxiety about the breakdown of the family and moral standards. Increasing divorce rates (27,471 divorces in England and Wales and 2,200 in Scotland in 1954 compared with 4,735 and 637, respectively in 1937) led to the establishment of a Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce whose report in 1956 refused to countenance a liberalisation in divorce law (already the most conservative amongst Western countries, according to Myrdal and Klein) for fear that divorce 'contagion' might spread. Indeed, such was the alarm registered by the commissioners that they concluded "it may become necessary to consider whether the community as a whole would not be happier and more stable if it abolished divorce altogether".⁷⁷ Central to their diagnosis of the problem was 'the social and economic emancipation of women'.⁷⁸

Such worries gained momentum with the "moral panics" of the late fifties over homosexuality and prostitution and subsequent report by the Wolfendon Committee in 1957. Although interpreted by many as heralding the new

permissiveness of the sixties by its emphasis on a 'private' realm of morality outside of the sphere of legal jurisdiction and consequent recommendation for the de-criminalisation of 'homosexual behaviour between consenting adults in private', the Wolfendon Report can more properly be 'read', as Stuart Hall suggests, "against a moral climate directed not towards liberalisation but towards the tightening up of the legal regulation of moral conduct"⁷⁹ As with the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce, the 'impression of a growth in homosexual practices' was located against a background of "the general loosening of former moral standards" and "emotional insecurity, community instability and weakening of the family, inherent in the social changes of our civilisation"⁸⁰ Although the Report deplored the damage being caused to family life ('the basic unit of society') by male homosexuality it did not consider this sufficient grounds for making homosexual behaviour a criminal offence (adultery, fornication and lesbianism, it is argued, cause equal harm). Thus, while the Report recommends the de-criminalisation of homosexuality it does so within a general frame-work of moral censure, a concern with homosexuality's 'treatment' and an ideological privileging of marital heterosexuality.⁸¹ As Bland et.al. conclude:

"Wolfendon's recommendations on homosexuality, while they opened up a privatised space in which adult male homosexuals could now operate without the threat of criminal sanction, in no sense advocated the abandonment of 'control' from that space. Power is no longer to be exercised through the operation of law, but what the Report recommends for homosexuality is the diversification of forms of control in the proliferation of new discourses for the regulation of male homosexuals. It explicitly marked out a 'course for treatment' for the homosexual which is distinct from that of the criminal model - henceforward, medicine, therapy, psychiatry and social research are to form alternative strategies for the exercise of power. The State abandons legal control of the homosexual, only to call into play a net of discourses which constitute a new form of intimate regulation of male homosexual practice in the private sphere."⁸²

Such a 'double taxonomy' (greater freedom and leniency combined with stricter penalty and control) also characterised the Report's treatment of prostitution. "The guiding principle of Wolfendon was the distinction between law and morality, and in the individual's right to make his/her own moral choices without legal interference as long as harm is not inflicted on another.

Privacy became the key note to this principle" writes Carol Smart, "What this concept of privacy entailed for certain classes of prostitutes who needed to be publicly visible to meet their clients was, however, little more than a justification for an extension of policy control over them".⁸³ As such, the Report was able to recommend increased penalties, including imprisonment, for street offences, increased powers of remand to the courts and the extension of the practice of referral of prostitutes to "moral welfare workers". And, thus, while the Committee's recommendations on homosexuality had to wait until 1967 for legislative action, its more directly punitive proposals on prostitution were quickly incorporated into the Street Offences Act of 1959.

As has been occasionally noted, the concern of both Report and legislation in this respect seems less to be with a reduction in the actual incidence of prostitution (which, as Wolfendon partly anticipated, would merely re-structure in the form of agencies and call-girl rackets) than with the removal of its visibility. A characteristic British hypocrisy, perhaps, but what this emphasis also seemed to underline was the anxiety provoked by prostitution's flaunting of sexuality outside of marriage (with its all too evident reminders of marital failure and 'sexually frustrated' husbands). While prostitution may have provided a necessary safety-valve in the past, it now clashed with the tenets of the 'new sexual morality' and its emphasis on the importance of satisfying sexual relations within marriage. As Carol Smart suggests, this new morality no longer conformed to 'the repressive Victorian variety' but demanded, instead, a new 'sexual mother figure', whose "sexuality was not excluded but used instrumentally to increase pair-bonding and provide stability for developing children".⁸⁴ Once again, it was the re-stabilisation of the family and marriage, rather than any 'permissiveness', which represented the predominant concern of both Report and legislation.⁸⁵

But what such ideologies of welfare and legislative actions could not overcome entirely was the continuing contradiction between woman as housewife and mother and woman as wage labourer (precisely the 'woman's two roles' so much discussed in the period) which the economic changes of the fifties had

increasingly set in motion. While many writers have attempted to argue the necessity of the family and women's domestic labour to the maintenance of capitalist relations of production through their reproduction (both biologically and ideologically) of labour power, there is at the same time a contrary tendency under capitalism towards the weakening of the family. As Barrett has argued, the logic of a capitalist mode of production in itself is 'sex-blind' and the articulation of the family-household structure with capitalism is a historically contingent relation not a necessary one.⁸⁶ As such, ideologies of the family predate capitalism and cannot be entirely explained in terms of economic functions. Indeed, the irony of the fifties is that it is precisely the logic of capital, the drive for economic expansion, which is pressing women into the labour force and loosening their exclusive identification with home and family (or re-locating it in terms of a household-based model of consumption). As such, the ideologies governing women, as manifested in the state, display an unevenness, indeed a tension, with the increasing reality of women's economic position. If ideologies of family and motherhood appeared to gain the upper hand it was once again only an imaginary resolution bought at the expense of a denial of the realities increasingly being wrought by economic change.

Look Back On Anger

Just as the combination of welfare capitalism and Cold War ideology appeared to have produced a consensus in the political arena, so, in the arts, did it seem that it had also produced a conformist and contented intelligentsia. "Who criticizes Britain now in any fundamental sense except for a few Communists and a few Bevanite irreconcilables?" asked Edward Shils in 1955. "There are complaints here and there and on many specific issues, but - in the main - scarcely anyone in Great Britain seems any longer to feel there is anything fundamentally wrong ... Never has an intellectual class, found its society and its culture so much to its satisfaction."⁸⁷ Writing in the same year,

Noel Annan appeared to confirm this viewpoint when he addressed himself to the "paradox of an intelligentsia which appears to conform rather than rebel against the rest of society."⁸⁸

By the following year, however, the picture did not look quite so cosy. In the field of politics, Britain's military escapade in Suez and the Russian invasion of Hungary mocked the idea that there was no longer anything 'fundamentally wrong'. At the same time, the performance of John Osborne's 'Look Back in Anger' at the Royal Court (May 8) and the publication of Colin Wilson's 'The Outsider' (May 26) suggested the emergence of a group of writers who were far from satisfied and complacent. Although the two sets of events are not so closely interlinked as is sometimes imagined - the performance of Osborne's play predated the Suez crisis by several months - it was undoubtedly the coincidental eruption of the latter which was to ensure the prominence which the 'angry young man' phenomenon was to enjoy in the period that followed. In doing so, it was also to bind together all the key issues of the period: youth, class, affluence and the status of women.

The 'angry young man' label itself was much more of a label of convenience employed by the press than a term used by the writers themselves. Indeed, the work of many of the writers so designated extended back well before 1956 and more properly belongs to that of 'The Movement'. The term, 'The Movement', was first employed by the Spectator in October 1954 to refer to a group of poets and novelists whose work had first appeared on the BBC radio programmes, New Soundings (1952) and First Reading (1953) and been subsequently published in two collections: Poets of the 1950's (1955) and New Lines (1956). Included in this group were Philip Larkin, John Wain (First Reading's editor) and Kingsley Amis whose novels Jill (1946), Hurry on Down (1953) and Lucky Jim (1954) (first broadcast in extract on First Reading) had undoubtedly registered a shift in the development of the English novel.⁸⁹ Although this received some degree of recognition (most notably in Walter Allen's New Statesman review of

Lucky Jim in 1954) it was really only in 1956 that such changes accrued a retrospective significance. "The timing of Suez and Hungary was coincidental", writes Hewison, "but their combined effect was to exacerbate disaffections and tensions. Some of these disaffections had been voiced in the novels of Amis and Wain, but there was nothing that gave them particular focus. What was needed was a myth, and in 1956 there appeared the myth of the Angry Young Man"⁹⁰. What this myth did was not so much identify any real grouping as create one by fabricating together earlier writers such as Amis and Wain, and to some extent John Braine (whose first novel, Room at the Top, appeared in 1957 but who had prior connections with the Movement), the new ones such as Osborne, Wilson and then Stuart Holroyd (whose Emergence From Chaos was published in 1957) and the fictional characters themselves (in particular, Amis' Jim Dixon and Osborne's Jimmy Porter). A contrivance it may have been but one with a peculiarly potent cultural resonance.

As with their counterparts, the 'teenagers', the explanation for the Angry Young Man also seemed to lie with the economic changes wrought by post war Britain. Allsop, for example, explicitly linked the advent of a teenage market to the attention given to young writers: "in a full employment economy, with a vast, monied juvenile market, youth is cultivated, flattered and pampered, and bestowed with a glamour it has never previously had"⁹¹. In particular, he argues that the attention given to Michael Hastings (whose first play "Don't Destroy Me" was performed in August 1956) derived less from his theatrical talents than the fact that he was a teenager. In a similar spirit, Lewis describes the Angry Young Man as "the first pop stars of literature" while Wilson himself was to observe "how extraordinary" it was that his fame "should have corresponded with that of James Dean, Elvis Presley, Bill Haley and Lonnie Donegan"⁹².

But, more than their 'youth' it was also their status as both products and bearers of a new 'welfare' culture which commanded attention. As Feldman and Gartenberg put it, in their quasi-manifesto of the period:

"In origin they are sons of the lower middle and working classes who came of age with Socialism, had their bodies cared for by the government health programme, and their minds nourished through government scholarships in red brick universities (though, now and then, at Oxford). Prepared to seek their places in the new England that had been created by Parliamentary revolution, they had found nowhere to go."⁹³

Although characteristically hazy in detail (none of Osborne, Wilson or Braine, for example, had been to university, red brick or otherwise), such sentiments clearly summed up the popular perception of the Angry Young Men. Sons of Labour's post-war Brave New World and the 1944 Education Act, harbingers of the new 'classless' culture, their voice spoke the 'anger' of a generation for whom in the end nothing really seemed to have changed (e.g. Suez):

"They are angry because England is still riddled with class-consciousness, because the Establishment still rules, because the English upper and middle classes tend to be ignorant, insensitive philistines, because English films are ghastly, because the English theatre means The Reluctant Debutante and Dry Rot, because the Conservative government is ineffectual if not actually dangerous, because the English Elite, who should after all be educated, would rather read the Tatler than the Spectator, and because the attitude of the English towards such venerated traditions as Royalty, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the BBC etc. is unhealthy and in every way sickening."⁹⁴

But, as with the 'myth' of affluence so the reality behind the mythology of the Angry Young Man is in many ways more complex. In particular, their anger was more selective, occasionally more unpleasant, and certainly more conservative than is generally acknowledged. If the adoption of right-wing views by many of the 'Angries' in later years has bemused some, it may well be that the explanation lies not so much in some unaccountable change of heart than in the continuation of ideas which were already present in their work in the fifties. Morrisson, for example, has commented on how much of a priority is given in the work of the Movement to 'adjustment' and compromise: "There is little sense that the social structure could be altered: the more common enquiry is whether individuals can succeed in 'fitting in'."⁹⁵ Thus, Jim Dixon is happy to accept Gore-Urquart's offer of a London job at the end of Lucky Jim while Charles Lumley rejoices in the offer of a contract from

Charles Frush at the end of Hurry On Down: "Neutrality; he had found it. The running fight between himself and society had ended in a draw"⁹⁶ As Allsop was to comment,

"Wain seems to be the first of the new dissentients to display signs of readiness to conform, to opt for orthodoxy after all."⁹⁷

Part of this political quietism can be traced to the post-war experience of Stalinism and a determination by the Movement writers not to ape the 'errors' of such politically committed intellectuals as Auden and Isherwood in the thirties. As one commentator puts it, the 'correct approach' seemed to be less of taking a stand than taking "a stand against having a political stand"⁹⁸, or as Movement poet, Donald Davie, explained in Re the Thirties, 'A neutral tone is nowadays preferred'.⁹⁹ For his part, Amis contemptuously denounced the thirties generation, arguing how their "solution of political writing and other activity" merely served "as a kind of self-administered therapy for personal difficulties". Apparently in sympathy with Jimmy Porter's complaint about the absence of "good, brave causes", he went on to declare that "when we shop around for an outlet, we find there is nothing in stock, no Spain, no Fascism, no mass unemployment" before concluding "perhaps politics is a thing that only the unsophisticated can really go for".¹⁰⁰ Drawing a parallel here with "Butskellism", Morrisson aptly sums up: "To be politically astute in the 1950's, the Movement implied, was to be politically inactive".¹⁰¹

Yet, if the thirties represented the bogey, such writers were not entirely without a taste for the past. Bergonzi has noted, for example, how the cult of Edwardianism manifested itself during the fifties not only in the style of Macmillan and the dress of the teddy boys but in the period's writing as well: "John Osborne offers a clear example of this ... Colonel Redfern, the only sympathetic character in Look Back in Anger, exemplifies it, and so, at a lower social level, does Archie Rice in The Entertainer: both are anachronistic Edwardian survivals."¹⁰² Or as Allsop puts it, "Jimmy's greatest regret is that everything isn't the same, and his secret hero is Colonel Redfern". In this

he was apparently not alone. As Allsop goes on to explain, less in anger than regret, "a great many men and women in my age group have an intense nostalgic longing for the security and the innocence that seemed to have been present in Britain before the 1914 war".¹⁰³

What most excited anger, then, was less political issues than cultural ones. In particular, such writers seemed to share the concerns of contemporary critics with Britain's debasement by materialism and accompanying 'spiritual dry-rot'. "Our civilisation is an appalling, stinking thing, materialistic, drifting, second rate", complained Colin Wilson.¹⁰⁴ Allsop, in his turn, drew on Hoggart (and his suggestion of 'shiny barbarism') for an explanation of his subjects' anger. This is borne out by the writing itself. What is striking, is less any protest against social and economic inequalities, than a contempt for superficiality: the class snobberies decried by Jim Dixon, the surface values pursued by Joe Lampton, the absence of authentic feeling despaired of by Jimmy Porter. In the writings of Colin Wilson and Stuart Holroyd this becomes a quite explicit call for a spiritual, as opposed to materialist, freedom. Wilson coined the term 'the Outsider' (after Camus) to designate those artists and intellectuals who had transcended the limitations of the modern age through religious intensity or 'pure will' to achieve an authentic freedom of the imagination and understanding of human life. In Emergence from Chaos, Stuart Holroyd counterpointed the work of poets such as Yeats, Rilke, Rimbaud and Eliot to the alienated condition of modern man produced by materialism, egalitarianism, large institutions and machine technology. Both works shared with the others a sense of cultural decline but, with their demands for the political elevation of the 'outsider' and corresponding requirement for discipline of the masses, went much further in their political implications. It was certainly a chastened Kenneth Allsop who was to write in the wake of Bill Hopkins, The Divine and the Decay:

"A cult of fascism has grown among a generation who were babies when Europe's gas-chambers were going full blast. We seem to be on the edge of a new romantic tradition which is sanctifying the bully as hero. It is exceedingly strange, and profoundly disturbing, if the dissentience (the 'anger') in our present semi-socialised compromise welfare society is going to swing retrogressively to the discredited and hateful system of murder gangs and neurotic mysticism which perished in its own flames." ¹⁰⁵

While others in the 'angry' camp clearly had no time for such dubious flirtations, their criticisms of materialism and superficiality did nonetheless assume other, somewhat dubious, connotations. For just as the 'female consumer' had served more generally as a metaphor for the 'affluent society', so was it in their imagery of women that the Angries were most successful in finding a target for their objections. "What these writers really attack", writes D.E. Cooper, "is effeminacy ... the sum of those qualities which are supposed traditionally ... to exude from the worst in women: pettiness, snobbery, flippancy, voluptuousness, superficiality, materialism". ¹⁰⁶ It is in the work of Osborne where this attack on women achieves its most extreme. Commenting on the work of Tennessee Williams, for example, he notes how Williams' women "all cry out for defilement" before cheerfully concluding that "the female must come toppling down to where she should be - on her back". ¹⁰⁷ A similar coarseness of feeling and misogyny haunts the whole of Look Back in Anger. For had the critics been less spellbound by its surface rhetorical outpourings they could not have but helped notice that the real subject of the play was neither social injustice nor hypocrisy but the debasement and degradation of women:

"Perhaps, one day, you may want to come back. I shall wait for that day. I want to stand up in your tears, and splash about in them, and sing. I want to be there when you grovel. I want to be there, I want to watch it. I want the front seat. I want to see your face rubbed in the mud - that's all, I can hope for. There's nothing else I want any longer." ¹⁰⁸

In this respect, the praise normally accorded such writers for their 'tough' and 'virile' presentation of character and accompanying mode of writing assumes a different complexion. For if the object of attack is effeminacy so

the virtues of style and character are those of masculinity.¹⁰⁹ To this extent, the Angry Young Man phenomenon was working over a more generalised cultural anxiety around the question of male identity. Hoch, for example, has suggested how an ethic of consumption, combined with a reduction of emphasis on production, narrows the range of activities yielding masculine status.¹¹⁰ More specifically, the increasing involvement of women in the labour force and occupation of traditionally male roles deprives the male worker of his privileged status as head of the family and sole breadwinner. In recognition of such trends, T.R. Fyvel saw fit to devote a separate section of his book, The Insecure Offenders, to a discussion of the 'decline in the status of the father'.¹¹¹ Even the Suez affair, to which the Angry Young Men were so much indebted for their subsequent prominence, was double-edged in its effects. At one level, the last 'folie de grandeur' of a geriatric imperial order it was, at another, a symbolic castration - the final humiliation of a nation no longer in possession of its manhood. Osborne's nostalgic yearning for a settled Edwardian era, in this respect, was more than tinged with a reverence for its old imperialist virility. And, in an age haunted by homosexual scandal (such as the Lord Montagu/Pitt Rivers affair) and the fear of its increase (cf. Wolfendon) there can be no doubting that the heroes of the angry decade were most virulently heterosexual. As Leslie A. Fiedler was to put it, the young British writer represented a new class in the process of overturning the old; one which rejected, in turn, its defining characteristics of upper class aloofness, liberal politics, avant-garde literary devices and a homosexual sensibility.¹¹²

But, if it is these writers to whom the label of 'anger' is most normally attached, they were not the sole bearers of 'dissent' in this period. The invasion of Hungary, for example, was to register a significant change in the organisation of the left. A call for withdrawal of Russian troops by The Reasoner, a small magazine published by Communist Party members, E.P. Thompson and John Saville, was followed by disciplinary action and the

two men's resignations (along with 7,000 others). In its wake, Thompson and Saville were to launch a second magazine, The New Reasoner, in January 1957 while the first issue of Universities and Left Review, published from Oxford, appeared shortly afterwards. In 1959 the two magazines merged as the New Left Review and, echoing the Left Book Club of the thirties, encouraged the organisation of discussion groups. In line with its origins, the New Left signalled a discontent both with the "barbarities of Stalinism" and debilitated politics of Labour's complicity with "low pressure ... Welfare Britain".¹¹³ But, even here, the emphasis was primarily ethical. Like the Angry Young Men, it was as if the achievements of 'affluence' were conceded. It was the 'moral' temper of affluence which was now in question. As Perry Anderson was to subsequently observe in the same magazine:

"British capitalism, under great pressure, learnt to satisfy certain fundamental needs: it had achieved a marked reduction in primary poverty, a considerable stability of employment, an extensive welfare network. Yet it remained a potentially intolerable and suffocating system even, or precisely for, groups in the population which enjoyed a relatively high standard of living ... As material deprivation to a certain degree receded, cultural loss and devastation became more and more evident and important. The chaos and desolation of the urban environment, the sterility and formalism of education, the saturation of space and matter with advertising, the atomization of local life, the concentration of control of the means of communication and the degradation of their content, these were what became the distinctive preoccupations of the New Left."¹¹⁴

Undoubtedly important as many of these issues were, the emphasis on moral and cultural questions seemed to concede too much, accepting the economic gains of "affluence" on its own terms. Politically, such an emphasis was likewise to cast them adrift from the mainstream of working-class politics.

And, finally, there was one other major dissenting group to appear towards the end of the fifties in the form of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament with its initiation of campaigns of civil disobedience and marches to Aldermaston (beginning Easter 1958). Like the New Left, its support derived mainly from the middle classes and, despite a generous media attention, was ultimately to make few political gains. The Labour Party Conference of 1960 passed a motion

in favour of unilateral disarmament, against the wishes of the majority of MP's and the National Executive, but only to revoke it the following year. Once again, there can be no doubting the central importance of the campaign in which CND were involved; yet, it is also perhaps significant that as the fifties came to a close the most visibly radical movement was one whose politics had largely left social and economic questions behind in favour of a primarily moral and ethical attitude embodied in a liberal tradition of dissent.¹¹⁵

Migration to Racism

"I've got a brand new passport. It says I'm a citizen of the U.K. and the Colonies. Nobody asked me to be, but there I am. Most of these boys have got exactly the same passport as I have - and it was we who thought up the laws that gave it to them. But when they turn up in the dear old mother country, and show us the dam thing, we throw it back again in their faces".¹¹⁶

By the way of a conclusion, something should also be said about the issue of 'race' during this period.¹¹⁷ Under the British Nationality Act of 1948, U.K. citizenship had been granted to all members of the Commonwealth who now had the right to enter and settle in Britain. During the years that followed there was a steady rise in the numbers choosing to exercise this right. In 1951 the total 'coloured' population of Commonwealth origin in Britain had totalled 74,500; by 1961, it had reached 336,600. By far, the largest percentage had come from the West Indies: in 1951 the number of people of West Indian origin had totalled 15,300; ten years later, it had risen to 171,800.¹¹⁸ The reason for these increases was simple: employment. The expansion of the British economy required new sources of labour and, along with married women, it was migrant labour that was called upon to meet the shortfall (and, thus, help lay the foundations of the new society of 'affluence'). In 1949, a Royal Commission on Population had suggested that some 140,000 migrants per year would be required to meet the British economy's demand for labour. Yet, it rejected 'large-scale immigration' as 'both undesirable and impracticable'.¹¹⁹

However, such was the need for labour that migration, though hardly 'large-scale', was destined to become a reality.¹²⁰ Indeed, it was actively encouraged by British firms and organisations, such as London Transport, who proceeded to launch recruiting campaigns in Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica.

The migration to Britain which followed, however, was no journey to the Promised Land. Incoming workers were usually offered low-status and ill-rewarded jobs, well below their level of skills and experience; in many cases, they had to make do with overcrowded and insanitary housing conditions and were faced with hostility and prejudice, both inside and outside of work.¹²¹ Matters were not helped by the absence of Government policy in facing up to the demands that this new source of labour would present. Paul Foot explains the dismal record:

"There were no Government arrangements for meeting the immigrants and dispersing them to their destinations in Britain ... As the wives and children of immigrants came over ... no Government arrangements were made for the teaching of English ... Worst of all, no provision was made by the Government for accommodation. The exploiter's paradise which immigration created ... was watched over benignly, even encouraged, by the Conservative Government. The 1957 Rent Act ... with its provisions for 'creeping decontrol' laid the immigrants open to still more exploitation, squalor and resentment. There was no Government propaganda, much less legislation, against racial discrimination or incitement, and not until 1962 was any Government organization formed to help cope with immigrant problems ... When the ten years of neglect reaped their inevitable resentment, bitterness and racialism, the Conservative Party, in Mr. Hugh Gaitskell's words, 'yielded to the crudest clamour - Keep Them Out'. Far from trying to counter the difficulties of housing, education and assimilative work, they simply decided to 'turn off the tap'."¹²²

A crucial factor in the Government's submission to the 'crudest clamour' was provided by the events of 1958, or more properly speaking, the reaction which then followed. For although they were commonly described as 'race riots' it is clear that the incidents in Nottingham and 'Notting Hill' in August/September 1958 were largely provoked by whites and conformed to an already-established pattern of attacks on black people and their property. It was primarily British-born residents who were arrested and, as Fryer points out, the absence of black people on the streets did not prevent

twenty-four people from being arrested in Nottingham in the course of an all-white 'race riot'.¹²³ And, although it was the 'teddy boy' who was made the prime scapegoat for the trouble, it is also clear that involvement in the incidents was by no means confined to gangs of youths and was often actively encouraged by such explicitly racist organisations as the Union Movement and the League of Empire Loyalists. And, yet, the response to these incidents was effectively to blame the victims. Two Nottingham M.P.'s immediately called for a curb on the entry of migrants and the introduction of deportation while Parliament responded with a debate on immigration control in December. Attitudes and demands which had previously been confined to groups outside Parliament or isolated individuals within (such as Cyril Osborne and Norman Pannell) now enjoyed a much wider hearing, were aired in the press and, slowly but surely, began to make their impact felt on the Government. The events of 1958 were appealed to as an illustration of Britain's growing 'colour problem'. Moreover, it was a 'problem' whose cause was identified in only one specific way, i.e. the 'colour problem' was the result of 'immigration', and not the conditions and attitudes which the migrants had faced. It was a 'problem' which was caused by 'them' and not, as the events of 1958 had suggested, a 'problem' which was caused by 'us'. The seeds of the future immigration policy had now been successfully sown.¹²⁴

The election of 1959 increased the number of Tory M.P.'s sympathetic to immigration control and new organisations, such as the Birmingham Immigration Control Association (formed in 1960), carried on the campaign outside of Parliament. With the rise in migration during the years 1960 and 1961, their calls grew ever more vociferous. In fact, there was something of a self-fulfilling logic in this. As Walvin observes, the debates about immigration during this period, and the arguments for control and, even, repatriation, in particular, inevitably 'served to compound the very forces they wished to restrict or stop'.¹²⁵ In fear of impending restrictions, the numbers of migrants entering Britain accelerated, especially amongst the relatives of

those who were already in residence. The result, however, was the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962. The entry of Commonwealth citizens was now restricted to those who had been issued with an employment voucher, students, and dependents of those already living in the country. The aim of the Act, however, was not the restriction of immigration per se. It did not apply, for example, to Irish citizens, although some 60-70,000 Irish were entering Britain each year and constituted the largest migrant group in Britain. Nor were there any changes introduced in the controls governing the entry of aliens for whom there was no fixed ceiling.¹²⁶ This is not to say, that groups like the Irish were not themselves the victims of British racism, for they often suffered the same disadvantages as other migrant populations (i.e. low-paid and unwanted jobs, poor housing, racial hostility). What distinguished them, however, was that they were white. Their exemption from the workings of Act made it clear that it was only 'coloured' migration, rather than migration in general, which the Government was attempting to obstruct. This is confirmed by the use of employment as a criterion for entry. Prior to the panic migration of the early sixties, the flow of Commonwealth migration had generally corresponded to the demand for labour. As Foot points out, 'some ninety-five per cent of the immigrants got jobs within a few weeks of arrival, and their contribution to the economy was undisputed'.¹²⁷ The use of employment vouchers could not be justified by any need to regulate the labour supply; indeed, one reason for leaving Irish migration uncontrolled was precisely because of a continuing need for cheap, migrant labour. Their use simply provided the means for keeping 'coloured' migrants out. The 1962 Act represented 'the decisive turning-point in British race relations' according to Ben-Tovim and Gabriel. It effectively confirmed 'the principle that black people are themselves a problem and the fewer we have of them the better' and gave an official seal of approval to the equation of 'blackness with second-class and undesirable immigrant'.¹²⁸ It made physical characteristics a criterion for the entry of British citizens into Britain. In the words of Miles and Phizacklea: "British politics were racialised at the highest level; state racism became a reality"¹²⁹

CHAPTER TWO

THE FILM INDUSTRY

COMBINE POWER AND INDEPENDENT PRODUCTION

If the fifties was taken to be a period of 'boom', one industry at least did not seem to be aware of it: the cinema. The evidence can be quickly presented: in 1951 cinema admissions were 1,365 million; by 1960 they were down to 501 million and still falling. Ironically, those very elements which in one light betokened affluence only spelt decline for the cinema. Rising incomes, increasing home-ownership and home-oriented consumption, the diversification of leisure facilities and increasing popularity of motoring all seemed to conspire to diminish the cinema's importance. Even the increase of women at work had its part to play: "So many women go out to work in offices, shops and factories these days" complained one exhibitor "that I think it is one of the reasons why we have had a bit of a slump in cinemas, especially during the afternoon periods. A lot of them have their housework to do in the evening"¹. Apparently in recognition of this, ABC decided to launch a new advertising slogan in 1958: "Don't take your wife for granted - take her out to the 'pictures'". But, of course, it was the increase in televisions which most dramatically summed up the trend away from the cinema. The televising of the Coronation in 1953, watched by twenty-five million, the advent of commercial television in 1955 and the extension of television reception to practically the whole of the country in 1958 and 1959 all spurred on the demand for television sets. Thus, while in 1951 the number of TV licences issued amounted to less than 764,000 by the end of the decade the figure had risen to almost 10½ million and was still increasing².

Not surprisingly, then, one of the first campaigns mounted by the film industry to defend itself was directed towards its television competitor. Following a plan devised by Cecil Bernstein of Granada Theatres, the Film Industry Defence Organisation (FIDO) was established in 1958 to try and prevent the appearance of British films on TV³. By levying exhibitors, a defence fund was mounted to acquire the television rights to British films and co-ordinate boycotts by exhibitors of producers and distributors (both British and foreign) who sold such rights to the television companies. However, such

a policy was to prove both expensive (in October 1961, FIDO announced that they had spent more than £1 million in acquiring the rights to 665 films) and difficult to implement. All-industry solidarity was broken in 1959 with the departure of the Kinematograph Renters Society (KRS), under pressure from its US members threatened by anti-trust legislation. Meanwhile, it had been revealed in 1958, shortly after the group's constitution, that the Associated British Picture Corporation (ABPC) had reached an agreement with ABC Television for the transmission of Ealing films, recently acquired through a take-over of Associated Talking Pictures Ltd. Although FIDO succeeded in preventing the extension of the agreement to other Ealing films, it still could not stop 60 of the 95 films concerned reaching television. Other such cases were to follow (in October 1959, for example, the Cinematograph Exhibitors Association General Council passed resolutions against David Selznick, John Woolf and Daniel Angel) and with funds becoming increasingly scarce (such that by 1962 FIDO was unable to make deals for more than a few films) it was clear that the FIDO line could not be maintained. Thus, in November 1962 the General Council of the CEA agreed to wipe the 'slate clean' and make further deals dependent on the effect television screenings would have on box-office takings. In September 1964, this was formalised into a five-year rule whereby boycotts would only operate in respect of films televised in the UK less than five years after their Board of Trade registration. The effect of this was a sudden release of films to TV and dramatic reductions in the prices paid. FIDO itself decided to call it a day in November, promising to sell back the rights it had purchased at the prices originally paid.

The other campaign mounted by the industry met with rather more success, albeit not immediately. In July 1955 the All Industry Tax Committee (AITC) was set up to campaign against the payment of Entertainments Duty, a tax on cinema admissions, originally imposed in 1916 as a contribution to the war effort, which by 1954 accounted for £35.9 million or 34.4% of gross box-office takings.⁴ Complaints about this tax were not new - the Plant Committee, for example, had

complained of its "quite excessive" rates in 1949 - but it was the decline in cinema attendances which were to cause them to be taken up with a renewed vigour⁵. Accordingly, the AITC was to petition the Chancellor for three years before the 1957 Budget brought some small relief by way of a reduction (of about 6%) and a simplification of the scales. By this time, however, the sharp falls in attendance for 1957 (1,101 million to 915 million) had led the AITC to abandon their claims merely for tax relief and replace it with a demand for the abolition of the tax altogether. The Chancellor responded with more dramatic reductions in 1958 and 1959 before finally succumbing to pressure and abolishing the tax in April 1960.

Entertainments duty and the televising of films, however, only represented the more obvious of external targets. More important changes were to occur within the industry itself. The primary changes here were economic, as the industry attempted to rationalize and re-structure in the face of a declining income; but it was also to lead to changes in the nature of the film product itself as the industry adapted itself to the competition now provided by television. What success there was in the latter, however, remained crucially dependent on the changes being wrought by the first.

The framework within which economic reorganisation was to take place had basically been determined by the developments of the thirties and forties when the film industry had evolved from small-scale entrepreneurial activity towards large-scale oligopoly through a process of horizontal and vertical integration. In this respect, it was typical of British industry in general whose response to the depression had been the maintenance of profits through the elimination of competition. The specific impetus, however, derived from the 1927 Cinematograph Films Act which had established for the first time quotas for the exhibition and distribution of British films by way of a response to the decline in British product on the cinema screen (in 1926 only 33 out of 749 films exhibited in British cinemas were British-made). The immediate effect of the legislation was the rise of the "quota quickie"; the

long term effect was to speed up the integration of exhibition and renting interests with production. Thus, in January 1928 the formation of Associated British Cinemas Ltd as a holding company for the interests of John Maxwell integrated all three sectors of the industry and precipitated a programme of cinema acquisitions. By the end of 1929 the company's cinemas had increased in number from 29 to 88 and by 1933, when the Associated British Picture Corporation was formed as a new holding company, had reached a total of 147. Similarly, the formation of Gaumont-British Picture Corporation in 1927 consolidated the various interests of the Ostrer brothers. This company's cinemas increased from 21 to 187 in a year and then to 287 in 1929, through the acquisition of Provincial Cinematograph Theatres, the largest cinema circuit prior to 1927. A further major force appeared in 1933 when Cinema Service changed its name to Odeon Theatres Ltd and under Oscar Deutsch embarked upon a policy of cinema building, increasing its total from 26 in 1933 to 144 in 1936. In 1938, Arthur Rank who had interests in production and distribution, but not yet exhibition, joined the Odeon board and on the death of Deutsch in 1941 acquired control and became chairman. As he had already acquired Gaumont-British the same year, through his General Cinema Finance Corporation, Rank's ascendancy in the industry was now complete. Thus, by the end of the second world war, two organisations effectively dominated all aspects of the British film industry. The Rank Organisation owned two of the largest cinema circuits (Odeon and Gaumont-British), the largest film distributor (General Film Distributors Ltd) and the lion's share of studio space (at Pinewood, Denham, Shepherd's Bush, Islington and Highbury). The Associated British Picture Corporation, on the other hand, owned the other large circuit, the second largest distributor as well as studio space of their own (at Elstree, Welwyn and Teddington).⁶ On the face of it, then, it might appear as if it would be these two groups who had most to lose from the decline of attendances in the fifties. In fact, the reverse was true: for far from weakening the combines the fifties was to witness an intensification of their monopoly power.

A good example of this can be found in the case of cinema closures. The most straightforward response to falling admissions was the closure of uneconomic cinemas and the figures for the fifties tell the story: 4851 cinemas were open in 1951; by 1956 this had dropped to 4391 and by 1960 to 3,034. However, the burden of such closures was not evenly spread. In the period 1956-60, for example, cinema closures overall amounted to 1,357. Of these, only 103 belonged to Rank and 55 to ABC. Thus, while the percentage drop overall was 30.9% the rates for Rank and ABC respectively were 19.7% and 14.8%. The net result of such a trend was that while Rank and ABC owned 20.3% of cinemas in 1950 by 1960 they had increased this to 24.2% and by 1962 to 26.7%. If this is then converted into seating capacity the proportions rise even higher: thus by the end of 1962 Rank and ABC owned 41.5% of seating compared with 33% ten years before.⁷ Moreover, what cinemas Rank and ABC did close were usually the oldest and most ill-placed while they still maintained their dominance in the most attractive areas, such as the key box-office area of London. Rationalisation by Rank also helped consolidate this monopoly. In October 1958 Rank announced the amalgamation of the Odeon and Gaumont circuits (hitherto prohibited by a Board of Trade ban imposed under the 1948 Cinematograph Films Act). The bulk of Rank cinemas (280) became part of one large and powerful Odeon circuit while the remainder (126) were to contribute to the 'National' circuit designed for more 'specialised booking'. The weakness of the National Circuit in terms of box-office (in 1961, returning an average of about £35-40,000 compared with £85-95,000 for the Rank release and £75-85,000 for ABC) diminished its viability from the very start and by October 1961 it had ceased operation. Despite ideas for a 'Third' circuit, the net result was that two circuits now dominated, where previously there had been three. A measure of Rank's success in re-organising its exhibition can be found in their box-office receipts. In the period 1956-60, gross box-office takings declined overall from £104 million to £63½ million. By contrast, Rank's returns for exhibition in the British Isles remained more or less constant: £2½ million in 1956, £2.7 million in 1960, and, indeed, £3.7

million for 1962.

In terms of exhibition, then, the pattern of the fifties was the maintenance and, indeed, further concentration of power in the hands of the majors. The question of production, however, was more problematic. In January 1958 Rank announced redundancies at Pinewood and the postponement of some of its productions. By the end of the financial year, losses on production and distribution amounted to £1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million and were to be followed by further losses the following year. Such production problems were not entirely new. Rank's ambitious £9 $\frac{1}{4}$ million production programme at the end of the forties in the wake of an American embargo met with disaster when the offending 75% import duty was lifted in 1949 and a flood of Hollywood product hit Britain just as Rank's films were beginning to emerge. By the end of 1949 Rank had accumulated losses of over £4 $\frac{1}{2}$ million and production was severely curtailed.⁸ A similar hesitation continued to mark Rank's production programme throughout the fifties but intensified from 1957 onwards under pressure from diminishing admissions. Thus, for the year ending March 31, 1958, Rank had produced 14 films. This fell to 12 the following year, 6 the next and to only 4 for the year ending March 1961. ABPC's output was similarly modest producing only 2 films per year for the same period. Thus, for the year ending March 1961, only 6 out of 81 British films (over 6,500 feet) registered with the Board of Trade were either Rank or ABPC productions.⁹

In this respect, the declining interest in production was paralleled by an attempt to spread financial risks through a policy of diversification and accumulation of interests outside of the cinema - often, indeed, in those very areas which most seemed to threaten the film industry. Thus, while television represented the film industry's main competitor, both the combines developed an early interest in commercial broadcasting. ABC Television Ltd was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the ABPC (and as we've seen the source of a conflict of interests in the case of film sales to TV) while Rank held

substantial interests in Southern Television Ltd. Such diversification of interests extended to leisure provision more generally (bingo, dancing, bowling) and, particularly, in the case of Rank, to "home entertainment" - TV sets, radios and records. As Lord Rank correctly observed in 1959: "It will not be long before profits from non-cinema interests exceed those from cinema activities".¹⁰ A particularly striking example, in this respect, is the case of Rank Xerox Ltd, half owned by Rank and incorporated in 1956. Realising a profit of £29,000 by 1962 this jumped dramatically to £8½ million by 1965. In the same year, profits derived from film exhibition, distribution, production, studios and labs combined came to £4.4 million.

Film was still profitable but what is also clear from the figures is that it was distribution and exhibition, rather than production, which supplied the main revenues. Rather than engage in direct production themselves, the majors preferred to rent their studio space (itself decreasing) and devolve the responsibility for provision of circuit releases onto the independent producer:

"A revolution is in progress in British studios ... Britain's creative talents are copying Hollywood where the big stars have set up their own companies to make independent pictures for the studios which once employed them ... The revolution has been forced on the industry by the box-office crisis. It suits the creative artists who want independence to choose their films and make them their way. In return they are willing to share the financial risk ... It suits the big companies, who are cutting down production, sacking their starlets, but still need film for their cinema chains. By backing independent productions they get the films without studio overheads, and without bearing the full financial risk."¹¹

A good example of this process at work can be found in the establishment of the Allied Film Makers group in November 1959. Bringing together Richard Attenborough, Bryan Forbes, Basil Dearden, Michael Relph, Jack Hawkins and Guy Green, the group was set up on the basis of the film makers' own investments plus financial guarantees from Rank and the National Provincial Bank.¹² While Rank were also to provide the end 10% of production finance, they were not to be directly involved in the development of projects. "We shall be able to choose our own scripts and our own stars", commented Attenborough.

"We believe that we can give a shot in the arm to the British film industry."¹³
The League of Gentlemen (suggested by some to be an apt title for the AFM group themselves) was chosen as the first production and its results appeared to vindicate the system by becoming the sixth biggest box-office success (and fifth highest British film) for 1960. Subsequent titles included Man in the Moon (1962), Victim (1961), Life for Ruth (1962) and Seance on a Wet Afternoon (1964).

Similar in structure to Allied Film Makers, but lacking direct Rank involvement, was Bryanston, formed a few months earlier in April 1959. This too brought film producers and directors together in a co-operative enterprise, each again investing their own finance but this time with backing from Gerald and Kenneth Shipman (owners of Twickenham studios) and Lloyds Bank.¹⁴ British Lion were to handle the distribution and provide production facilities at Shepperton (with Rank getting a small look in through the provision of lab space at Denham). "We are not an arty crafty experimental organisation", commented part-time chairman, Michael Balcon "but we do want to tackle original and unusual subjects of international importance. We are now in a position whereby, working through a small selection panel, we can give a producer financial backing to make these subjects. And we welcome any outside producer who has an exciting project ... we hope our venture will give a fresh impetus to production".¹⁵ In this respect, Bryanston's first two productions were less than inspired, drawing on Balcon's old stablemates at Ealing, Charles Crichton and Charles Frend to direct Battle of the Sexes (1959) and Cone of Silence (1960) respectively. Nonetheless, by the time the company joined forces with Seven Arts, in an attempt to gain a foothold in the American market in November 1961, Bryanston had completed a further seven features (including Spare the Rod (1961)) and a number of supporting features (including The Big Day (1960), Linda (1960) and The Wind of Change (1961)).

Of these, undoubtedly, the most significant - The Entertainer (1960); Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (1960); A Taste of Honey (1961) and, later, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner (1962) - were brought to them by another independent company, Woodfall. Partly drawing on the ideas of Free Cinema (screenings of which took place at the National Film Theatre over the period 1956-59), this company had been formed by John Osborne and Tony Richardson, on the basis of Osborne's theatre royalties, to make a film version of Look Back In Anger. Of all the independents, it was Woodfall who were the most determined to initiate new types of film project and defend the principle of artistic control. "It is absolutely vital to get into British films the same sort of impact and sense of life that, what you can loosely call the Angry Young Man cult, has had in the theatre and literary worlds", declared Tony Richardson.¹⁶ "The important thing about our company is that we insist on having artistic control", added producer Harry Saltzman. "We want to make them honestly. In other words, we control the script, the cast, the shooting and the completion of the picture".¹⁷

This expansion of the role of the independents can also be seen in relation to the activities of the National Film Finance Corporation. Established in October 1948 as a specialised bank to make loans in support of British film production and distribution, the NFFC was originally designed as a temporary measure to help alleviate the crisis in British production. The extension of its life by the Cinematograph Film Production (Special Loans) Bill of 1949, and then the Cinematograph Films Act of 1957, however, quickly ensured the Corporation a more permanent and critical role in the raising of production finance. Thus, for the period 1950-61, the NFFC provided loans for 366 of the 730 British quota films released as first features on the three major circuits. In this respect, its rise to prominence reflected the declining interest of the majors in production and consequent necessity for a financial structure more closely geared to the needs of the independents. Both Bryanston and Allied Film Makers, for example, relied upon the NFFC for part of their funding.

Taking stock of such developments, it was perhaps not surprising that Kine Weekly should see fit to celebrate "a new pattern of production and distribution in which creative individuals have as much say as impersonal mammoth corporations".¹⁸ The figures, moreover, seemed to bear out their confidence: the Motion Picture Herald, for example, reported that 28 out of the 37 most popular British movies between 1958 and 1962 were independently produced.¹⁹ In the cool light of analysis, however, a more cautious assessment is undoubtedly appropriate. For if independent producers were enjoying a new prominence it was, as I have argued, because it was in the interests of the majors for them to do so. Moreover, whatever new found freedoms they might claim it was clear that they were still heavily circumscribed by the realities of combine power. "Without virtually limitless resources", commented Michael Balcon "the independent producer is a myth".²⁰

For what, above all, continued to restrict the independents' exercise of their "freedom" was their subservience to a system of distribution and exhibition, still dominated by Rank and ABPC. Central to the raising of production finance, for example, was the "distributor's guarantee", on the basis of which a production company was able to negotiate a bank loan for about 70% of the total. In this respect, the NFFC had little by way of countervailing power. Crippled by limited resources (about £6 million a year), and committed by law to making loans on "a commercially successful basis", the Corporation was unable to provide the total costs of production. Instead, it had to make use of the existing system of bank loans and distribution guarantees, normally providing the 'end money' or final 20-25% of a film's budget.²¹ Rather than challenging combine power, the NFFC effectively had to adapt itself to its structures.²² As PEP comments, "because of the existing structure of the industry and the power of the main circuits there was only a limited number of distributors who could risk an unbroken series of guarantees ... In fact, that left GFD and ABPC".²³ A measure of the power which distributors wielded here can be found in the fees they charged for their services: usually about

25-30% of the gross from which costs and services were deducted afterwards. As Kelly observes, this is a remarkably high percentage by the standards of other distributive trades, the more so when only one major circuit deal is conventionally involved and with very little risk attached.²⁴ As the NFFC discovered to its cost, the distributor rarely lost money on a film even when the film itself failed to make a profit and the 'end money' was written off. As the Corporation's Annual Report for 1959 explained, the NFFC loan was not normally guaranteed and thus depended for its recovery on the commercial results of the film. By contrast, "a distributor may be inclined to give a front money guarantee for a film in which he does not necessarily have wholehearted confidence; if the whole of the end money (and even part of the front money) is lost, the distributor may still secure benefits by way of extra product (which he needs to pay his overhead costs) and the profit element included in the commission charged for distributing, as distinct from financing, the film; he may also benefit from the use of his studios and his contract artists".²⁵

But if the distribution guarantee was critical to the raising of production finance this in turn can be related to the access to the main circuits enjoyed by the two leading distributors (GFD and ABPC) through vertical integration. As the Monopolies Commission indicated, "a booking with all or most of the cinemas of one of those circuits normally yields so much more than a booking with any other exhibitor, and so high a proportion (as much as 70%) of a film's total earnings in Great Britain, that for most feature films what is known as a circuit booking or circuit deal (i.e. with ABC or Rank) is now regarded as essential. For several years now ... distributors have usually not released films for distribution at all unless they have obtained a circuit deal with one of the two remaining circuits".²⁶ In this respect, a distribution guarantee from one of the majors was of enormous benefit - effectively guaranteeing access to the circuits and the chance to recoup production costs. The tribulations of British Lion, Britain's third largest distributor but

without a circuit of its own, are a salutary reminder of this. In 1963, British Lion's managing director, David Kingsley, complained of the delays in the booking of British films: a total of 18 features and 13 second features in which they held a £2¼ million stake. As the company's Annual Report put it: "a number of independent British-made films are having to wait an excessive time for a release date on one of the two major circuits. Some films completed early this year (1963) are unlikely to secure a showing until well into 1964".²⁷ One of the most celebrated cases here was The Leather Boys. Delivered to British Lion on March 22, 1963 it had to wait eleven months before gaining a circuit release with ABPC, by which time £8,000 had been added in interest charges to the film's original cost of £107,000. Finally reviewing the film in 1964, Philip Oakes commented, "There never was a clearer case for the shake-up of the circuits".²⁸

What becomes clear then is that while independent production might have been increasing, the independents' room for manoeuvre was severely compromised by the exercise of combine power which severely restricted both the possibilities for raising finance and opportunities for securing exhibition.²⁹ Going back to the companies discussed previously we can identify some of the problems which were involved. Take, for example, the case of Woodfall. Producer Harry Saltzman summed up his experiences as follows: "If you want to be a producer in this country, you have to be subservient, obsequious, and listen to business people rather than creative talents as to who to cast, how to have it written and what to do with it ... The National Film Finance Corporation certainly help, but when a producer comes to them he already has to have a distribution agreement. But the distribution company has already put him in chains ... When we made Look Back In Anger, Tony Richardson directed. He has never directed a picture before ... it was an incredible job to get him accepted by the distributors and financing groups".³⁰ Indeed, the film might not have been financed at all had Richard Burton not developed an interest in the production: "Burton owed Warners a film on a 'play him or pay him' basis. If they did

Look Back In Anger at least they'd get a picture out of their deal; if they didn't they'd still have to pay him \$125,000".³¹ On this basis, Saltzman was able to extract a budget from Warners but with no director's fee for Richardson and a deferment of payments to both he and Osborne. Although Warners connections with ABPC had ensured a circuit release for Look Back In Anger, dissatisfaction with Warners interference led to Woodfall's next project, The Entertainer (also after Osborne's play), being offered to Bryanston. Bryanston put up 75% of the budget with the NFFC and Walter Reade providing the rest (the latter in return for the American rights). But, although this guaranteed less interference in production, the film was still to be plagued by distribution problems. As Derek Hill explained at the time: "Months ago stories were circulating that every major circuit had rejected The Entertainer, that it would never be given any kind of general release, that it might not even be risked in the West End. When a scheduled première and press show were suddenly cancelled there was a smug glow over Wardour Street".³² Re-editing and re-dubbing were undertaken in the weeks that followed, before an eventual première took place over three months later. Hitherto scheduled for a general release on the Rank circuit in May, it now had to content itself with a release on the National Circuit in October. Although Saltzman attempted to claim that the company was 'extremely commercial-minded' with an interest in 'commercial properties' the strain was clearly beginning to tell. Thus, in 1960 he attempted to interest the company in two comedies, one entitled The Coffin and I and starring Tony Hancock, Sid James and Terry Thomas. "I offered them to the boys (i.e. Osborne and Richardson) but they just wouldn't wear them."³³ Fortuitously, the company hit lucky with their next production, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning: the third biggest box-office success of 1961 (and second most successful British film after the doubtfully categorised, Swiss Family Robinson). But even here the raising of finance had not been easy. "I had a terrible time trying to raise money for Saturday Night and Sunday Morning", reports Saltzman. "Everyone laughed at the idea of a big budget for a film with unknown names. They told me to be

realistic and think in terms of making the picture for about £40,000."³⁴ Although Bryanston once again came to the rescue, the film's commercial release was far from assured. As Walker explains, "when it was finished and shown to the bookers, not one would agree to show it in a cinema, much less a chain of cinemas ... only the unexpected failure of a Warner Brothers film at their West End showcase cinema, plus the advantage of at least playing a British film and gaining quota credit before getting back to the money-making American product, gave Woodfall the chance to open Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, on an advertising budget that was one-third of the minimum of £5,000 then current in London's West End. It had to be supplemented, according to Saltzman, by a loan from a relative of his in North America"³⁵ Much to the astonishment of the industry the film then proceeded to do phenomenal business, grossing £100,000 on the London circuit cinemas alone and easily outpacing the then current blockbuster, Hercules Unchained. Finance problems eased considerably as a result. After two and a half years of trying, Richardson was now able to go ahead with A Taste of Honey. And in a portent of the future, Woodfall managed to secure 100% financing from United Artists for Tom Jones and thus by-pass Bryanston from then on.

The loss of Tom Jones by Bryanston (partly because of its prior commitments to Sammy Going South) was to prove disastrously damaging to the company and its subsequent demise is eloquent of the independents' precarious status in the industry. It continued to support independent productions but found its liquidity at risk from the increasing availability of American finance (intensified after the success of Tom Jones) and failure to secure circuit releases through its distributor, British Lion. In 1963, for example, A Place To Go had to wait ten months for a release with ABPC while Ladies Who Do had to wait seven before being shown by Rank. "Independent productions were taking longer and longer to be released", complained Balcon. "Our bank payments had to be made within eighteen months of the delivery of a film to the distributors and in the pile-up which developed at this time (1963-4) it

was often taking that length of time for a film to be released. Those films which were eventually released although produced as first feature films, were often forced to share the bill with another film. Two films for the price of one - and thus anticipated revenues in those cases were cut by 50 per cent. So there arose not only the danger of default in terms of bank payments but also the grim fact that our costs were being artificially increased by our having to pay interest on borrowed money for longer than had been anticipated."³⁶ The result was inevitable. Ironically, the company whose origins in part derived from television's challenge to film now had to succumb to its competitor. In January 1965 the company was sold (partly for its back-catalogue of features) to the independent television company, Associated Rediffusion.

Allied Film Makers were to fare little better. Although Rank had some financial stake in the company, this was not guaranteeing circuit release as their experience with Seance on a Wet Afternoon demonstrated. By 1964 they were in severe debt and forced to cease production. Writing in his autobiography, Bryan Forbes revealed his sense of exultation on the group's formation: "I had ... the great good fortune to be involved with people I respected who were embarked with me to give life and substance to cherished dreams. For the first time in my career I had control of my own material. There was nobody to blame but myself if I failed"³⁷ His comments to Alexander Walker, however, reveal a more reflective tone: "The experience proved to me that films can be profitable but must be well handled; and that the distribution company can come successfully out of the deal well in advance of the actual film producers having anything to show for their efforts."³⁸ Walker himself sums up the evidence:

"The total negative cost of the seven AFM films made for Rank was £1,042,157, the distributor's gross was £1,820,940 giving them a gross profit of £778,783. But the producers of the films had to carry a loss of £142,934. Moreover, after the cinemas had taken their cut, some 65 per cent overall, there was still a return of over 75 per cent on initial capital investment. Thus the distributors did well, the exhibitors did very well, and the producers did modestly and were forced to shut shop."³⁹

Concluding their analysis of tendencies towards monopoly in ownership of the media, Murdock and Golding suggest that "economic pressure means a curtailment of available choices and alternatives ... it means more of the same"⁴⁰. What I have been arguing here, however, suggests a rather more complex, and less uniform, process. What is generally under-emphasized in the Murdock and Golding analysis is the difficulty of standardisation in media output. In part, this results from the peculiar nature of the film product. Audiences do not buy copies of a film but pay to see a film, presumably in the expectation of entertainment and pleasure. Unlike other commodities, such as cars or record players, films cannot all be the same, conforming to a single model, but must display variation and difference if audiences are to be attracted back to the cinemas. As such, film production displays a kind of double movement. On the one hand, the drive of the industry is, as Murdock and Golding suggest, towards a regularisation, if not standardisation, of output through the repetition of the financially proven in terms of genres, cycles, sequels and the like. On the other hand, new films cannot merely be duplicates but must show variation, something novel, if audience attention is to be maintained and their desire for pleasure fulfilled. Such a demand for novelty and variation becomes particularly acute in a period of crisis when set-backs in audience numbers require new initiatives and stratagems to counter them. In this respect, the role of the independents in the period under scrutiny became crucial. As I have suggested, two sets of conditions underpinned this. First, the changed economic situation of the cinema precipitated an internal reorganisation of the industry whereby the independent producer assumed a more prominent role in the initiation and development of film projects. Second, competition from television encouraged a concern with the production of films which might emphasize cinemas difference from television and help stave off decline. The general trend here, drawing primarily on American product, was towards the spectacular - the emphasis on colour and the large screen through the employment of cinemascope, 3-D and the like.

But, what it also meant in the British context was the possibility of new contents: working-class realism, horror, more explicit sex. In respect of the latter, the increasing leniency demonstrated by censor, John Trevelyn, on his arrival to office in 1958 probably gave Britain the advantage over their American counterparts who were yet to break free from the constrictions of the Hays code.⁴¹ As such, it was the independent production companies who were increasingly well placed and the most inclined to innovate.⁴² Woodfall provided the new working-class realism, Bryanston and AFM developed the 'social problem' film, Hammer offered horror while the 'new comedy' of the Carry Ons and the Boulting brothers emerged through independent companies as well.⁴³

But, of course, such developments still remained subject to the restraints of a system of distribution and exhibition dominated by the majors. As I have suggested, their response was initially conservative. Subsequently, it became more opportunistic. The weight of the system was, indeed, against change, what we might call 'gatekeeping' in the interests of the tried and conventional.⁴⁴ But, in a period of decline it was proving increasingly difficult to gauge the market and be sure of what would sell - the unexpected success of a film like Saturday Night and Sunday Morning certainly helped prompt revisions of judgement. To deliberately misquote Althusser, in the last instance it was economic self-interest which was determinant. The strategy of the majors was thus to adapt and incorporate such innovations by making them their own. Thus, it was not long before even Rank had jumped on the social problem/realism bandwagon with productions of its own like Flame in the Streets (1961) and The Wild and the Willing (1962).⁴⁵

A good example of the majors' mix of conservatism and adaptation can be found in the case of the X-certificated film. The 'X' certificate - for adults only - had been introduced by the British Board of Film Censors in May 1950 on the recommendation of the Wheare committee. Rank and ABPC experimented with one film each (Detective Story and Murder Inc.) but, fearful of the financial

consequences, Rank announced they would not show 'X' films in future while ABPC would only exhibit those they considered 'outstanding'. Thus, between 1951 and 1957 Rank circuits exhibited only six (non-British) 'X' films. Rank appeared to continue its opposition into the sixties. The 1960 Annual Report, for example, complained that the X-category film was being "misused to the detriment of cinema entertainment" and they would continue to resist them.⁴⁶ Rank chairman, John Davis, was still pursuing the theme in 1963 when he denounced those film producers who forgot that 'fundamentally a film production is intended to satisfy the demand for family entertainment'.⁴⁷ In this he seemed to have the support of the CEA General Council who likewise demanded 'the making for general release of films of family entertainment value' and 'the avoidance of themes and incidents which ... were offensive to the reasonable taste and standards of those whose patronage was necessary to the health and future of the industry'.⁴⁸ However, while the exhibitors and distributors continued to denounce the 'X' film, the figures were revealing a different pattern. Between 1958-61, for example, Rank circuits had exhibited 51 'X' features while ABPC, who had always had the advantage in this respect, screened 65.⁴⁹ Films and Filming pinpointed the discrepancy:

"We are surprised the producer associations are as polite to the CEA as they have been to date. Because the exhibitor mentality that wants to plunge the cinema back to pre-TV days is as out of touch with reality as the man who ordered the charge of the Light Brigade. There is no evidence that a good 'X' film does not make money: neither is there evidence that a bad 'U' film will."⁵⁰

The explanation for the 'X' film's popularity, implicitly suggested by Film and Filming's reference to 'pre-TV days', once again seemed to lie with the rise in competition from cinema's small-screen opponent. For television was not only denying the cinema the family audience, so much beloved by Rank, but challenging its role as a provider of fictions. The 'X' film was thus a key weapon in differentiating cinema from TV, allowing representations unlikely to be seen in the home (e.g. horror and sex). Thus, when Jack Lee Thompson launched his well-publicised campaign against film censorship in 1958 one of

the primary reasons cited was that of competition from the box.⁵¹ And, once again, it was the independents who led the way in making the 'X' film acceptable while the majors trailed behind only making peace with their moral objections once the economic benefits were clear. The successes of Room at the Top (the third most successful film of 1959) and Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, despite their 'X' certificates, were helpful in this respect. Needless to say, it was not long before Rank had an 'X' film of their very own - The Wild and the Willing.

Summing up, we might suggest that the organisation of the film industry represented a 'structure in dominance', in which the independents were accredited a 'relative autonomy'.⁵² But, it was a relative one, subject to combine power in distribution and exhibition, and as such precariously founded. Once American capital became readily available (such that by 1967 American finance accounted for 75% of British first features) the independents' economic base collapsed and companies like Bryanston and AFM went into decline. What, in effect, independence had implied was an increasing freedom to initiate projects and maintain control over methods of production; what it did not mean was an independence from the structure of combine control. The philosophy of Free Cinema had in fact already anticipated this. Although announcing its opposition to commercial cinema, and championing the cause of a 'personal' and 'poetic' cinema, it had no alternative base from which to develop its activities, except, ironically, commercial sponsorship or state funding (the British Film Institute Experimental Film Fund). Once such finance became unavailable, as with the withdrawal of funding by the Ford motor company, Free Cinema's survival was no longer viable.⁵³

As a final proviso, it should also be remembered that while innovations did occur it was still by and large against a backdrop of 'business as usual'. Despite their limited number of productions, Rank and ABPC were able to exploit their control over the circuits to ensure a maximum return. Six of the most profitable films for 1959-61, for example, were still Rank or ABPC

productions. Writing in 1963, Penelope Houston suggested that the national cinema might most readily be summed up "in a view of a boy and a girl wandering mournfully through the drizzle and most of industrial Britain, looking for a place to live or a place to make love"⁵⁴. How far this was the case for the average cinema-goer, however, is not at all clear. A year after Room at the Top it was Doctor in Love which topped the British box-office, with Sink the Bismark! not far behind. Thus, while A Kind of Loving's mournful couple proved sufficiently popular to make it the sixth most successful film of 1962 it was The Guns of Navarone which topped the group with Britain's No.1 box-office attraction, Cliff Richard, not far behind with The Young Ones. All had not changed as utterly as some of the critics might have us believe.

CHAPTER THREE

NARRATIVE AND REALISM

"We cannot, as a consistent policy, play films which are unacceptable to the public as entertainment ... I do feel that independent producers should take note of public demand and make films of entertainment value."¹

If the economic organisation of the industry exerted pressures and constraints on the type of films which could be made, it did so, not just in the specific ways discussed in the previous chapter, but also in a more general fashion. For films to be made within a commercial framework, they have to be seen as capable of generating a profit. Calculation of potential commercial success, however, is not simply a product of individual hunches and inspiration, but also of deeply engrained notions of what kind of film is likely to appeal to audiences. While these may vary according to cinematic fashion, there remain, nonetheless, a set of underlying assumptions about what a film is and how it can 'entertain' and, thus, fulfil an audience's demands for both meaning and pleasure. Indeed, it is these assumptions which effectively underwrite the industry's requirement for a continuing audience by regularising what an audience can expect from a film and, in effect, 'promising' that their demands for a meaningful and pleasurable experience will be met. It is in this sense that Christian Metz argues that the 'cinematic institution is not just the cinema industry' but also 'another industry': "the mental machinery ... which spectators 'accustomed to the cinema' have internalised historically and which has adapted them to the consumption of films"².

One of the central expectations of spectators 'accustomed to the cinema' is that a film should, in some way or other, 'tell a story'. The conventions of the narrative guarantee what an audience will see and hear will be interconnected and ultimately cohere into a meaningful whole while, as a number of critics have argued, their balancing of elements of novelty and repetition performs a critical function in the fulfilment of an audience's desire for pleasure.³ Moreover, as Richard Maltby suggests, this expectation of a 'story' is conventionally allied to that of 'realism', that an audience should be able

to think of the story a film is telling them as if it were a 'real event':

"That is not to say that they are intended to regard, say, the story of The Wizard of Oz as having actually taken place in front of a fortuitously-placed camera. But they are expected to operate a particular suspension of disbelief in which the mimesis of the photographic image reinforces the circumstantial and psychological 'realism' of the events those images contain, so that they can then presume upon those normative rules of spatial perception, human behaviour, and causality which govern their conduct in the world outside the cinema. Thus they may respond to the characters as if they were real people, and regard the story that is told through the characters as if it were unfolding before them without the mediation of cameras or narrative devices."⁴

Commercial cinema does, of course, rely on other expectations - those to do with stars and genres, for example - but it is these twin expectations of narrative and 'realism' which are, perhaps, the most fundamental in defining our sense of what constitutes a 'good' film and establishing the terms on which films are to be understood.

There is, of course, a vast literature on the subject of narrative and realism, both in relation to film and to the other arts, just as there is a wide diversity of issues raised by their analysis. My concern here, however, is fairly specific. My interest is not so much with these forms 'in themselves' as their inter-relationship with particular types of ideological 'content'. It is not just economic relations which exert pressures and set constraints upon film production but also these conventions. The conventions of narrative and realism are not simply neutral conductors of meaning but are already 'pre-stressed', encouraging the production of certain types of meaning while discouraging, or inhibiting, certain others. Thus, the ideas and attitudes expressed by the social problem film and the films of the British 'new wave' do not simply derive from the focus of their subject-matter but also from their deployment of certain types of conventions (in accordance with what an audience 'accustomed to the cinema' expects) which, then, inevitably structure and constrain the way in which that subject-matter can be presented in the first place. This is not, of course, a matter of strict and absolute determination. A diverse plurality of meanings can still be

found within the 'limitations' of narrative and realism.⁵ There are, however, general tendencies implicit in the logic of these conventions, especially as developed by the mainstream, commercial American and British film. What these are may be suggested by an initial consideration of some general, or 'model', characteristics.⁶

Narrative

A definition of narrative, independent of any particular contents, is suggested by Tzvetan Todorov:

"The normal complete plot consists in the passage from one equilibrium to another. An 'ideal' narrative begins with a stable situation which is disturbed by some power or force. There results a state of disequilibrium; by the action of a force directed in the opposite direction, the equilibrium is re-established; the second equilibrium is similar to the first, but the two are never identical."⁷

Thus, in the case of the detective story or film, a crime is committed (the disequilibrium), requiring a force directed in the opposite direction (the investigation), resulting in a new equilibrium (the capture of the culprit). Implicit in this requirement of a new equilibrium is the idea of a narrative 'solution'. As Seymour Chatman suggests, there is always a sense, in the traditional narrative, of 'problem-solving', of 'things being worked out in some way'.⁸ To this extent, there is a presumption, built into the very structure of conventional narrative, that 'problems' can be overcome, can, indeed, be resolved. It is for this reason that Thomas Elsaesser has suggested a link between an ideology of "affirmation" and the characteristic conventions of narrativity. As he explains, there is "a kind of a priori optimism located in the very structure of the narrative ... whatever the problem one can do something about it."⁹

Inevitably, this has effects for the way in which both the social problem film and the films of the new wave are able to deal with their subject-matter. Both loosely conform to the Todorov model. In the social

problem film, it is characteristically a crime or 'deviant' action which represents the 'force' which initiates the plot; in the films of the 'new wave', it is more usually a socially or sexually transgressive desire. In both cases, it is in the nature of the conventions of narrative that these 'problems' be overcome. But, in this very presumption of a solution, so an attitude toward the initial 'problem' is already taken. Thus, in the case of the social problem film, the articulation of the film's 'social problem' into the problem-solving structure of narrative necessarily implies that it too is capable of resolution. Russell Campbell, for example, has observed how the American 'social consciousness' movie may portray negative aspects of American society but only insofar as it then proceeds to assert "the possibility ... of corrective action" and celebrate "the system for being flexible and susceptible to amelioration".¹⁰ Such an ideological manoeuvre is, however, no accident but, more or less, a consequence of the conventions which have been adopted. For narrative form, of its nature, requires corrective action ('a force directed in the opposite direction') and amelioration ('the second equilibrium'), although this 'amelioration' need not, in itself, depend on the 'corrective action' of social reform. It may also result, as in the case of many British films, from the 'corrective action' of legal constraint and punishment. Either way, it is this need for some sort of narrative resolution which tends to encourage the adoption of socially conservative endings. An alternative account of social problems - say, poverty or juvenile delinquency - might, in fact, stress their intractability, their inability to be resolved, at least within the confines of the present social order. The solution to the problem of poverty, for example, would not be achieved by a tinkering with living standards but would depend on a transformation of the social structure whose constitutive principle is that of inequality. By contrast, the stress on resolution in the social problem film tends to imply the opposite - that these problems can indeed be overcome in absence of wholesale change.

This is, however, a tendency rather than a strictly inevitable consequence of the problem-solving structure of narrative. It is possible, for example, to imagine a narrative in which revolution or radical social change is offered as a resolution. What makes this unlikely is not this convention alone but its combination with other characteristics of mainstream narrative cinema. The movement from disequilibrium to a new equilibrium is not, of course, random but patterned in terms of a chain of events which is not simply linear but also causal. One thing does not just happen after another but is caused or made to happen. For mainstream narrative cinema, it is typically individual characters who function as the agents of this causality. As Bordwell and Thompson suggest, "natural causes (floods, earthquakes) or societal causes (institutions, wars, economic depression) may serve as catalysts or preconditions for the action, but the narrative invariably centres on personal, psychological causes: decisions, choices, and traits of character".¹¹ Thus, in the case of the British films under discussion, it is conventionally the actions or ambitions of an individual which precipitate the plot; the counter-actions of other individuals which provide the 'corrective action' and, thus, the establishment of a new equilibrium. Two main consequences stem from this stress on the individual as agent of causality. One, the 'making of things happen' is seen to derive from the aims and actions of individuals rather than social groups or collectivities (or if the group does undertake an action it is usually under the wing of a clearly distinguished individual leader). Second, the origins and explanation of actions and events are seen to result primarily from the features of individual psychology rather than more general social, economic and political relations. It is for this reason that Russell Campbell complains that the social consciousness film concentrates on 'private, personal dramas' at the expense of 'political and social dimensions'.¹² Once again, this is not simply fortuitous, for individualization, a stress on 'private, personal dramas', is already implicit in the conventions of mainstream narrative. It

is also this stress on the individual which helps confirm the ideology of containment characteristic of the narrative drive towards resolution. For the social problem film does not really deal with social problems in their social aspects at all (i.e. as problems of the social structure) so much as problems of the individual (i.e. his or her personal qualities or attributes). Thus, the responsibility for juvenile delinquency, for example, is attributed to the individual inadequacies of the delinquent (cf. The Blue Lamp, Violent Playground) rather than to the inadequacies of the social system itself. The social problem is a problem for society, rather than of it. And, obviously, if the causes of problems are located in the individual, then, prima facie, there is no necessity for a reconstruction of the social order. As a result, the endings characteristic of the social problem film tend to oscillate between one or other of two types, stressing, alternatively, the re-establishment of social order or the achievement of social integration.¹³ The latter is generally preferred by the more liberal, social democratic form of problem film-making, emphasising a capacity for social absorption; the former is more hard-hat and conservative, underscoring the demand for punishment and discipline. Both successfully fulfil the requirement for a narrative resolution; but, in neither, is the social system itself put into question.

A similar set of issues are raised by the films of the 'new wave'. For despite their determination to represent the working-class there is a sense in which the individualising conventions of classic narrativity render this problematic. Class is presented as primarily an individual, rather than collective, experience, a moral, rather than socially and economically structured, condition. As with the social problem film, the stress is on the interpersonal drama rather than the play of social and political forces. Inevitably, this has consequences for the types of resolutions the films are then able to offer. Implicit in the structure of the narrative, its movement from one equilibrium to another, its relations of cause and effect, is a requirement for change. But, insofar as the narrative is premised upon individual

agency, it is characteristic that the endings of such films should rely on individual, rather than social and political, change. As a result, the resolutions characteristic of the working-class films tend to conform to one or other of two main types: the central character either 'opts out' of society or else adapts and adjusts to its demands. Alternative solutions, collective struggle or social upheaval, are, in effect, excluded by the conventions upon which the films rely.

Realism

The stress on resolution and the role of the individual does not derive from the conventions of classic narrativity alone, however, but also from those conventions which are characteristic of the fictional film's particular brand of realism. A note of caution is appropriate here. There is probably no critical term with a more unruly and confusing lineage than that of realism. Such has been the diversity of art-works to which it has been applied, or for which it has been claimed, that its continuing use-value as either a descriptive or explanatory concept would often seem to be in question. But amidst this plurality of uses, one consistent implication does appear to survive: that the distinctive characteristic of realism resides in the ambition to, in some way or other, approximate reality, to show "things as they really are".¹⁴ But, while this may be in agreement with a commonsense understanding of the term, it does not, in itself, resolve the critical difficulties. Part of the problem here derives from the very definition of reality itself. As Terry Lovell indicates, one of the main reasons for the diversity in application of the term has been the variation in accounts of the 'real' upon which they have been predicated.¹⁵ What has counted as a valid or satisfactory approximation to reality has depended on the epistemology of the real which has been assumed in the first place.¹⁶ The other part of the difficulty which then arises is that, even with agreement upon what constitutes reality, the sense in which an art-work may be said to approximate reality, or reveal

things as they are, still remains problematic. No work can ever simply reveal reality. Realism, no less than any other type of art, depends on conventions, conventions which, in this case, have successfully achieved the status of being accepted as 'realistic'. And, it is this 'conventionality' of realism which also makes its usage so vulnerable to change. For as the conventions change (either in reaction to previously established conventions or in accordance with new perceptions of what constitutes reality) so too does our sense of what then constitutes realism.

This is quite clearly so of the cinema. Films which were accepted as 'realistic' by one generation often appear 'false' or 'dated' to the next. Thus, the working-class films of the British 'new wave', which initially appeared so striking in their 'realism', now appear 'melodramatic' and "even hysterical" to at least one modern critic.¹⁷ Indeed, even before the cycle of 'new wave' films came to an end, contemporary reviewers were already claiming that its 'realism' had become 'exhausted'.¹⁸ As Thomas Elsaesser suggests, these films quite rapidly demonstrated a 'fundamental point' about 'realism': "that it is purely conventional and therefore infinitely 'corruptible' through repetition".¹⁹ If the British social problem and 'new wave' films are still to be regarded as 'realistic', then, it is clearly not in any absolute sense but only on the basis of the specific conventions which they employed and the relationship of these to those other conventions which the films saw themselves as superceding. As Raymond Williams suggests, it is usually a 'revolt' against previous conventions which characterises a 'break towards realism' in the arts.²⁰ But, he also distinguishes two types of 'revolt': on the one hand, an 'injection of new content' (new people, new problems, new ideas) but within a basically 'orthodox form'; on the other, an 'invention of new forms' which undermine 'habitual' versions of 'dramatic reality' and thus communicate new, and more fundamental, 'underlying realities'.²¹ This is a distinction of relevance to an understanding of the British films. For, primarily, their 'break towards realism' was characterised

by an 'injection of new content': new characters (the working-class, juvenile delinquents), new settings (the factory, the housing estate) and new problems (race, homosexuality). Although this was accompanied by a certain degree of stylistic novelty (location shooting, for example), it did not, in any major sense, entail the 'invention of new dramatic forms'. Both groups of films continued to depend on the conventions of narrative (albeit in slightly modified forms) and, indeed, the 'version of dramatic reality' made 'habitual' by the fiction film. The quarrel with earlier films was not so much with how they 'revealed reality' as with what they 'revealed'. To this extent, what both the new and the old films shared was a common epistemology: that it is basically through observation that the world is to be 'revealed' and understood (rather than, say, through a penetration of these appearances to the 'underlying realities' below).

It is for this reason that Colin McCabe argues that, for all its local variations, the form of 'classic realism' remains substantially the same for not only the nineteenth century novel but also the standard fictional output of film and television.²² What he suggests remains a constant in all of these is not their 'content', but their formal organisation, their hierarchy of discourses, which is itself 'defined in terms of an empirical notion of truth'. This, he suggests, is to be understood in terms of the 'classic realist' text's characteristic form of narration. McCabe notes, for example, how the shift from first-person narration to a form of impersonal narration in the nineteenth century novel results in a form of apparently anonymous enunciation whereby the 'truth' of what we read is guaranteed by the narrative itself rather than the voice of the author. This point is pursued in relation to the fiction film:

"(In the nineteenth century realist novel) ... the narrative prose achieves its position of dominance because it is in the position of knowledge and this function of knowledge is taken up in the cinema by the narration of events. Through the knowledge we gain from the narrative we can split the discourses of the various characters from their situation and compare what is said in these discourses with what has been revealed to us through narration. The camera shows us what happens - it tells the truth against which we can measure the discourses."²³

What is specific to the 'classic realist' film, rather than the novel, is this articulation of narrative and vision. Like the novel, the 'classic realist' film is apparently 'author-less': the events of the narrative do not appear to proceed from anywhere in particular but simply unfold.²⁴ But, unlike the novel, it is on the basis of what we see, what the camera shows, that the 'truth' of events is 'revealed'. It is in this sense that McCabe identifies the epistemology underlying 'classic realism' as 'empirical': for the knowledge which the 'classic realist' film delivers is founded, fundamentally, on sight: "the unquestioned nature of the narrative discourse entails that the only problem that reality poses is to go and look and see what things there are".²⁵ His definition of 'realism', in this respect, does not depend on the 'mimetic accuracy', or, more properly, the 'diegetic plausibility', of what is shown, only this dependency on the visible.²⁶

The Sound of Music (to take one of McCabe's examples) is, by this token, as much an example of 'classic realism' as Saturday Night and Sunday Morning.

It is also in this sense that it may be argued that, for all of their novelty (particularly of subject-matter), the social problem film and those of the 'new wave' still remained attached to the basic conventions of 'realism', the 'habitual' versions of 'dramatic reality', made familiar by the mainstream fiction film.

The effect of this basic continuity in form, however, was a restriction on the type of knowledge of social 'realities' which these films could then provide. Knowledge of social and political relations, for example, does not derive from any simple observation of what is visible but also an understanding of what is, in effect, invisible. It is partly for this reason that McCabe complains that 'classic realism' is 'fundamentally inimical to the production of political knowledge'.²⁷ Christine Gledhill sums up the argument: cinematic 'realism' is dependent upon an 'ideological' proposition that 'reality equals what we can see, that perception equals cognition'. As a result, 'those material socio-economic forces which, though not immediately

perceptible in phenomenal appearances, are responsible for their production' are, in effect, denied.²⁸ To take an example, it is possible to show how the poor live on the screen. It is rather more difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate how such poverty is the effect of a particular economic system or socially structured pattern of inequality while remaining within the conventions of 'realism'. The mechanics of capitalism or distribution of wealth are not 'Things' which can be seen, except in their effects (e.g. disparate life-styles). As a result, the characteristic understanding of events provided by 'realism' will, of necessity, tend towards the personal, rather than the socio-political. In the case of Days of Hope, for example, it was an adoption of the form of realism which effectively mitigated against an explication of the social and economic forces leading to the collapse of the General Strike. The film's formal logic (with its dependency on the visible and hence the inter-personal) inevitably led towards conspiracy theory, the attribution of the strike's failure to the betrayal of trade union leaders. As Colin McCabe explains,

"In Days of Hope institutions have no reality over and above their ability to produce individuals who are betrayers. Instead of an analysis of the Labour Party of the TUC we are treated to the sight of the perfidy of a Wedgewood or a Thomas ... There is ... no possibility of an explanation of the structure and history of those institutions which would make the behaviour of a Thomas or a Wedgewood possible."²⁹

It is also in this sense that the suppression of 'social and political dimensions' and corresponding concentration on 'private, personal dramas', already indicated as a characteristic of the social problem film and the working-class 'realism' of the 'new wave', does not derive from the individualising conventions of narrative alone but also this emphasis on sight and dependency upon an epistemology of the visible.

McCabe's observations do not apply solely to the kind of knowledge which 'classic realism' can deliver, however, but also its form. The 'truth' provided by the narrative discourse, he argues, also guarantees a position to

the spectator from which 'the material is dominated' and 'everything becomes obvious'.³⁰ It is in this sense that he goes on to argue that 'the classic realist text cannot deal with the real as contradictory'.³¹ It may expose contradictions but these are nonetheless contradictions which have already been resolved. What 'classic realism' cannot do is produce 'a contradiction which remains unresolved and is thus left for the reader (i.e. spectator) to resolve and act out'.³² It is for this reason that the attitude of the social problem film so often appears to be comforting rather than disturbing. It exposes a social problem but only in a way in which it has been 'resolved' and the spectator is assured of his/her 'mastery' of it. The problem does not remain problematic and therefore up to the spectator to 'resolve and act out'. Inevitably, this has the effect of bolstering the films' tendencies towards socially conservative 'solutions'. It is not just the 'content' of the film which reassures an audience that the problem is 'under control' but also the way in which it is presented whereby the problem is now, in effect, put 'under the control' of the spectator. There are, of course, problem films which adopt more liberal or reformist 'solutions' but even here the capacity to initiate social change, of the kind they would like, remains limited. Victim, for example, reveals the injustice of the law against homosexuals. But while the spectator is confirmed in a position from which he/she knows the law to be wrong they are, at the same time, denied any perspective for change. The film remains allied, as McCabe puts it, to a 'social-democratic notion of progress': that the production of knowledge of injustices is sufficient in itself for wrongs to be somehow righted.³³

Tensions in the Text

The discussion so far has depended upon a relative degree of abstraction. It has avoided dwelling on the detail of individual films in favour of a consideration of more general, or ideal-typical, tendencies.³⁴ In practice, the workings of individual films are more complex. Individual narratives,

for example, are usually less neat and tidy than the general model suggests. The movement from one equilibrium to another, in this respect, is never simply achieved but has to be worked through and worked for.³⁵ In the process, there is always the possibility that the problem, force or threat which has set the plot in motion may defy or outrun the movement towards a resolution. As Stephen Neale suggests, "a definitive equilibrium, a condition of total plenitude, is always an impossibility".³⁶ This is often taken to be the case in film noir, for example. As Sylvia Harvey argues, the "acts of transgression" (the causes of disequilibrium) committed by the films' female characters, and the vitality with which they are endowed, often produce "an excess of meaning which cannot finally be contained ... narrative resolutions cannot recuperate their subversive significance".³⁷ Or, as Annette Kuhn puts it, there is "an excess of narrative disruption over resolution".³⁸ In the same way, the "acts of transgression" characteristic of the social problem film and those of the 'new wave' may also prove too 'excessive' to be contained by the logic of repression implicit in the films' resolutions. The exhibition of active female sexuality in films like I Believe In You, Cage of Gold and That Kind of Girl and, of active male sexuality, in a film like Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, to some extent remains defiant of the 'solutions' which the films are attempting to impose.

A sign of this 'stress' can often be detected in the endings themselves. The ending may itself appear 'excessive' or 'overloaded', as if in indication of the difficulty it is having in tying up all the narrative elements (e.g. The Gentle Gunman, Spare the Rod), or it may be inadequately integrated into the film's chain of causality, such that it appears either 'imposed' or peremptory (e.g. Flame in the Streets, Beat Girl). This is often the case in those films which adopt a sort of 'double ending': both the resolution proper and a concluding coda or epilogue which 'functions to represent the final stability achieved by the narrative'.³⁹ Here, the resolution may be adequately motivated by what has preceded but not the epilogue. Thus, in

the case of Violent Playground, the action is brought to a successful resolution with the capture of Johnny; it is with the epilogue (and its reappearance of the black boy) that an apparent gap or deficiency in narrative motivation occurs which, in effect, 'jars' with what has gone before.

Such deficiencies in motivation do not apply to endings alone.⁴⁰ Specific events or actions within the narrative, for example, may also lack a proper integration and thus create an 'excess of meaning' which survives beyond the final resolution. As Maltby suggests, each scene in a conventional narrative film normally "advances the plot by confirming the knowledge the audience have derived from previous scenes, and adding further information to it".⁴¹ But it is possible for scenes not to function in this way. In Wind of Change, for example, the scene between the white woman and the black youth is effectively 'redundant' in terms of the narrative's development. Not only does it fail to confirm the knowledge derived from previous scenes and then add to it, but the knowledge which it does provide actually runs counter to the knowledge which the other scenes have suggested. Because it is left 'outside of' the narrative's chain of causality, its significance remains 'unexplained', and, indeed, still 'troublesome', by the time of the narrative's close.

The same scene also provides an example of the way what we see can, on occasion, complicate rather than simply resolve our understanding of narrative events. As McCabe's formulations make clear, it is what we see, rather than what we hear, which is privileged in the 'realist' film. And yet, there is also a tendency, especially in the social problem film, to rely heavily on dialogue as a means of communicating the way in which a problem is to be understood. This is partly a consequence of the form itself: for if the film is to prove capable of expressing an attitude which can be generalised beyond the particularity of the story then this must, almost of necessity, fall on the shoulders of the dialogue. It is, indeed, this use of dialogue as a

means of introduction of more general themes and issues that so often ruptures the conviction of the 'realist illusion', especially if it appears not to grow 'naturally' out of the particular dramatic situation in which it is spoken. Colin's speeches in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, for example, were often criticised on precisely this basis.⁴² But, if the legitimacy of what we hear is dependent upon confirmation from what we see, then tensions can arise in the social problem film if this is not the case. This refers to more than the simple undercutting of what a character says by what is shown (e.g. the undermining of the mine-owner's speech by the image of troops at bayonet practice in Days of Hope) but rather a more general 'unevenness' across a film as a whole. In the case of Sapphire, for example, the tension between what we are told about racial prejudice in the dialogue and what we actually see is not confined to a specific scene, nor explicitly marked as a discrepancy, but results from a more widespread failure of the conventions employed to substantiate the 'message' which the dialogue is attempting to offer. As a result, the 'solution' to the problem which the film provides is rendered only partly 'satisfactory'.⁴³

This question of vision is also raised, though in a different way, by the films of the 'new wave'. The 'motivation' of narrative elements in a film does not only refer to actions and events but also to how these actions and events are shown: The choice of an angle, camera position or movement, for example, will generally have a reason in terms of how what is shown is to be understood. A characteristic of many of the 'new wave' films, by contrast, is not only an inclusion of scenes or actions which are, strictly speaking, redundant but also an adoption of stylistic procedures which are themselves 'unwarranted'. Their use is, in effect, 'surplus' to the demands of the narrative. This is, of course, the case with other films but what is also striking is their degree of noticeability. As a result, they not only distract from the narrative but also undermine its 'anonymous enunciation' by rendering visible the images' authorship. In this way, the knowledge provided

by the films is, to some extent, qualified for it also begins to raise the question of the position from which this knowledge is produced.

Conclusion

These are, of course, all points dealt with more fully in the discussion of individual films. The point to note is that although the conventions of narrative and realism can, indeed, be seen to exert pressures and constraints on the way in which the films are able to deal with their subject-matter, they do not necessarily do so in any simple and straightforward fashion. There is still a possibility of tensions and moments of excess or unease. My interest in such tensions, however, is delimited. Kristin Thompson, for example, employs the idea of 'excess' as a means of encouraging the spectator to break free of conventional perceptual constraints and thus enjoy a new form of critical 'play'.⁴⁴ While this is a valid enough enterprise, in its own terms, it does seem content, as a Screen editorial suggests, with 'a celebration of the aesthetically aware individual spectator' as an end in itself.⁴⁵ What it ignores is the context of a film's production and reception and, thus, the interrelationship between such textual 'excess' and the 'ideological effects' which any particular film may be seen to be producing. By contrast, the emphasis here is on these relations: the way in which such tensions and excess may also be seen to have a bearing on the ideological meanings (and, of course, tensions in meaning) which any particular film provides.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM FILM (1)

One of the most striking characteristics of the British cinema towards the end of the fifties was its increasing concern to deal with contemporary social issues. Although individual examples of such films appeared earlier, it was in the period 1956-63 that this type of film became most prominent and topics such as juvenile delinquency, prostitution, homosexuality and race became standard preoccupations. The problem of youth was well ahead in this respect, giving rise to such titles as The Blue Lamp (1950), I Believe In You (1952), Cosh Boy (1953), My Teenage Daughter (1956), It's Great To Be Young (1956), Violent Playground (1957), The Young and the Guilty (1958), Too Young To Love (1959), Serious Charge (1959), No Trees In the Street (1959), Beat Girl (1959), Linda (1960), So Evil So Young (1960), Spare the Rod (1961), Some People (1962), Term of Trial (1962), The Boys (1962), The Wild and the Willing (1962), The Leather Boys (1963), That Kind of Girl (1963), The Yellow Teddybears (1963), The Party's Over (1963) and A Place to Go (1963). The Teddyboy also assumed a prominent role in movies such as The Angry Silence (1960) and Flame in the Streets (1961), while pop stars were employed to fill roles, not only in the expected musical vehicles, but more serious social dramas as well. Cliff Richard appeared in Serious Charge (1959) and Expresso Bongo (1959), for example, Adam Faith starred in Beat Girl (1959) and Never Let Go (1960), while Frankie Vaughan took a part in Those Dangerous Years (1957). The topic of race provided subject-matter for films such as Sapphire (1959), Flame in the Streets (1961) and Wind of Change (1961); while the subject of prostitution prompted The Flesh is Weak (1957), Passport to Shame (1959) and The World Ten Times Over (1963). Homosexuality was dealt with by Oscar Wilde (1960), The Trials of Oscar Wilde (1960), Victim (1961) and The Pleasure Girls (1963); while capital punishment, women in prison, artificial insemination, impotence, child molestation and rape also made an appearance in Yield to the Night (1956), The Weak and the Wicked (1953), A Question of Adultery (1958), During One Night (1961), The Mark (1961) and Don't Talk to Strange Men (1962). Although such a bare listing

undoubtedly under-emphasizes the variations in style and tone between films, what justifies their common grouping is their concern to raise topical social issues within a commercial cinematic form. They are, in effect, all examples of the British 'social problem' film and it is through them that many of the dominant ideological assumptions and attitudes of the period can be revealed.

Although it would be possible to discuss these films in a more direct relationship to the ideological themes already identified in Chapter One (e.g. affluence, classlessness, cultural degradation), I have opted, in the first instance, to focus on the work of two of the leading personalities associated with the problem film: the director, Basil Dearden, and writer, Ted Willis. It is not my intention, however, to offer a conventional auteurist analysis. As Stephen Neale suggests, "no artist ... is free ... all forms of signification and meaning entail pressure (and) no subject is transcendent of such pressure or in control of its various modalities"¹. Accordingly, my argument is not that Dearden and Willis can be identified as the conscious creators, or originators, of the meanings which I discuss but that the sources of these meanings are effectively 'overdetermined', deriving as much from the 'pressures' of the general ideological climate and the specific effectivities of the aesthetic conventions employed as the film-makers' own conscious 'intentions'. Indeed, it is precisely because of these (generally unnoticed) pressures that the meanings which such films produce so often diverge, and even undercut, the intentions (insofar as we know them) that the film-makers actually profess.² The reason for organising the discussion around the work of Dearden and Willis, then, is primarily heuristic. A focus on their work provides a relatively straightforward route through a diversity of material and also facilitates the drawing of connections across different films, not all of which, strictly speaking, can be counted as 'social problem' pictures. The conclusion of the discussion, however, does identify more directly the broader patterns of ideological meanings of which these films also constitute a part.

Of all the film-makers involved in the social problem film of the fifties and sixties, there can be little doubt that the largest and most consistent body of work belongs to director, Basil Dearden and producer, Michael Relph. Between 1947 and 1963, their films addressed practically all the main social problems characteristic of the era: anti-German feeling (Frieda), Ireland (The Gentle Gunman), youth (The Blue Lamp, I Believe In You, Violent Playground, A Place To Go), race (Sapphire), homosexuality (Victim), religious fundamentalism (Life for Ruth) and brainwashing (The Mindbenders). It was a type of cinema, moreover, which appeared to epitomise the 'best' of British film-making in the fifties. Sapphire, for example, was voted the 'Best British Film' of 1959 by the British Film Academy. What appeared to distinguish such films, and win them critical reward (such as the BFA award) was their apparent determination, not just to provide 'mere entertainment', but confront 'real situations' and 'important' social issues and, in so doing, to make a positive contribution to the 'good' of society. A spokesman for Rank, the distributors of Sapphire, explained his belief in the cinema's 'tremendous influence' and the value of the film in promoting understanding of 'the problem of race'.³ Michael Relph himself argued that, because the cinema was 'genuinely a mass medium', so it must also display 'social and educative responsibilities as well as artistic ones'.⁴

To this extent, the work of Dearden represents a continuity with the ideas of documentary developed by John Grierson in the thirties. As Grierson himself pointed out, "it is worth recalling that the British documentary group began not so much in affection for film per se as in affection for national education ... if I am to be counted as the founder and leader of the movement, its origins certainly lay in sociological rather than aesthetic ideas".⁵ However, while Grierson assumed this emphasis on education and propaganda for democracy implied a privileged role for documentary, there was no particular reason why such functions should not also be performed by fiction

film. The mediating influence between documentary and the social problem film, in this respect, was provided by Ealing whose wartime production programme not only drew upon documentary personnel (such as Alberto Cavalcanti and Harry Watt) but assimilated documentary ideas (a commitment to 'ordinary' people, dampened-down narratives, location shooting) into its fictional dramas. It was in such a context that Dearden began his career as a film director (with The Bells Go Down in 1943) and it was also for Ealing that he directed the first of his social problem pictures (beginning with Frieda in 1947).

Central to Ealing's wartime mix of social purpose and fictional realism was the idea of a national community, pulling together to win the war. As Charles Barr suggests, it was also an idea which was to continue to pre-occupy Ealing once the war had been won: first, as the "daydream of a benevolent community" to be found in the post-war comedies and, then, as the "backward-looking community, with no dynamism" of the late fifties.⁶ Although Dearden's work is distinct from much of this general tendency, insofar as it does not normally employ comedy, it does nonetheless display the same recurrent concern with community, and with wartime Britain as the pivotal expression of such a unity. Both The Ship That Died of Shame (1955) and The League of Gentlemen (1960) revolve around the problem of post-war experience and the inability of peace-time society to provide the excitement and solidarity represented by the war. As Norman Hyde (Jack Hawkins) puts it in The League of Gentlemen: "I served my country well ... and was suitably rewarded ... by being made redundant". In both films, ex-servicemen come together to engage in para-military activities. The trio in The Ship That Died of Shame retrieve their old ship to engage in smuggling while the gang in The League of Gentlemen plan and execute a bank robbery with military precision. But, because both enterprises are illegal their attempts to reconstruct wartime community are necessarily doomed to failure and futility. The values may retain their potency but the methods are no longer appropriate.

As a result, the post-war films of Dearden are less concerned with a literal reconstruction of wartime community than with the exploration of the conditions necessary to the construction of a new community or consensus appropriate to peacetime. To this extent, the concern of Dearden's films with social problems can be understood. For it is precisely such problems (for example, youth and race) which threaten social stability and undermine the community or consensus of post-war Britain. The logic of the Dearden social problem movie is then towards an integration, or an assimilation, of troubling elements through an appeal to 'good sense' and reason. In practice, such an assimilation tends to be more problematic. For at the heart of the social problem in Dearden's films lies an excess of sex and violence, which constantly belies the programme of rational control and containment. As Barr has suggested: "Poverty of desire comes to form an inevitable accompaniment to - no, it is deeper than that: constituent of - the notions of social responsibility and community which the British cinema, in the war years and after, so assiduously reflects and promotes"⁷. Such hesitation is appropriate: for in the Dearden films repression is not just coincidentally linked with social community but presumed by it, the price to be paid for its achievement. As such, the film's apparent liberalism, their programmes of 'rational' assimilation, tend to be undercut by the conservatism of their sexual repression. The opening title of The Mindbenders informs us that the film was suggested by experiments, being carried out in certain American universities, on 'the reduction of sensation'. The 'experiments' performed by the Dearden social problem films might be said to have a similar effect.

A useful starting-point, in this respect, is provided by The Blue Lamp (1950), the first of four Dearden films to tackle the problem of juvenile delinquency. The novelty and contemporaneity of the delinquent phenomenon is firmly established by the film's opening which in, quasi-documentary style (anonymous voice-over, non-narrative information, a montage of newspaper headlines), locates the particularity of the story's events against a general

background of violent crime and juvenile unrest. A new breed of "restless and ill-adjusted youngsters", produced by the family breakdowns of war and lacking "the code, experience and self-discipline of the professional thief", now exist as "a class apart". Standing outside of the established social order, they represent the new threat to the post-war settlement and a dramatic cypher for the struggle between order and chaos, the old and the new, reason and unreason. What is at stake here is underlined by the duality structured into the film's representation of youth. On the one hand, the film offers 'natural' progression, the son's inheritance of the father's role, the renewal of the old by the young. George Dixon (Jack Warner) directs an enquirer to Paddington station at the film's beginning; Andy Mitchell (James Hanley), his 'adopted' son, does the same at the film's close. On the other hand, there is the "restless and ill-adjusted" Riley (Dirk Bogarde) who opposes this order, rejecting the old and killing the Dixon father-figure outside a cinema (below an ironic advertisement for 'Granny Get Your Gun'). Thus, while Mitchell's progression is linked to his absorption into the community (the family, the police, the final chase), Riley remains set apart, both in life-style (an isolated bed-sit) and absence of psychological or social purpose.

The indices of his threat, however, are clear enough: an ever-escalating violence and sexual menace. For the film, these appear to go hand in hand, linked by the phallic power of the gun. Riley uses it to threaten Diana (Peggy Evans) and explains its 'excitement' before taking her into his arms. In re-imposing order, the film is thus rejecting not only Riley's violence but his sexuality as well. As Barr suggests, Diana's 'salvation' implies a rejection of both, a renunciation of her surrender to each of the impulses.⁸ And, if this is true of Diana, so is it also of the community which rallies round to destroy Riley. For both the key forms of community celebrated by the film are, in effect, drained of sexuality. The family is represented by the elderly Dixon couple whose surrogate 'son' is immaculately conceived via 'adoption'. The police, on the other hand, are predominantly male with

female characters assigned to narratively marginal or subservient roles (the most conspicuous female presence in the police canteen being that of the serving-lady!). The model of community represented by the police is clearly an extension of the all-male group characteristic of the wartime films (e.g. The Bells Go Down) but running alongside it seems to lurk a suspicion of women and the threat they might pose to male camaraderie. Both The Ship That Died of Shame and The League of Gentlemen are conspicuous in their absence of female characters. The death of Bill Randall's (George Baker) fiancée in The Ship That Died of Shame is almost a prerequisite for the action to really begin while Lexy's (Richard Attenborough) desertion of the all-male group for a night in female company is rewarded with a fine in The League of Gentlemen. Similarly, the job of the police-force in The Blue Lamp is not only to fight crime but regulate sexual deviance as well. The dramatic details employed to sketch in the typical work of the police force consistently imply this: the young girl who can't repeat what was said to her by a man, the young boy who is asked if he's come to give himself up for bigamy, the young couple cuddling in a shop doorway, interrupted by the beam of a police torch and forced to move on. In an analagous manner, the illegitimate liaison of Jordan (Norman Shelley) is 'punished' by the robbery of his jewellery shop. As Barr, once again, indicates the film's plot corresponds exactly to the Todorov model: "order shown, disrupted, restored"⁹. The restoration of that order, however, would appear to have its price: the reduction of sensation.

This fear of the socially disruptive potential of sexual desire is also in evidence in Dearden's next film, Cage of Gold (1950). Although not a social problem film itself, it is nonetheless worth examining for an explication of the attitudes and assumptions which come to form the bedrock of nearly all the social problem films that follow. As Annette Kuhn has suggested, it is a recurrent concern of mainstream cinema, particularly American, to recuperate woman to a 'proper place'. "Woman" commonly constitutes the "troubling" that sets the plot in motion, with resolution dependent on either

the punishment of the 'woman' for her transgressions or her acceptance of home and marriage (her 'proper place').¹⁰ Cage of Gold is similar. Like It Always Rains on Sunday and Brief Encounter before it, the film focuses upon a female character whose sexual desires pose a threat to conventional domestic order. As such, it is the logic of the plot to work out both the destructive consequences of such desires and the construction of a new stability in which the woman will accept her proper place. Formally, the film represents something of a hybrid: one which might most accurately be designated 'noir melodrama'. Like melodrama, the focus of the film is primarily domestic, concerned with home and family; in structure and style, however, it is more characteristically 'noir'. Like 'noir', the plot is initiated by a chance encounter which leads first to passion and then destruction culminating in a nightmare shoot-out with the woman brandishing the gun. Like 'noir', the plot is convoluted and organised around repetition. Also like 'noir', the style makes a pronounced use of chiaroscuro effects, imbalanced compositions and heavily angular shots. The crucial difference from film noir, however, lies in terms of characterisation. Whereas 'noir' is conventionally organised in terms of a madonna/whore, virgin/femme fatale duality, in Cage of Gold this division is expressed in relation to the male characters. These are, however, the structural correlatives of the female duality, what Paul Hoch has distinguished as the division between the 'playboy' and the 'puritan'. As he explains, "For the past three thousand years the manly idol of the leading social classes has oscillated between these two basic roles: on the one hand, a sort of hard-working, hard fighting "puritan" hero who adheres to a production ethic of duty before pleasure; on the other, a more aristocratic "playboy" who lives according to an ethic of leisure and sensual indulgence."¹¹ Thus, just as the male hero of film noir faces a choice between the exciting sensuality of the femme fatale and the respectable niceness of 'the girl next door', so Judith (Jean Simmons) faces a similar choice of male characters in Cage of Gold. Alan (James Donald) represents the "puritan", the doctor who

gives up his prosperous West End practice in favour of his father's in Battersea, and thus renewing tradition after the fashion of Mitchell in The Blue Lamp. By contrast, Bill (David Farrar) is a "Champagne Charlie", a "playboy" dedicated to sensual indulgence and leisure. Like the hero of The Ship That Died of Shame, post-war society has rendered him redundant and he has turned to smuggling. His similarity with the noir femme fatale is striking. His allure is predominantly sexual but used to deceitful, criminal and self-acquisitive ends. He has a disdain for work and, despite his smuggling activities, is effectively kept by his mistress (in the 'cage of gold' of the film's title). And, while it is the femme fatale's portrait in Laura and Woman in the Window which seems to inspire male fantasies, so it is Bill's portrait in Cage of Gold which becomes the locus of desire, as the camera moves in on the bare canvas to begin a semi-subjective sequence of romantic passion (similar to the revelations of dark visions through the mirror in Dead of Night). Like the 'postman' to whom he refers, Bill rings twice, haunting (almost literally insofar as he has been presumed dead) marital and familial security. One shot sums this up eloquently. The camera follows Bill into the Palette club but halts in front of the table where Judith and Alan are sitting, while Bill takes a table behind. Judith and Alan occupy the foreground, facing each other across the table; but the pull of the eye is irresistably towards Bill behind them, centre frame and facing the camera direct, a potentially troubling presence who refuses to go away.

It is Bill's appearance, then, that triggers off the narrative and his disposal which is necessary for the plot to be resolved. Like noir, giving in to passion must prove destructive; but, unlike noir where such destruction normally takes its toll of both characters (Out of the Past, Double Indemnity), Cage of Gold wishes to save its heroine. The means whereby this is achieved is of interest. Facing blackmail and the upset of her second marriage, Judith agrees to meet Bill at his lodgings, where she ends up drawing a gun ... However, the film witholds an actual shot of the killing and, in a sort of

visual rhyme, cuts from the camera moving in on the gun barrel to the camera pulling out from a car hooter, being pressed in agitation by Alan. Two shots later, we return to Judith, now seen fleeing down the stairs from Bill's rooms. Alan confronts her before proceeding up the stairs to discover Bill dead. In Barthes' terminology, this constitutes a 'snare': "a kind of evasion of the truth" characteristic of the hermeneutic code of narrative.¹² For although the organisation of shots clearly implicates Judith as the killer, it is only towards the end of the film that the identity of the real murderer is revealed as Bill's mistress, Madeleine (Madeleine Lebeau). Clearly, the film wants to have its cake and eat it. Judith is, in effect, morally culpable, requiring punishment, if not for murder, then for her sexual excess. But, in a manner characteristic of the social problem films, the movie wishes to allow for reform, the possibility of rehabilitation. By use of the 'snare', the film is able to 'double' its ending. The logic of the drama is destruction; by withholding a shot of the actual killing, it is able to retrieve the heroine for home and marriage. The corollary of salvation is then projection, the externalisation of violence in the form of the 'Other': the foreigner and night-club owner, outside of home, marriage and public service.

But, as the idea of projection implies, such an externalisation is no more than the outward sign of a repression that is within; and it is the reality of such repression that the film finds hard to disavow.¹³ Like film noir, the acts of transgression possess a vitality which the return to normality can't quite suppress, or, as Barr suggests, "in this film the woman is at least there, with a spiritual and sensual existence which - simply by being represented - splits the film apart".¹⁴ Thus, while the short sequence of Judith and Bill's courtship is marked as 'subjective' (the camera's forward movement into the canvas, the dissolves and abstracted compositions) and thus as somehow invalid, it is retrospectively acknowledged to have taken place, and thus as giving expression to a libidinal energy which

has been otherwise repressed and, indeed, is due to be repressed again.¹⁵ Instead of sensuality, the film offers family, conceived as a kind of service. Just as Alan's life is one of doctoring, so Judith's lot (in a sort of expiation for her sins) becomes the nursing of her invalid father-in-law. Appropriately, Judith's appearance becomes more restrained and severe, stripped of its earlier glamour. Like the Dixons in The Blue Lamp, their marriage is asexual with no child of its own, only Judith's son by Bill, an extinguishment of passion underlined by Bill's fusing the Christmas tree lights shortly before the child's party.

This also gives a significance to the apparently inconsequential joke which begins and ends the movie. Alan's father is first introduced twiddling the knobs of his son's wireless and complaining about the 'comics and crooners' he seems unable to escape. As the film closes, the same character is again at work with the wireless. Confronted with yet another 'crooner', he quickly turns to the more proportioned sounds of the Third Service, before sitting back in contentment. At one level, a sign of Ealing's characteristic and increasingly pronounced opposition to commercialism, as opposed to public service, at another, it also suggests a fear of the sensuality that popular culture, and music and dancing in particular, seem to represent. In both other Ealing films (It Always Rains on Sunday, Dance Hall) and Dearden's own (Pool of London, I Believe In You, Violent Playground, Sapphire), the world of music and dance is associated with sexual desire and social or family disruption.¹⁶ For Dearden, music and dancing is inextricably bound up with the primal and dionysiac, consistently upsetting rational order and control. It is thus no accident that Judith's 'descent' into libidinal fantasy should begin with a close-up of beating drums; the restoration of order, with classical music on the Third Programme!

I Believe In You is the second of Dearden's youth movies and presents something of a fusion between The Blue Lamp and Cage of Gold. Like The Blue

Lamp, there is an emphasis on the renewal of tradition with 'novice', Henry Phipps (Cecil Parker), taking over from father-figure, Dove (George Relph) in his position in the probation service. There are, however, slight differences in emphasis. Phipps is an upper-class character who himself is changed in the course of the film (thus anticipating Violent Playground). Like so many of Dearden's characters, post-war society has made him redundant: "The colonial office finding itself so short of colonies had made a lot of cuts. I was one of them." But, unlike Cage of Gold, The Ship That Died of Shame and The League of Gentlemen, he does not turn to crime but to public service. In the process, he must lose something of his class hauteur, no longer "planning for people" but "with them". For, although Dearden's films may be "establishmentarian", they also manifest a certain disillusionment with the "old gang" and their responsibility for the war.¹⁷ As Barr points out, the only other character, apart from Riley, who is excluded from The Blue Lamp's community is the upper-class lady in the sports car, warned by Mitchell to "drive more carefully in the future".¹⁸ Accordingly, Phipps' entry into the film's community is accompanied by a certain amount of humiliation: he sacrifices taxis for public transport, extends his knowledge of London to beyond Knightsbridge and St. James and finally ends up dirty and bedraggled under a lorry with Hooker (Harry Fowler). The community which Phipps thus enters, however, represents a considerable degeneration from The Blue Lamp, providing little more than a gallery of Ealing 'eccentrics', whose harmless crankery seems to account for the bulk of the probation service's work.

In contrast, to these primarily elderly eccentrics, there are, however, the more problematic cases of youth. Elaborating on the 'war baby' thesis presented by The Blue Lamp's voice-over, I Believe In You begins to flirt with environmentalism, emphasizing, in particular, the background of broken homes (in Hooker's case, caused by the loss of a father during the war) from which its juvenile delinquents emerge. But, such an emphasis only goes so far, undercut, in the end, by "the widespread British inability to take

psychology, sociology and, indeed, anything but knockdown fundamentalist notions of responsibility seriously".¹⁹ Two main strategies work to enforce this. First, by 'balancing' the youths from disadvantaged backgrounds with the upper-class Hon. Ursula (Ursula Howells), whose wartime loss of a lover has led to persistent drunkenness, the film effectively disavows the significance of class. While class background may appear to be a determinant, its influence is cancelled out by the variety of social backgrounds from which the probation services clients are drawn. Second, this is reinforced by structuring a contrast within each class to bring out the morally redeeming value of choice. Thus, the Hon. Ursula is matched with Matty (Celia Johnson) whose husband was likewise killed in the war but who has turned to service not deviance. Similarly, with the working-class youths, Ray Durnat has complained that the film only "skims the surface" because "its portrayal of the reform of normal, misled but basically nice people leaves out ... those delinquents who are nasty or neurotic or both".²⁰ In fact, he is wrong. For just as Mitchell was counterposed to Riley in The Blue Lamp, so I Believe In You contrasts its 'basically nice' and reformable characters to the 'nasty' and irreformable youths who escape the net of benign authority. "Each society possesses ... a set of images of who constitutes the typical deviant", comments Stanley Cohen. "Is he an innocent lad being led astray, or is he a psychopathic thug".²¹ In Dearden's films he tends to be both and it is precisely such a duality which lies at the heart of their treatment of youth (and, in turn, effectively undermines the sociological accounts of their behaviour).

As in The Blue Lamp, the representation of the problem of youth is as much in sexual as criminal terms. Phipps' first encounter with Norma (Joan Collins), for example, is when she seeks refuge in his flat and promises to "do anything" in return. Norma, indeed, represents something of a scaled-down version of Judith in Cage of Gold, rich in sensuality (Durnat argues that her "sullen, electric presence ... dominates the whole film") but torn

between its expression or suppression.²² Like Judith, this dilemma is concretised in terms of competing male types: Hooker's 'innocent' but 'led astray' delinquent or Jordie's (Laurence Harvey) menacing 'psychopath'. Like Bill in Cage of Gold, Jordie's threat is first contained (he's sent to prison) but then re-emerges, disrupting the whole process of reform which has been taking place in his absence. How this occurs is significant. For what Jordie incites in Norma is not crime but her sensuality, once again expressed in terms of pop music and dancing. Stylistically, Harvey's re-appearance initiates a submergence into a noir world at odds with the evenly lit and balanced compositions of the rest of the film. Marking a similar descent as the drums in Cage of Gold, the film dissolves into a close-up of a juke-box followed by a low-angle close-up of Norma, swaying from side to side. The camera proceeds to move down her body, capturing the way she fingers her glass, before coming to rest on her foot, moving as if by compulsion. Music is a snare, a fatal incitement to surrender to bodily impulses. What then follows is a desperate struggle between rational control and dionysiac descent. The pace of the editing intensifies with a rapid inter-cutting of shots of Norma's face, her foot, the juke-box, dancing couples and Jordie coming towards her. At first, she submits but then resists, pulling away and abandoning her partner. The final image is of Jordie in sinister close-up, shot half in light and half in shadow, in a signification of dementia so characteristic of many of Dearden's films (cf. The Gentle Gunman, Life for Ruth and The Mindbenders). Like Judith in Cage of Gold, Norma's 'salvation' is dependent on self-denial. As she puts it to Hooker the next day, "I don't want a good time". By once again running criminality and sexuality together, the logic of the film's conclusion is inescapable: the 'cure' for delinquency and the price of rehabilitation into the community is once again a suppression of sexuality, a reduction of sensation.

The film's stratagem then is not just reform à la Durgnat but also active repression. Just as Bill had to be expelled from the community in Cage of

Gold and Riley in The Blue Lamp, so now the threat represented by Jordie must be 'destroyed'. How this is legitimated within the film's basically reformist brief is characteristic of Dearden's work as a whole. It represents what might be called the "escalation" effect, whereby one act of deviance is seen to lead inevitably to ever-more threatening forms of crime. Just as our culture imagines smoking a joint to lead inexorably to the heroin needle, so in Dearden's films there is a spiral of delinquency inevitably culminating in gun-toting. Thus, just as Riley's use of a gun justified his suppression in The Blue Lamp, so Jordie, whose threat up till now has primarily been sexual, calls retribution upon himself once he too turns to guns. Once safely removed, the film's resolution in terms of Hooker and Norma's prospective marriage can enjoy a free passage.²³

Although I Believe In You finds its natural successor in Violent Playground, the summation of Dearden's interest in juvenile delinquents, his next film, The Gentle Gunman (1952) also provides some intriguing points of comparison. Although dealing with the problem of Ireland, and in particular the I.R.A. campaign begun in London during the Second World War, Ray Durgnat found its appearance so perplexing that he assumed it must really be about juvenile delinquency.²⁴ Characteristic English parochialism although this undoubtedly is, to be fair to Durgnat the attitudes expressed in the movie do display a remarkable homology with those of the juvenile delinquent movies. Dearden had already given some attention to the Irish in The Halfway House (1944). There they had been berated for being insufficiently belligerent and were called upon to revoke their neutrality. Ironically, the complaint of The Gentle Gunman is now the reverse. The Irish have become far too violent and, like the delinquents in The Blue Lamp and I Believe In You, are acting entirely contrary to the canons of reason.

Once again, the link between violence and sexuality is explicit.²⁵ Unlike Diana in The Blue Lamp who ultimately turns her back on Riley's violence, her

counterpart in The Gentle Gunman, Maureen (Elizabeth Sellars), functions as an incitement to violence, a femme fatale in thrall to blood-sacrifice. For her, sexuality is clearly signalled as a reward for violent endeavour and she quickly transfers her affections to Matt (Dirk Bogarde) once his elder brother, Terence (John Mills), the 'gentle gunman' of the film's title, abandons his commitment to violent nationalism. Like The Blue Lamp, possession of the gun assumes explicitly phallic connotations as Maureen's admiring (if stylistically demented gaze) is intercut with Matt, taking aim and having bullets poured into his cupped hands.

As such, the film's rejection of violence necessarily requires a rejection of Maureen, and the sexuality which she has to offer. This is emphasized by a closing scene, when in an almost tableau-like shot we see Matt and Terence distributed compositionally in the rear and foreground of the frame, with Maureen placed between them. Matt moves forward, hesitates for a moment beside Maureen, then carries on, taking off with Terence. The following shot leaves Maureen alone and isolated. It is the logical implication of the two brothers' abandonment of violence; but as a narrative, and by implication ideological, conclusion, it appears curiously strained. Not only does it refuse the conventional happy ending of boy getting girl (cf. I Believe In You) but in the way that it does so suggests an anxiety about heterosexuality per se. In absence of any other young female characters in the film, the rejection of Maureen becomes tantamount to a rejection of female sexuality per se. It is the restoration of male camaraderie which closes off the narrative and in a way, moreover, that is ambivalently homosexual, especially given the Bogarde persona. That this is, indeed, a problematic resolution is suggested by the imagery of the film itself. Matt and Terence depart along a bare and deserted road, away from the only community they know and towards a destination which remains obscure. It is, moreover, the same spot from which Johnny (James Kemeny) had earlier departed to meet his death in the North and, as such, prompting associations with fatalism.

As its title suggests, this problem of violence recurs in Dearden's next film to deal with juvenile delinquency, Violent Playground (1958). Inspired by the Liverpool Juvenile Officers Scheme (LJO) - "an important and successful development outside the field covered by the probation service" - the organising principle of the film is once again reform.²⁶ But, as with I Believe In You, the film displays a distinct uneasiness about how far the process of reform can go. Indeed, in the case of the film's central character, Johnny (David McCallum), the scheme proves a failure and once more the ostensive liberalism of the reform position gives way to a logic of punishment and repression.

To a large extent, this is structured by the film's choice of conventions, in this case, those of the criminal investigation, which effectively circumscribes the film's discourse on the prevention of juvenile delinquency within the confines of crime detection and solution. Thus, while CID man, Truman (Stanley Baker) is taken off the case which initiates the film (an arson attack) it is through his transfer to juvenile liaison, by bringing him into contact with Johnny, that the crime is able to be solved. In this way, the focus on prevention does not so much displace the process of law enforcement as temporarily suspend it. As such, the ideology of reform represented by the work of juvenile liaison must ultimately surrender to the requirements of the law and order position, of bringing to justice, implicit in the investigation format.

How this works out in detail can be seen in relation to the film's two main characters, Truman and Johnny. Like Phipps in I Believe In You, Truman is changed in the course of his experiences as a juvenile liaison officer. He is a bachelor, scathing of psychology and a firm believer in discipline (or 'walloping them'). As he himself puts it: "I don't even like kids. I'm clumsy. I'm tactless. I'm brutal". His transfer to juvenile liaison thus sets in motion a process of humanisation. Through his contact with the

Murphys, he begins to understand the problems imposed by bad housing and broken families while his contact with the school headmaster, Heaven (Clifford Evans) and the work of the youth club develops an appreciation of the virtues of a liberal educational philosophy (particularly, in its effects on the two Murphy youngsters). Thus, by the half-way stage of the film his attitudes have undergone a dramatic reversal. He admits to no longer thinking like a policeman, takes exception to a colleague's reminder of his earlier disciplinarian prescriptions and successfully inverts the complaint, initially made against him, of being 'a bachelor' by using it as a reprimand against an angry stallholder, the victim of juvenile theft. Meanwhile, his own bachelor status is at risk through a developing romantic interest in Kathy (Anne Heywood).

In this respect, the film's movement is logical and accumulative with the experiences undergone by Truman marking a re-emphasis on prevention rather than punishment. But, it is a re-emphasis of only limited scope. For what haunts and ultimately undermines this rational march forward is the position occupied by Johnny. Catherine Belsey has noted how the process of 'scientificity', of explicit rational deduction, in the Sherlock Holmes' novels is "haunted by shadowy, mysterious and often silent women" who elude and ultimately subvert the detective's project.²⁷ The role of Johnny is similar. By virtue of his associations with violence and "irrationalism", his presence is consistently marked as a threat, deflecting, eluding and ultimately undermining the project of reform which the film seeks to endorse.

The nature of his threat is once again clear. Introduced with his back to the camera, he stands opposed to the reason the film is concerned to promote. Dressed in the garb of Teddy boys, he and his friends aimlessly throw stones, and then laundry-packages, to the accompaniment of a pop music soundtrack. This association with 'mindless violence' and a degraded pop culture is made concrete by the diversionary role he then performs in distracting from

Truman's successes with his younger brother and sister: first, by his assumption of the film's attention on their arrival at the flats and, second, by his interruption of the conversation between Kathy and Truman once inside the flat. Kathy, Johnny's elder sister, is educating Truman in the wiles of young Mary (Brona Boland). Just as she is asking him whether he is now 'beginning to understand', Johnny appears in the rear of the frame, unbalancing the composition's symmetry in a fashion similar to Bill in Cage of Gold. As before, a cut to Johnny diverts attention towards him, as he now assumes compositional prominence and takes command of camera movement. In so doing, Truman's acquisition of 'understanding' is brought to a halt: "It's no use talking now", announces Kathy. Once outside, he finds himself confronted by a gang of menacing youths, appearing as if from nowhere as the camera pulls back. Although allowed to pass (by virtue of an instruction from Johnny), the scene concludes with Truman alone and isolated in the frame, made small by the shot's high-angle. The subsequent fade-out seems to mark, in turn, the darkness beginning to engulf his aspirations.

The most decisive setback to Truman's ambitions also occurs in the flat. At first, it would appear that Truman is making some headway with Johnny, when their discussion at the sportsfield suggests the beginning of a mutual understanding. To this extent, Johnny's characterisation is less that of the purely 'psychopathic' roles of Riley and Jordie earlier than the inner torment made fashionable by the American films of Montgomery Clift and James Dean (to whom McCallum was rather opportunistically compared by a contemporary critic in the press).²⁸ The ensuing scene, however, reverts to traditional type. Returning from the sportsfield, Johnny invites Truman up to the flat where they discover his friends engaged in a frenzied dance. A dancer is seen from the joint point-of-view of the two men. A cut back to Johnny and Truman suggests another point-of-view shot of the dancing to follow; in fact, the film now cuts obtrusively to the rear of Johnny's head, overcast by a dark line of shadow. The men's joint point-of-view is dramatically fissured and with it Truman's ambitions collapse. As with

I Believe In You such a collapse is marked by a surrender to music and dance. Johnny throws down his jacket, turns up the wireless and joins the frenzy of dancers. The main beneficiaries of reform, the twins, are meanwhile revealed imprisoned behind a clutter of table and chairs pushed aside to make way for the dancing. As Jonathan Simmons suggests, "It is the rock music which changes Johnny from a reasonably mixed-up kid into a savage, dancing to the tribal beat, all his animal instincts let loose from the thin veneer of civilisation".²⁹ Inevitably, the stage is now set for a full-scale eruption of the dangers the music has released: Johnny returns to arson and ends up waving a gun (significantly kept in a guitar-case).

With this escalation of violence the film's logic of reform begins to crumble and the demands of authority begin to take over. As Truman explains to Kathy, "You can feel too sorry for Johnny". Accordingly, Truman informs the C.I.D. of his suspicions about Johnny and receives a kind of absolution from the local priest who promises to tell Kathy that "you had to do your duty". Back at the police-station, the Chief Inspector (George Cooper) reinstates a law and order position, assuming a compositional prominence that temporarily removes Truman from frame: "Haven't we had enough of these crazy mixed-up kids who go around bullying and ganging up on people, beating up old ladies ... I'm a policeman. I've got respect for the law. I know it isn't fashionable. But let's spare a thought for the old lady. Not just for the old lady but you and yours. If these children want to try living outside the law then they can pay the price at the court. I'm tired of tough-guy fever ... sick and tired of it." But, perhaps, most strikingly of all, Heaven, who had previously denied the existence of juvenile delinquents ('they're only juvenile') and shown contempt for the 'rules and regulations' embodied in the fire-door must now also change his mind and explain to the twins "a rule's a rule". The only place left for Johnny then is inside the police van. "Deviant must not only be labelled" writes Stan Cohen. "They must be involved in some sort of ceremony of public degradation".³⁰ So it is now for Johnny. "It's right that he should go in a black van" comments Truman. "It's

right that people should see him go in there. It's right that Patrick should see him go in there if only to stop him going the same way." Johnny as such cannot be saved and, as the black van draws into a crowded street, must serve as an exemplary sacrifice for the good of the community.

As a result, the film is torn between voluntarism and determinism in its account of delinquent behaviour. As with I Believe In You, the final thrust of the movie is to defy environmentalism by emphasizing the cultural heterogeneity of its youngsters: at once English, Irish, Chinese and Jamaican. Thus, Truman is able to inform Johnny "you are what you want to be". Even in the film's own terms, this is clearly not the case. Johnny, for example, attempts to enter the Grand Hotel (with its Rolls Royce clientele) but is, of course, debarred by virtue of age and class. But rather than focus on the real disadvantages suffered by Johnny, the film opts for psychopathy instead. Johnny cannot assume full moral responsibility, not because of environmental circumstances, but because of the compulsiveness of his own psychoticism (rooted in a childhood experience of fire-fighting). As such, he is fated by forces which belie rational control. In this respect, the film's appeal to religion is more than coincidental...The innocent/psychopath duality of delinquent demonology is now effectively supplanted by the good v evil manicheism of a Christian theology. Truman reveals his parents to have been shepherds. Kathy kisses the palm of his hand and makes her way inside the church.

The film does seem partly aware of the damage now caused to its overall perspective as it adds a further ending effectively designed to reconfirm the propriety of its reform position. In doing so, however, it merely underlines the repression which lies below its notion of reform. What this ending does is reintroduce the young black boy, first seen at the film's beginning, when he had ignored the reprimands of Truman concerning the way he walked: "Kids don't walk no more, they jive". His subsequent reappearance, calling to

Truman and then taking his hand, is clearly intended to be read as a sign of Truman's success. But, apart from its obvious contrivance, this reconciliation is hardly on equal terms. For Truman has moved no nearer an understanding of the boy's own culture and vitality. The boy, now walking 'properly', has merely submitted to Truman's terms.

Such a scene remains relatively incidental to the film overall. With Sapphire (1959) the 'problem' of blacks takes centre stage. Dearden had previously addressed himself to racial prejudice in Pool of London (1950). As with so many liberal films the concern to represent blacks positively had led to an over-compensation. Johnny (Earl Cameron) represents the model "coon" - polite, deferential and reflective, trusting to a point where he becomes unwittingly involved in crime. As such, Johnny represents no 'threat' and this is underlined by the film's treatment of sexuality. Johnny pursues a rather antiseptic relationship with 'nice girl' Pat (Susan Shaw) before decently deciding it won't work because of the colour divide. By contrast, his white seaman colleague, Dan (Bonar Colleano) assumes the 'playboy' mantle, seducing the equally decent Sally (Renee Asherson). As with the other movies, deviant sexuality is inter-linked with criminality and thus the cause of justice to moral virtue. Accordingly, Dan returns to London not only to clear Johnny but be worthy of Sally, seen smiling as she overhears the news. With Sapphire, however, the representation of blacks becomes considerably more complex than Pool of London's simple idealisation (though there is an echo of it in the film's portrayal of Dr. Robbins). Moreover, what is kept at bay in the former film - black sexuality - now becomes a dominant, not to say disturbing, preoccupation.

Like The Blue Lamp and Violent Playground, Sapphire draws on topical subject-matter (rising immigration, the Notting Hill riots) and frames its social concern within an investigation structure. While this structure provides the veneer of 'entertainment' felt necessary to hold an audience's

attention, it also embodies a number of the film's values. For the principle of rational deduction upon which the classic detective formula is based in turn embodies the spirit of rationalism which the film wishes to apply to the problem of racial prejudice. In this respect, the end of the detective is not just that of crime-solution but a moral mission as well. Cawelti has suggested that such a missionary aspect to detection derives from the 'hard-boiled' detective novel, as represented by the work of Hammett and Chandler.³¹ But, whereas this is seen to result from a greater personal and emotional involvement with the criminals on the part of the detective, in Sapphire the detective remains aloof from his suspects in a manner more akin to the classic detective story. As such, the detective is not changed in the course of his investigation (cf. Violent Playground) but begins from a moral position which it is then his task to enjoin upon others. Two effects become apparent. First, the moral position upon which the investigation is predicated is that of the detective, in turn, white, middle-class and heterosexual. Second, the moral authority which the detective represents no longer derives from a network of community values, as in The Blue Lamp - the Superintendent remains an outsider, travelling by car, even to speak to the local bobby on the beat - but solely from his superior rationality. In this respect, the tension between inquiry and action, fundamental to the detective story, is balanced in favour of inquiry and, in particular, discussion between characters. The aesthetic emphasis of the film is thus the conventional shot/reverse shot structure with its focus on reasoned discussion. It also sums up for the film what is, at root, the cause of racism: racial prejudice. This does not imply any socially institutionalised form of oppression, only an attitude of mind amenable to change through argument and reason.

This disavowal of the social dimension and accompanying focus on individual attitudes is reinforced by the heterogeneity of characters with

whom Supt. Hazard (Nigel Patrick) becomes involved. Such variety establishes the class differences within both black and white communities and emphasizes the reciprocity in racial prejudice of blacks towards whites. Thus, the black community includes the wealthy son of an African bishop and barrister, Paul Slade (Gordon Heath), the respectable black professional, Dr. Robbins (Earl Cameron) and the semi-criminal elements associated with the Tulips club and with Horace (Robert Adams). Moreover, as Slade makes quite clear, racial prejudice works both ways. His father would not have allowed him to marry Sapphire, because "she was part white". But, what, above all clinches this removal of social and economic division is the film's ultimate reliance on an ideology of nature.

This is not made explicit but crucially underpins the logic of the investigation. The film begins with Sapphire's body falling to the ground; the reverse shot which would allow us to identify the murderer is, however, refused. This, then, is the enigma posed by the film's beginning: who is the killer and what were his/her motives. In effect, the answer to both questions depends on a third: what is the identity of the girl who has been killed? The victim is revealed to have been a half-caste and the implications of this revelation structure the whole direction of the inquiry. Like Violent Playground, the progress of the film is apparently linear and accumulative. The temporal sequence of the film is very simple, consisting almost entirely of scene and sequences (in Metz's technical definitions). Complications, such as Metz's 'alternating syntagma', only occur in absence of the detective.³² But, also like Violent Playground, this rational progress is undermined by the eruption of an energy which once again defies rational control, shifting the balance away from inquiry onto action. Why this occurs can, in turn, be related to Sapphire's identity as part-black. Following Sapphire's murder, Hazard and Inspector Learoyd (Michael Craig) inspect the girl's clothes. "Nice, simple things" comments Hazard. As he picks up a bright red underskirt, Learoyd replies, "Are they? Don't quite go together do they?"

In a sense, the clothes compound the enigma: the plain brown skirt, on the one hand, the bright red petticoat, on the other. As Sapphire's identity has a half-caste has yet to be established, this discovery is marked as a significant clue. Stylistically, the petticoat provides an explosion of colour, dominating the frame as the camera moves in, and striking a contrast to the otherwise drab, and predominantly brown, environment. But, the connotation is of 'colour' in a broader sense, the colour of its part-black owner. Moreover, the association is also sexual, the bright-red underwear suggesting a 'reality' at odds with the plainness of the skirt above.

This is reinforced by a second scene. The two detectives visit Sapphire's room to find the bottom drawer of her chest locked. To the accompaniment of appropriately dramatic music, the drawer is opened to reveal yet more fancy and colourful clothing as well as a half-torn photograph. Once again, this discovery marks an eruption of colour into an otherwise muted setting while Hazard's fetishistic fascination with a nightdress underlines its significance. At the level of dialogue, the film seeks to disclaim such an interpretation. Reflecting on the meaning of the "red taffeta under a tweed skirt", Learoyd offers the explanation "that's the black under the white alright". Hazard tells him to "come off it"; but what we see, rather than what we are told, seems to support Learoyd rather than Hazard. The logic of the film's mise-en-scene, exploiting the novelty of Eastman colour, is that the coloured characters should add colour in a more general sense. As Dearden explained: "My idea is to throw all this (the sombre winter backgrounds) into contrast with the sudden splashes of colour introduced by the coloured people themselves. The things they wear, the things they carry, their whole personality."³³ This elision of skin colour with personality is significant. For it is precisely the effect of the film to expand the connotations of colour to the 'colour' of music and dancing, sexuality and violence. Moreover, it is such an attachment of secondary associations to the use of colour which ultimately undermines the film's ostensive rationalism and forces a retreat into

notions of nature.

This becomes clear in one pivotal sequence. As has been suggested, the resolution of the crime which precipitates the film's plot is in turn dependent on a solution to the question of Sapphire's identity. Hence, the importance of the clues implying Sapphire's 'other side' (the clothes and torn photograph) and leading to the sites of her 'other life' (the International Club, Tulips). The explanation for these is then provided by the revelation of Sapphire's life as a half-caste, passing herself off as white and thus attempting to hide her 'blackness'. The argument of the film, made at the level of dialogue, is that "you can't tell" the difference between white and half-caste. Saying so, as Sapphire's doctor argues, is as 'silly' as identifying a police man 'by ^{the size of} his feet'. But, once again, what we are told is subverted by what we actually see (the empirical notion of truth upon which the film relies). Pam Cook has employed the term 'pregnant moment' to denote those moments in a film when the ostensive ideological project of a film is undermined.³⁴ The scene occurring at Tulips provides a similar example.

The two detectives have entered the black club, Tulips, in an effort to identify Sapphire's dancing partner; the missing half of the torn photograph. Club-owner, Mr. Tulips claims to have no knowledge of Sapphire and, as he returns the photo to Hazard, observes Learoyd's outward gaze. Cutting to Learoyd's point-of-view we see an apparently white woman dancing in "ecstatic abandon" (as E.R. Cousins novel of the film puts it).³⁵ "That's a "lily-skin" comments Tulips as we cut back to the three men. A further point-of-view shot now reveals the woman to be dancing with a black man, Johnny Hotfeet. Returning to the three men, Tulips continues his comments, "You're chick was a lily-skin, wasn't she ... you can always tell ... once they hear the beat of the bongo". At precisely this moment, bongoes can be heard on the soundtrack, and the camera moves down and forward, past the three men, onto another apparently white woman sat behind them, as she begins to tap her feet. Learoyd

observes the rapturous expression on her face before another eyeline match initiates a rapid montage sequence of twenty shots, all loosely conforming to the point-of-view of the three men. Cutting between the 'lily-skin' dancer, her partner Johnny Hotfeet, a black woman dancer, Johnny Fingers, the 'white' woman behind the men and the bongoes, the sequence concludes with direct-intercutting between low-angle shots of the 'lily-skin's' pants and thighs, revealed below her twirling skirt, and close-ups of the bongoes.

Formally, the scene confirms the British cinema's taste for sub-Eisensteinian and "crudely emotive" editing techniques, noted by Dyer.³⁶ And, like the similar scene in I Believe In You, it marks a 'descent' into music and dancing, once again associated with sexuality, with the low-angle shots below the girl's skirt referring back to Sapphire's red taffeta underskirt. And, like the scene between Truman and Johnny in Violent Playground, the Superintendent is provoked into confrontation with forces, apparently at odds with his project of rational control. Up to this point, it has been his position that you "can't tell a lily-skin". With this scene, it would appear that you can. For once the "beat of the bongoes" begins, the 'white' women do indeed "give themselves away", as Tulips suggests. As if to emphasize the point, the last six shots of the scene directly intercut shots of 'white' women dancing with close-ups of the bongoes. Significantly, when we cut out of the scene it is to shots of Tulips and Learoyd, not Hazard. It has been Learoyd's position throughout the film (and the apparent sign of his bigotry) that you can always tell. The cutback to him, rather than Hazard, thus seems to underline the displacement of Hazard's position that has occurred and temporarily constructs an identification with Learoyd rather than the 'rational' Superintendent.

Such a setback would seem to be confirmed by the scene which follows. As Johnny Fiddle (Harry Baird) flees the club, what had previously been a sedate enquiry transforms into a frenzied chase through the dark, wet streets

of the city (once again, reminiscent of noir in its choice of compositions and lighting). Johnny's attempts to find a hiding-place foregrounds the themes of sex and violence, once again running together the ideas of sexuality and criminality. He is evicted from the white, working-class cafe, Joes: "We got copper trouble too ... but we ain't got your sort of woman trouble. So get out and stay out." Continuing his flight, he is then set upon by a group of teddy-boys. Although undoubtedly taking its cue from the Notting Hill riots, taken in context this explosion of violence stands entirely at odds with the reason the film is seeking to espouse. That such 'meaningless violence' should be the climax to the 'ecstatic abandon' of Tulips is, in the film's terms, hardly coincidental.

It is this association of blacks with sexuality, moreover, that finally allows the murder to be solved. Contrary to most expectations set up by the movie, the killer turns out to be the sister of Sapphire's white fiancé. As Dyer has pointed out, the 'unfulfilled woman' (unmarried and/or childless) is a frequent culprit in the social problem pictures of the period (Lost, Serious Charge, Victim) and Mildred (Yvonne Mitchell) can be seen to conform to this category.³⁷ Although married, and with children, she is nonetheless the victim of a joyless marriage to a seaman who "doesn't seem to get much leave ... or doesn't want it". In this respect, Mildred's relapse into hysteria makes sense. Hysteria was, of course, a recurring preoccupation of Freud's, conventionally identified with women and understood as the symptomatic transcription of repressed sexual desires.³⁸ At the same time, as Hoch suggests, the sexual mythologies surrounding blacks may themselves be understood as the externalised embodiment of internally repressed desires.³⁹ In effect, Mildred's hysteria is the complement to the explosion of black sexuality at Tulips, just as her act of murder had been provoked by Sapphire, pregnant and "swinging her legs" before her. In a way, this is the irony at the heart of the movie. For the locus of violence is not in fact the blacks but the respectable white middle-class family home. The real danger is not the threat without but the sexual repression that's within.

It is, indeed, a troubling irony insofar as the film itself endorses an ideology of blacks as 'naturally' more vital, more rhythmic and more sexual (the implication of what we see at Tulips). And, so it is ultimately through an appeal to 'nature', to 'natural' racial difference that the film attempts to resolve its attitude to racial prejudice. As has been argued, the solution to Sapphire's identity, and hence the crime, is the discovery of her 'real' nature-bound self, i.e. apparently white but 'really' black. Like Douglas Sirk's American film of the same year, Imitation of Life, the root of the half-caste's problem is passing themselves off as something they're not. In Sirk's film, the answer is to abandon the circle of deceit, or 'imitation of life', in favour of an acceptance of black identity. But, while Sirk views this as a progressive position, presaging the upsurge of the blacks' civil right movement, it nonetheless traps black peoples into an ideology of nature, an "essentialism" in which nature becomes destiny.⁴⁰ While Sapphire does not have Imitation of Life's appeal to black solidarity, it does in a similar way confine its blacks, as "essentially" different (rhythmic, sexual) and determined by nature (lilywhite's really can't escape the beat of the bongo). And, it is from this position that the film's attitude to racism is finally resolved. For if blacks could be accepted 'for what they are' then there would be no need to pass themselves off as white. In this respect, Mildred's twins occupy an interesting role. They are, in effect, 'freaks of nature' whose oddity does not then lead to social ostracism. If cultural attitudes were not overlaid on the natural fact of blackness then, similarly, there would be no problem. As Supt. Hazard explains, "Given the right atmosphere you can organise riots against anyone: Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Irish, even policemen with big feet". The flaw of the film, however, is that its ascription of natural qualities is not natural at all, but the projection of its own culture's values, values which form part of the problem not a solution to it.

A similar tension in the treatment of blacks can also be found in Wind of Change which, although not directed by Dearden, is nonetheless worth considering alongside it, precisely because of the similarity in attitude. Drawing on the famous McMillan speech of 1960 for its title, Wind of Change, deals with its problem of race within the context of Teddy boy violence. Self-consciously set around Notting Hill, and employing the conventional iconography of coffee-bars and jiving, its main focus of attention is Frank (Johnny Briggs), a discontented and racially prejudiced Teddy boy. Unlike Sapphire, where the teddy boy amounts to little more than a malevolent 'folk devil', Wind of Change does attempt to provide a context for its character, particularly his family background. As with I Believe In You, the responsibility for Frank's delinquency seems to lie with "the decline in status of the father". Frank's father (Donald Pleasance) is timid and weak, evading his parental duties through a devotion to pet rabbits. The solution to Frank's behaviour is thus a re-assertion of paternal control. To do so, legal and parental authority become fused, with the "symbolic father", represented by the police sergeant, assuming the role only imperfectly incarnate in the real father. Thus Sergeant Parker (Glyn Houston) is revealed to be a father himself and enters the family home to make his arrest of Frank. The arrest, however, is seen only in silhouette; our attention is focused on the real father outside, as he attends to one of his (black!) rabbits. In the process, the authority of the father is likewise imposed upon the mother, who had sought to help Frank escape; the symbolic, in effect, triumphing over the 'imaginary' pre-oedipal bond between mother and son.⁴¹

The manifestation of Frank's deviance, however, is his deep-rooted hatred of blacks. Although the Monthly Film Bulletin found this "unreasoning" and "inexplicable" it is clear from the film's evidence that such hatred derives from sexual rivalry.⁴² The first indication of Frank's prejudice, for example, occurs when a black boy begins to laugh and 'shake' with a white girl, previously seen talking to Frank, in the coffee bar. The accompanying pop music

soundtrack makes the black boy's danger clear: "My baby's going to give me what I want tonight". Having so 'threatened' their white women, the black boy is confronted and chased down an alley. "The black man must be 'kept down'", writes Paul Hoch, "not to protect the white goddess, but because on the subconscious level his liberation would signify the eruption of the sexuality confined in the racist's own unconsciousness."⁴³ Thus, Frank himself does not have a girlfriend; indeed, according to his father, he hasn't been seen with a girl for "I don't know how long". As with Mildred's murder of Sapphire, so Frank's violence towards blacks would also seem to have its source in his own internally repressed desires.

The intention of the film, in this respect, is clearly to signal such violence as 'imaginary' by undermining conventional stereotypes of blacks. Frank's sister has a black boyfriend who apparently shows no interest in the cinema, dancing or espresso bars; as yet he has not even attempted to touch her. By contrast, it is the white youth, Frank, who is devoted to leisure, has no job nor indicates a desire to have one. One curious scene, however, seems to undercut this general intention. Pursuing the black boy down an alley, Frank and his gang are interrupted by the appearance of a young white woman in a car. The boys disperse while the black youth remains. He helps the white woman open her garage door and is invited in for 'coffee'. In strict narrative terms, the scene is 'redundant': we see neither of the characters again and their encounter has no effect on subsequent events. Its effect, emphasized by the screentime allocated to it and the employment of near-silence, would seem solely to indicate the attraction of white women to black men and thus to some extent 'objectify' the fears which Frank's behaviour has been based upon. As with Sapphire and Flame in the Streets (where an equally redundant scene reveals a black couple in bed inviting a white girl to join them) the testimony of what we see ends up reproducing the stereotypes which it is the liberal intent of the films to dismiss. Thus, while Wind of Change seeks to make its protagonists' hatred "irrational", by the

logic of what it shows it reinstates the very mythology which it wishes to undermine.

The real companionpiece to Sapphire, however, is not Wind of Change, but Dearden's Victim (1961). Sharing the same scriptwriters (John McCormack and Janet Green), Victim also feeds off a topical subject (the Wolfendon report) and 'sugars the pill' of its social concern by integrating its social debate into a criminal investigation structure. However, this employment of an investigation format has one major difference. Compared with Sapphire, the police in Victim play a much less pronounced role with much of the detective work being undertaken by a private individual, Farr (Dirk Bogarde). As such, the division between detection and personal involvement assumed by Sapphire dissolves. For the interest of Farr in crime solution is at the same time entwined with a personal interest in ending the persecution of gays. In this respect, Sapphire's imposition of rational legal authority from the outside is impossible and the attitude towards both law enforcement and sexual normality is accordingly more complex. For Farr is both inside the law (both as lawyer and agent of justice) and outside (as potential homosexual and opponent of its justice). At the same time, he is both within marriage and outside it (prey to his homosexual inclinations). By locating such an ambivalent character at its centre (upholding both law and marriage but at the same time threatening them), the film's attempt to harness the detective story's principle of rational deduction to an understanding of a social problem once again becomes problematic.

As with Sapphire, part of the film's difficulty can be associated with the attitude taken towards 'nature'. Although the film's main concern is to appeal for legal reform, as the means to ending unnecessary blackmail, it does so in a context which identifies gays not only as victims of crime but victims of nature itself. As Fulbrook (Anthony Nicholls) explains, "the invert is part of nature". Admittedly, as the film's title suggests, this nature is

something of an affliction, the 'dirty trick' complained of by Henry (Charles Lloyd Pack), but it is nature nonetheless. The tension that results has been identified by Richard Dyer.⁴⁴ To be true to one's nature, as the ideology of Sapphire had proposed, is to flirt with abnormality and sickness: to repress one's homosexuality, on the other hand, is, of necessity, to be acting 'unnaturally'.

This contradiction might have gone unnoticed, as Dyer suggests, had this ideology of nature not also been invoked in relation to Farr's marriage. For what the film also implicitly suggests, is how the existence of homosexuality is putting at risk the 'natural' form of the family and, in particular, the 'natural' expectation of motherhood. What characterises the Farr marriage is its absence of children and, although not explicitly addressed as a topic, is consistently alluded to by a repetitive use of images of children. Thus, in absence of a family of her own, Laura (Sylvia Sims) works part-time in a school for handicapped children. It is here that she reads the newspaper story reporting the death of Jack Barrett (Peter McEnery), her husband's 'lover'. The film then cuts dramatically to a shot of a child now savagely crossing out a drawing of a woman, as if to underline the cancelling out of motherhood represented by the revelation. A similar intrusion of children occurs when Farr reveals to his wife that he intends to go to the police (and by implication ruin his career). Laura is left alone in a deserted classroom, but only briefly. Almost immediately, a group of noisy children burst into the room, as if mocking the futility and sterility of her marriage. As if to emphasize the point, the culprit behind the blackmail is subsequently revealed to be a spinster, whose lack of 'normal' feminine fulfillment in motherhood and marriage has mutated into neurotic venom against gays.

To this extent, the film conforms to the parameters established by Wolfendon, fearing the consequences of homosexuality for family life and refusing to endorse it morally but, insofar as it is an "affliction", counselling treatment rather than punishment.⁴⁵ The slightly earlier Trials of Oscar Wilde

(d. Ken Hughes 1960) adopts a similar attitude. Oscar Wilde's (Peter Finch) 'friendship' - as with Victim the film is evasive on detail - with Lord Alfred Douglas (John Fraser) consistently distracts from his family life; and while there is nowhere a sign of endorsement for Wilde's sexual preferences (forced into ending his relationship with Douglas by the film's close), the film does nonetheless query the propriety of legal persecution by appealing to our sympathy for his 'ailment'. "What I can't understand is how a man of Wilde's taste and breeding can come to associate with such people", comments one character. Sir Edward Clarke (Nigel Patrick) provides the film's preferred explanation: "To understand that - you'd have to understand the nature of Wilde's perversion. And I'm a lawyer not a doctor. To me it's loathsome, degenerate and unnatural ... yet I feel sorry for him. It's a terrible thing ... when a man of Wilde's talents and genius is slowly crucified by a lot of blackmailers and common criminals."⁴⁶

Yet, just as this film probably gives an attractiveness to Wilde's socialising, entirely missing from his constricted home life (Yvonne Mitchell is particularly unsympathetic as his wife), so the problem for Victim is that, by appealing to nature in its defence of homosexuals, it does at the same time threaten the legitimacy of the heterosexual marriage it is seeking to uphold. For, while the film seeks to maintain the superiority of normal marriage (witness the narratively redundant but ideologically charged bedroom scene between Frank and Sylvia) and closes off its narrative with the Farr's marriage intact and Barrett's photo burning safely in the grate, it does so only precariously and in a fashion that has put into question the 'naturalness' of their relationship (sterile and repressive). Indeed, what is noticeable about nearly all of Dearden's films is the absence of happy and successful young marriages. Marriages are either deeply troubled (The Halfway House, Frieda, Cage of Gold, Life for Ruth, The Mindbenders) or families are in disarray (I Believe In You, The Gentle Gunman, Violent Playground, Sapphire). It may of course be the case that this is the point: marriage and home are under

threat and it is precisely the work of the films to secure the conditions under which they can prosper. Yet, in absence of any such evidence, there is more than a strain of anxiety about the very viability of the family at all.

What, of course, makes this absence in Victim most pronounced is the film's concentration on the tight-knit world inhabited by its homosexuals, a world which by its nature is debarred to heterosexual couples. But the corollary of this is that, within the terms of the film, it is homosexuality which would appear to be normal, if only by sheer prevalence. In this respect, there is an interesting contrast with Sapphire. As has been suggested, the implicit perspective adopted was that "you can tell": the lily skin will indeed give herself away when confronted by 'the beat of the bongo'. In Victim, however, "you can't tell", you can never be sure who's gay and who's not. Indeed, much of the play of the film revolves around the uncertainty of sexual identity and, by implication, of what's normal. First, much of the film is concerned with delaying the identification of homosexuality (as with Barrett and Farr) or surprising us with revelations of homosexuality in characters of whom we didn't suspect it (as with Lord Fulbrook). Second, this element of surprise is reinforced by the emphasis the film gives to class divisions (after the fashion of Sapphire) in its treatment of the gay community. Gays are identified as existing in all walks of life (from Lord to wage clerk) and one of the components of the film's strategy of surprise is the revelation of homosexuality in otherwise normal and socially well-adjusted characters. Despite verbal addresses to the contrary, the gay community is to this extent 'normalised'. Far from being socially isolated it conforms exactly to the 'normal' parameters of class and cultural division in British society.

Or looking at it another way, insofar as homosexuality is rendered normal, so at the same time our conventional sense of normality becomes troubled. For if the film surprises us with revelations of homosexuality, so it also induces us to suspect homosexuality where there is none. This is most noticeable in the treatment of the undercover policeman. His attempts at picking up Eddie

suggest he is just another Checkers regular; it is only later that his real identity as a policeman is revealed. Similarly, the behaviour and appearance of the Checkers barman tends to suggest homosexuality; again, it is only later that he expresses his disgust of gays to Madge. In effect, the uncertainty the film proposes with respect to sexual identities comes home to roost as a kind of worry about heterosexuality itself, that lurking behind normal heterosexuality there may indeed be a repressed homosexuality not so very far behind (which is of course precisely the problem faced by Farr). According to Freud, paranoia "invariably arises from an attempt to subdue unduly powerful homosexual tendencies"⁴⁷ Insofar, as the film's play with our expectations creates a kind of paranoia about sexual identity, so it also assumes a similar content.

What would seem to confirm this anxiety is the compulsion which other Dearden films give to male group relationships, as opposed to marital ones (cf. The Blue Lamp, The Gentle Gunman). This would seem particularly true of The League of Gentlemen. Here, one character, Hyde (Jack Hawkins) is separated from his wife, another Rupert (Terence Alexander) is the victim of infidelities, Porthill (Bryan Forbes) is kept by an older woman, Race (Nigel Patrick) is involved in a temporary affair, while Weaver (Norman Bird) is suffocated by a noisy wife and elderly father-in-law. By contrast, it is the all-male group which proves most positive and compelling and for which they all gladly abandon their domestic pasts. In the case of Hyde and Race this relationship becomes almost explicitly homosexual. Race follows Hyde home ("I'm not very good at it, you see, I'm usually the one who's followed"). Hyde invites him in whereupon he dons an apron and helps him out with the dishes ("Mummy thought the world of me"). Race apologises for his use of the term "old darling" ("One gets into terrible habits at the YMCA"). Hyde then invites him to stay for dinner ("All my men loved me"), to stay the night and even "move in". The combination of dialogue, acting and staging make it

hard to resist the implication of a seduction: even the dissolve from the fridge on the line "All my men loved me" to a post-dinner scene of smoking quite clearly invokes the cinema's conventional vocabulary for dealing with love-making.

In this respect, The League of Gentlemen provides a kind of shadow to Victim's failure to institute an image of marital normality, pushing to the fore the satisfactions of male camaraderie (and, by implication, homoeroticism) conventionally absent from normal domestic routine. And, although homosexuality has few positive connotations in Victim (its emphasis on the threat of blackmail reducing most of the gay characters to frightened passivity), its all-pervasiveness, combined with the accentuated fragility of its treatment of marriage, does in a sense put into crisis the very ideology which it is seeking to uphold.⁴⁸

If Victim and Sapphire have the effect of producing an "internal criticism" which, is to a large extent, unintended, Dearden's two later movies, Life for Ruth (1962) and The Mindbenders (1962) present a more self-conscious interrogation of the earlier films' confidence in rational-legal authority. If the earlier films can be seen as dramas of social control, reducing sensation to fit the social order, Life for Ruth and The Mindbenders seek to test the limits of this position by exposing authority to extreme cases: those of religious fundamentalism and scientific experiment on humans. In both cases, the resolution of the problem requires a tempering of authority in the interests of individual human need. The problem, however, is posed from different ends. With Life for Ruth it is an excessive individualism which threatens to undermine the rational order: in The Mindbenders it is the destruction of individuality altogether, at the hands of rationalism (in the form of science) gone wild which poses the danger.

The problem faced by Life for Ruth is a fundamentalist religious belief that prevents John Harris (Michael Craig) from allowing his daughter the

blood transfusion which would save her life. As with Violent Playground, what the film fears is extremity, in turn associated with irrationalism. "Religion is a tricky business ... Everybody feels. Nobody thinks", as one police officer comments. However, unlike Violent Playground, the film finds itself unable to impose a submission to reason through force because of the counter-claims of individual conscience and freedom of religious belief represented by Harris. Accordingly, the film adopts a kind of double ending, similar to Cage of Gold, which effectively 'punishes' Harris but leaves the way open for reform. Harris is taken to court but acquitted. But, in the process, he is forced to take stock of collective opinion, confront himself and finally accept his individual responsibility for his child's death. The state is thus rescued from an imposition of force by the individual's acceptance and internalization of its norms (in a sort of 'consensual' fusion of working-class rigidity and middle-class liberalism).⁴⁹ To this extent, the film's probing of the limits of authority is more apparent than real. Individual dissent is tolerated, only insofar as it is ultimately conformist.

This situation is reversed in The Mindbenders. In contrast to Harris' excessive 'individualism', Henry Longman (Dirk Bogarde) is deprived of his individuality by brainwashing, reduced to a "soul-less, mindless, will-less thing". The disfiguration of the social order which ensues is viewed in explicitly sexual terms (and partly political, insofar as Longman's predecessor sold secrets to the Russians). Thus, in a kind of release of the id from the super-ego, Longman turns against his wife (equating her sexuality with prostitution) and dallies with Annabelle (a youthful ex-student, living 'unstably' on a houseboat). Unable to reverse the brainwashing process, science is proved incapable of restoring his identity. A solution is thus dependent on returning sexuality to its normal function of procreation, by having Longman help give birth to his wife's child. "Only the wife can rescue her husband" comments Ray Durgnat. "His spell in rubber, water, darkness and isolation (a hideous impersonal womb) is lifted by the most intimate

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contact with his wife's flesh (delivering their child from her womb)"⁵⁰ Thus, while the film queries the authority represented by the Major and the validity of a science without humanity, it is at the same time at the expense of another kind of submission: to the 'natural laws' of the family and the social regulation of sexual variety.

An appeal to conformism also characterises Basil Dearden's final youth movie, A Place to Go (1963), set in a Willmott and Young world of slum clearance and traditional working-class community break-up. The central character is Ricky (Mike Sarne), nurturing ambitions of freedom and escape ("I'm just looking for a place to go where I'll be free") but ultimately forced into an acceptance of his lot. Lacking inadequate parental control (his out of work father has turned to busking), his social 'indiscipline' inevitably leads to violent crime (robbing the factory where he works). His salvation then depends on a rejection of fantasy (cf. the love scene in Bridge over the River Kwai seen at the cinema) and a reconciliation to his social and marital responsibilities. Like Hooker in I Believe In You, his prospective marriage to Cat (Rita Tushingham) ensures a lenient treatment in court. The site of his illegitimate love-making (the bombsite) is destroyed and the film concludes with a long shot of Ricky and Cat walking across a stretch of waste-land towards the new flats before them (cf. Saturday Night and Sunday Morning). "What you all want to talk about being free for?" comments his mother. "I never wanted it. I was always glad to have responsibility. That's life, ain't it. Anything of value ties you down." In its counsel of conformity and repression, A Place to Go represents a more than fitting epitaph to the social problem films of Basil Dearden.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM FILM (2)

The other central figure in the development of the social problem film during the fifties was undoubtedly scriptwriter, Ted Willis. Although a large part of his work was for television (such that by 1961 he could be described as "the country's No.1 television playwright"), his activities straddled the theatre, cinema and television and often involved adaptations from one form to another.¹ Woman in a Dressing Gown, The Young and the Guilty and Flame in the Streets were all adapted for the cinema screen from television plays, while No Trees in the Street was adapted for film from the theatre. The process also went the other way: Willis' creation of Sergeant Dixon (first seen in The Blue Lamp) provided the basis for television's long-running series, Dixon of Dock Green. But, it was the demands of writing for television, and, in particular, the example of American TV writers like Paddy Chayefsky and Rod Serling, which were to impose themselves heavily on Willis' aesthetic ideas. Reviewing Chayefsky's Marty and The Mother, he enthused: "They both deal with the mundane, the ordinary and the untheatrical. The main characters are typical rather than exceptional: the situations are easily identifiable by the audience; and the relationships are as common as people ... I am just now becoming aware of this area, this marvellous world of the ordinary."² As a result, Willis' own work attempted to capture "good, honest, fumbling people caught up in tiny tragedies" with his social problems firmly anchored to the domestic, rather than the public and directly political.³

The clearest expression of this credo is to be found in Woman in a Dressing Gown, described by Willis himself as an attempt to capture "a group of human beings in the grip of a recognisable situation, and their ordinary human reactions to that situation"⁴. The resulting drama is constructed according to the classic pattern: domestic order is threatened by marital infidelity but re-established by the close, the threat now overcome. This structure and theme has led more than one critic to compare the film to Brief Encounter. Edward Goring, for example, dubbed it "the Brief Encounter of the LCC tenants"⁵. The parallel, however, masks one critical distinction. In the

former film, it is the wife who finds herself tempted by the prospect of a romantic escape from domestic constriction and the anodyne sexuality of her complacent husband. In Woman in a Dressing Gown, it is the husband who yearns for escape, while it is the wife who is the source of his problems and locus of his discontents. To this extent, the problem is not really external (the 'other woman') but internal: Amy's failure to be a 'good' wife. Amy (Yvonne Mitchell) is loud, devoted to pop music on the radio and domestically ill-equipped (burning the toast and bringing her husband breakfast to bed too late). By contrast, Jim's mistress, Georgie (Sylvia Sims) is young and attractive, efficient and orderly, available and willing to marry him. Insofar, as the film's denouement requires Jim (Anthony Quayle) to make a choice between the two women, so the parallel with Brief Encounter does obtain. Just as Celia Johnson relinquishes her desires and returns to domestic security, so George now opts for Amy. "It's no good, Georgie" Jim explains, "I'm no good at fighting ... leaving her just now, she seemed so helpless. Perhaps she's what she is because I am what I am ... I can't do it, Georgie. I've got to go back ... It's been too long between Amy and me." If this was all there was to the movie, little would remain to be said: a dour little morality play, counselling compromise and acceptance, and beset by a condescension so characteristic of writers who self-consciously attempt to write about 'ordinary people' and their 'ordinary lives'.⁶

What adds interest to the film, however, is the peculiarity of the style adopted in telling the story. In Willis' prescription for the TV director, style should be as self-effacing as possible: "The director will serve the script faithfully, avoiding tricks and devices which draw attention to his own contribution; his work, when completed, will be so unobtrusive that it can (and very often will) pass unnoticed".⁷ Jack Lee Thompson's adaptation could hardly be more different.⁸ As Derek Hill complained at the time, "The director has adopted a style which acts as a barrier between subject and audience. Instead of letting us have the play neat, he makes the script an

excuse for a non-stop series of camera tricks. We seldom get a straight, honest look at what is going on - we're too busy gliding up and down the larder shelves, through the banister rails, in and out of the bookcase".⁹ For Hill, such devices depth-charged whatever claims the film may have made for 'realism'. This may be so, but it nonetheless misses the interest then generated by this very dissonance between subject-matter and style, and the complex spectator-position then produced by this "barrier between subject and audience". To this extent, the film shares more than a passing resemblance to the work of Douglas Sirk whose stylistic subversion of melodramatic content has generated a wealth of critical commentary. As Paul Willemen suggests, the Sirkian style operates upon a dialectic of involvement and alienation, of drawing an audience into identification with characters while maintaining a critical distance.¹⁰ One formal strategy much favoured by Sirk, in this respect, is also in evidence in Woman in a Dressing Gown. As Hill suggests, there is a consistent foregrounding of intermediary objects and surfaces which obscure the spectator's vision of the action. Thus, the camera repeatedly shoots through windows, panelling, a china cabinet, even adopting 'impossible' positions to film from behind the cooker or out of a wardrobe.¹¹ In one way, such a strategy confirms the film's overall moralism. Thus, while Jim and Georgie enjoy their illicit lunch, the camera watches through a grilled window, moving off the action altogether to come to rest on a rain-swept brick wall, now filling the whole of the frame. The effect is clearly to disrupt our identification with the situation and establish, in so doing, the ultimate emptiness of the relationship between the two characters. But what complicates the use of this technique is that it is not restricted to scenes between Jim and Georgie alone but extends throughout the movie as a whole, characterising the film's treatment of Amy as well. Thus, while the film seeks to emphasize Amy's untidiness and poor house-keeping, the meaning generated by the style tends to suggest a domestic imprisonment, continually trapping her behind cookers, unmade beds and clothes pulleys. Even outside of the home Amy is denied

release, compositionally enclosed in the pub, for example, and isolated from the rest of the clientele. The style adopted by the film's ending, in this respect, would seem conspicuously less than a positive endorsement. The problem that the film has proposed is Amy's inadequacy as a housewife; its resolution, the assumption by Amy of her 'proper' role. She agrees that "a woman should dress" and not "slouch about all day in an old gown", offers to unpack Jim's case and then makes her way into the kitchen. The family is thus re-united in a group shot, but with Amy firmly 'in place' at the rear of the frame, positioned behind them in the kitchen, making tea. But rather than provoking contentment the implicit repression is drawn attention to by the film's choice of a final shot. Cutting outside, the camera surveys the domestic scene through a window, in a sort of frame within a frame. The shot is held as Amy now joins the men at the table before the camera tracks left, and comes to a halt on a pair of closed curtains. Far from being positive, the conclusion would seem to imply enclosure, even internment, with the audience critically distanced from the film's apparently 'happy ending' by the deployment of a device already saturated with negative connotations (as in the treatment of Georgie and Jim).¹²

As with the films of Dearden, what seems to intensify this implication of repression is the inevitable accompaniment to domestic subordination of an extinction of sexual desire. Amy and Jim stick together because "its been too long". Jim may snore, lose his temper when his paper is creased, get rheumatism every winter and smother his food in sauce, but Amy still loves him. Georgie, by contrast, wants "to sleep with him". Love, she doesn't "know the meaning of the word". Such a divorce between love and sexuality is confirmed by The Young and the Guilty, where the awakening of sexual feelings can still apparently precipitate a dramatic fall from grace. "Up until tonight" explains Eddie, "it was perfect ... Tonight in her bedroom ... for the first time ... I thought of her like that ... it was like there was electricity running through my whole body ... It wasn't true before. It was all innocent

and perfect ... Now it's all changed ... It would be better if she went away."¹³ Willis himself had announced his opposition to plays about "prostitutes and homosexuals" and confidently awaited for "the public to tire of lust and get back to taking an interest in the ordinary man and woman".¹⁴ "The marvellous world of the ordinary", apparently, finds no place for the 'extraordinary' impulses of 'lust' and sexual desire.

Similar themes of constraint and acceptance also characterise the Willis-scripted No Trees in the Street (1959). The strategy of the film is once again clear-cut. A youth runs into a policeman who tells him about life in Kennedy St during the thirties with its handicaps of crime, poverty, unemployment and impending war. Young Tommy (Melvin Hayes), a sort of 'fifties hysteric back dated', takes to a career of crime, inevitably gravitating from robbery to murder before meeting an equally inevitable retribution. Cutting back to the present, the policeman underlines the moral, "I know this is better ... A boy can grow and a woman can have some kind of human dignity ... We've got people, not paradise. But, it doesn't have to be a jungle". Director Jack Lee Thompson was even blunter, "We are saying, in effect, stop your silly whining, look at what it used to be like".¹⁵ In this respect, the film adopts a common ideological manoeuvre: legitimating the present by reference to the past, often distracting from the inadequacies of the present in the process.

But, as Ray Durnat has commented, when seeking to influence people "it is natural ... to offer an attractive example of the desirable state of affairs, to demonstrate, in dramatic form, the benefits of its working".¹⁶ The problem the film then faces is the absence of conviction in its presentation of the present's desirability. The contemporary reality offered by the film is that of a cold and bare housing estate, devoid of actual people. By contrast, Kennedy St vibrates with human activity, shot in cluttered compositions and rich lighting contrasts. The strategy of the film may well be to

demystify the romanticism attached to traditional working-class communities (borne at the expense of disadvantage and suffering), but the film's reliance on the conventions of thirties proletarian drama and the employment of music-hall stars such as Stanley Holloway (cheerfully taking bets and singing) tends to undercut the negative impulse, bestowing an energy and vitality on the past which is entirely absent from scenes in the present. As with Woman in a Dressing Gown, the alternatives the film presents can be linked to the question of sexual desire. Tommy's sister, Hetty (Sylvia Sims), with her wish for a 'small business', represents the respectable aspirations of those who live in the street. She succumbs to the advances of local criminal, Wilkie (Herbert Lorn) but ultimately opts for decency in the form of policeman, Frank (Frank Howard), now smug and self-congratulatory in his council flat bliss. As with Woman in a Dressing Gown, the extinguishment of fire and passion goes hand in hand with an 'inert, aimless contentment'. The image of the tree, allegedly symbolising the optimism of the film, evokes this irony nicely. In fact, it is a solitary tree, no longer growing wild, but strapped and hemmed in behind an encasing of wire fence.

The film's other failure of conviction derives from its attitude towards environmentalism. The logic of its contrast between past and present depends on Frank's assumption that "bricks and mortar" would make a difference to people's behaviour; good housing wouldn't make people perfect but it "might give them a chance to be people". Now, that people do, indeed, have "decent houses" then the crime which was characteristic of Kennedy St should no longer be necessary. But, as in the case of Basil Dearden's films, this logic of environmentalism is radically undercut by an emphasis on individual responsibility. Commenting on the thirties gangster film, Colin McArthur has noted, "There is a particular device, first used in Angels With Dirty Faces and later to become important in post-war phases of the genre, which seems to undercut any statement about the social origins of crime which the films purport to make. This device is to have a gangster and one of the establishment figures

in the film (priest, policeman, lawyer) come from the same slum neighbourhood, suggesting ... that the badness of the one and the goodness of the other are the result of moral choice rather than social conditioning".¹⁷ The same device is employed in No Trees in the Street. Wilkie and Frank grew up in the same street and went to the same school, yet one became a criminal, the other a policeman. Tommy and Hetty are brother and sister, yet one ends up a murderer, the other a policeman's wife. Thus, it is entirely appropriate that Hetty should turn on Wilkie at the end to complain about the death of her brother: "I used to blame the street. But it's you, and people like you. You kill us". In effect, the blame for crime in the film becomes re-routed from the environment onto 'people like' Wilkie who malevolently lead astray the young. But, if 'people like' Wilkie are not the creations of their environment, as the film now suggests, then it inevitably consigns the contrast between past and present to irrelevance while the policeman's homilies to the youngster are exposed as the vacuous pieces of moralism they undoubtedly are.

Willis' next social problem screenplay, Flame in the Streets, (1961) turned to race, by focusing on the family disruption which results from the daughter's intention to marry a black man. But, like Sapphire before it, the logical progress of the film's promotion of reason is upset and finally comes to rely on non-rational means for a solution. The initial setting of the plot, however, is not the home but the factory. Pursuing the course of reason the film would wish to promote, trade union official, Jacko Palmer (John Mills), confronts the prejudices of both management and workers alike by supporting the promotion of fellow black worker, Gabriel Gomez (Earl Cameron), finally convincing a hostile union meeting to vote in his favour. The meeting over, Palmer's wife, Nell (Brenda de Banzie) appears in the hall to break the news of their daughter's forthcoming marriage. In the same room, that only minutes before had been the setting for Palmer's triumph of reason, we now see the lights go out (switched off by the caretaker) and Palmer's flowing rhetoric give way to stumbling inarticulacy: "You find enough words at any other time, find a

few now". It is a turning-point in the movie. For despite the impeccable credentials of their daughter's suitor (a respectable schoolteacher), neither Palmer nor his wife can rationally overcome their prejudice against the marriage. In order for a solution to be reached, the dilemma has to be displaced onto other issues and into a form with which the characters can cope.

In the first instance, this requires a relocation of the problem in terms of the family's own internal tensions (Willis' 'good, honest, fumbling people caught up in tiny tragedies'). As with Sapphire, it is the 'unfulfilled woman' who gives most vigorous voice to racial prejudice. Faced with this new family crisis, Nell remonstrates with her husband for his neglect and taking of her for granted, revealing her earlier intentions to leave him. Like Hetty in No Trees in the Street, Nell is characterised by desires of petty-bourgeois respectability and a fetish for order and cleanliness (her overriding ambition is to have "a house with a bathroom"). The daughter's proposed marriage, by contrast, threatens contamination: "I'm ashamed of you. When I think of you and that man sharing the same bed. It's filthy ... disgusting ... It makes my stomach turn over ... I want to be sick ... You can't wait can you? You're no better than the whores in the high street. You can't wait to be with him ... that's the truth. All you want is one thing". As with Sapphire, the manifestation of racial prejudice derives primarily from the respectable family home, in the form of an external projection of internal repressions and discontents. Appropriately, the solution the film's ending offers is the conventional Willis formula of compromise and adjustment, of husband and wife sticking together. Whatever the difficulties they may face (be it mixed marriages or infidelity) "people like me always need people like you".

But, before this can happen the film also requires a more dramatic denouement. Like Violent Playground, the film employs the Teddy boy as a dramatic counterpoint to the forces of reason. The embodiment of 'mindless violence', they represent archetypical "folk devils" continually interrupting the narrative with outbursts of aggression: threatening Gomez in the toilets

at work, throwing fireworks and fighting in the streets. Our relationship to them as spectators is premised upon exteriority; like Indians in a conventional Western they are just there as a continuing threatening presence, devoid of context or motivation.¹⁸ It thus falls upon the Teddy boy to perform the key narrative function of resolving the film's problem and allowing the narrative to come to a close. As bonfires are lit in celebration of November 5th, the gang of Teds begin to throw stones, overturn a car and set upon the blacks. Such violence produces the inevitable chastening effect 'Right-minded' people, including Palmer, are soon out on the street trying to stop it. Dramatically, such an explosion of violence allows for a re-insertion of reason and brings the film to an economic conclusion. Ideologically, it is no more than an "imaginary" resolution to the real problems the film has set loose. Although the film no doubt seeks to legitimate its deployment of Teddy boy violence by an appeal to the real violence on the streets in Notting Hill, in the context of the film it is clearly problematic. As has been suggested, the construction of a "folk devil" is usually symptomatic of a problem actually generated elsewhere. In this respect, the forcing of responsibility for racial violence onto the teddy boy is merely to re-locate the prejudice which has already been identified as originating in the work-place (the hostile trade unionists) and in the home (the fears of the respectable working-class). The film does not so much 'solve' its problem of racial prejudice as 'make it safe', by diverting attention away from the real source of the difficulty (just as The Angry Silence also engineers an eruption of teddy boy violence to distract from the genuine problems of industrial relations).

And yet, there is a suggestion of a counter-current in the film which does not conform to such liberal complacency. For joining Palmer on the streets are the two black characters, Peter Lincoln (Johnny Sekka) and Gabriel Gomez. For both men, this also implies a reversal of attitude. Peter, Kathie's fiancé, has hitherto been associated with reason, committed to the virtues of argument in bringing about change in the Palmers. Gomez, on the other hand, has been

content to let white liberals do his talking for him: "Fighting ... that don't come into it". Yet, by the film's end, both men have been forced into fighting on the street. What this seems to imply is the need, not for some cosy liberal chat around the fireside, but rather, an intensification of black militancy and resistance. Far from the film's overall liberalism being confirmed, its effectiveness is, in fact, put into question.

One other Willis script is worth mentioning, It's Great To Be Young (1956). Although an attempt at creating a British musical, and thus not strictly speaking a social problem film, it is nonetheless worth noting because of the form of its treatment of youth. The pupils of a school rebel, and in imitation of industrial practices, initiate a strike, occupy the gym, form a picket and call for support from neighbouring schoolchildren (a similar translation of activities also occurs in The French Mistress (1960)). Yet, everywhere this threat is defused. These grammar school rebels are all well to do and culturally advantaged. Their demands, based on the right to form a school orchestra, are purely conformist in their appeal to high art and extra-mural application. As such, their rebellion can be easily contained. The eccentric schoolteacher who has supported the children (an untroubling John Mills) admits his guilt in defying school discipline. Authority so vindicated, dissent can be easily incorporated by giving Mills his job back. Like its contemporary, My Teenage Daughter (1956) - where the teenage rebel drives a Bentley - the substantiation of a 'rebel without a cause' thesis is made easy. Divisions of class are entirely absent. The 'problem' of youth becomes a crisis solely of authority, internal to the middle-class, and requiring little more than some inter-generational understanding for a solution. The tradition is carried on into the sixties by The Young Ones.

This emphasis on middle-class values continues in later school movies, only now there is a move down the social scale and into the secondary modern.

The success of The Blackboard Jungle was undoubtedly an influence here. Ronald Neame, for example, had attempted to set up a production of Michael Croft's Spare the Rod in 1954 but was dissuaded by the censor's demands for cuts in the script and warning of an 'X' certificate ("There will be riots in the classroom if this film is made").¹⁹ The success of The Blackboard Jungle, despite its 'X' certificate, revived interest in the project and a "hotted-up" version finally hit the screen, with the help of some financing from Max Bygraves. Like the former film, its plot is organised around a new recruit to the teaching profession whose reforming zeal begins to reap success in a tough working-class school. Max Bygraves assumes the Glen Ford role as the ex-naval instructor, Saunders, committed to avoiding corporal punishment and making his teaching relevant (relating Julius Caesar to gangsters in the same way that Ford employs cartoons). The film's faith in liberal reform, however, does not enjoy an entirely smooth passage. Like the threat to Ford's family life in The Blackboard Jungle, it is the eruption of teenage sexuality which obstructs the forward march. Four girls in the class suggest to Saunders that he teach them about sex while schoolgirl, Margaret, makes a clumsy attempt to seduce him. Dramatically, such events represent a turning-point. As if sublimating sexuality into violence, Saunders turns against his surly class and resorts to violent punishment. Although he subsequently reasserts his liberal principles in preventing his sadistic colleague, Gregory (Geoffrey Keen) from beating two boys, it would appear that it is now too late. The schoolchildren break out in revolt and prepare to make a bonfire in the school hall. Just as "understanding" could go "too far" in Violent Playground, so the authority of the school must now reassert itself. As in It's Great To Be Young, the headmaster requires that Bygraves resign ("When you opposed Gregory, you identified with the pupils against authority ") and is supported in this action by the school inspector who had previously congratulated Saunders on the merits of his teaching. To this extent, the logic of the film matches that of Violent Playground: the liberal dream of reform has proved a failure, the rule of force, embodied in Gregory, must be reinstated.

But, just as it seems all is lost, the film attempts to retrieve the situation. As the now sacked Saunders leaves the school, he passes the school assembly as the kids give voice to a version of 'Jerusalem'; two of the victims of his unjust punishment wish him farewell and a Merry Christmas; once outside, the children affectionately gather round, in stark contrast to the playground mayhem of the film's beginning; Gregory stops beating a youngster to the headmaster's commentary that it's "never too late to learn"; Margaret apologises to Saunders, promising to "be good next term"; while, in a final twist, black schoolgirl, Olive (practically unnoticed in the rest of the film) appears with her racially mixed parents to thank him for the progress she has made. "It makes the crowd happy", comments Sirk on his use of happy endings, but, "to the few it makes the aporia more transparent".²⁰ It is hard not to feel the same about Spare the Rod. For in its very excess, its rather anxious overloading of endings, the film seems to mark a hiatus, rather than an organically developed conclusion. To 'the crowd', as Sirk suggests, this may provoke contentment; to 'the few' it undoubtedly confirms the liberal gloom.

A similar set of issues is raised in Term of Trial (1962); but, this time, the defeat of the liberal teacher would appear to be unequivocal. Like Saunders, Graham Weir (Laurence Olivier) is a sensitive and understanding teacher, committed to the "progressive programme" of education, announced by the head at the film's beginning. Yet, by the end of the film, he has been dragged through the law courts on a charge of 'indecent assault', assumed guilty by headmaster and school pupils alike, and only succeeds in maintaining his marriage by giving in to deceit. What is at stake in Weir's demise, however, is not just attitudes to education but a struggle between different sets of cultural values. As a Christian and pacifist (imprisoned during World War 2 as a conscientious objector), Weir represents spiritual and intellectual values at odds with the society around him. What cripples the two children who show most inclination towards learning is not economic

disadvantage (the Taylor family, apparently, could 'buy and sell' Weir) but cultural deprivation.²¹ Thomson has to do his homework at school because of the lodger and the constant noise from the TV. Evicted from his own home, while trying to study, his automatic response is to set fire to the lodger's 'big, flashy car'. Shirley Taylor's home is similarly constricting. Her father burps at the table, her mother is racially prejudiced while her sister preoccupies herself with nail varnish and the sound of the wireless. Even Weir's own unhappy domestic life seems to reflect this conflict in values; while he spends his time with books in 'the library', his wife is content to spend hers in front of the box.

But, what, above all, drags Weir down is not just the spiritual emptiness of the culture around him but its sordid preoccupation with sex. Weir's initial adversary, in this respect, is Mitchell (Terence Stamp), the 'disgusting and sordid' 'young savage' whose sullen resistance defies all Weir's attempts at education. The struggle between the two makes itself concrete in relation to Shirley. While Weir seeks to cater to her mind, providing her with extra-curricular instruction, Mitchell's preoccupations are purely sexual.²² First seen passing round a pin-up during school assembly (to the accompaniment of 'To be a pilgrim'), he subsequently photographs Shirley in the toilet, forces a kiss upon her in the corridor and makes a thinly-disguised sexual attack upon her in a deserted bomb-site. Like Spare the Rod, it is Mitchell's sexual provocation which prompts the first setback to Weir's "progressive programme". Discovering the photograph of Shirley, he subjects Weir to a savage classroom beating, thus destroying his "splendid record of non-violence". In the process, he also helps unleash a further bout of violence. Mitchell, himself, takes revenge by smashing the windscreen of Weir's car while his father and a friend attack Weir in the street. But, finally, it is not Mitchell but Shirley who ensures Weir's downfall. Like Margaret in Spare the Rod, she gives expression to her own sexual desire and attempts to seduce her teacher. Weir rejects her, but finds himself in court, nonetheless.

The blame for this, however, does not so much attach to Shirley as the culture which makes her expect that innocent love should automatically be accompanied by sex. As Weir explains in court, what he felt for Shirley was "tenderness, innocence, love ... the things that God gives us before the filth of the world begins to take over". What this "filth of the world" implies is clearly spelt out in one striking scene prior to Weir's court appearance. Following his distracted walk down a city street, the film confronts us with a series of images of commercialised sex: teenagers in a coffee bar dancing to pop on the juke-box, shop displays of records, girlie mags and body-building manuals, a cinema hoarding for The Ape's Revenge with its dubious come-on of a woman, pierced through the breast with a sword. "Everywhere he goes he is reminded of 'sex'", explains the accompanying publicity hand-out. "It thrusts itself at him from the lurid covers of books: 'Sexy' songs reach him over the radio, and half-naked women peer at him from outside cinemas." Appropriately enough, when Weir takes the stand at his trial he does not denounce Shirley but the hypocrisy of a society which sees fit to judge him: "It is exquisite irony that I should be condemned by a society which presumes itself more moral than I. A society endlessly titillating itself with dirty books and newspapers and advertising and television and the work of cynical and indifferent minds." So deep-seated is the degeneracy of this culture, that it does not matter that he is acquitted. His "progressive" headmaster denies him promotion (favouring the teacher who had engaged in a casual pick-up in Paris) and suggests he should leave, his class show him an increased respect on the assumption that he'd "got away with it", while his wife is only prevented from leaving him by his false admission of guilt. "Who would have expected it of you", she marvels. "Most people, apparently", comes his reply.

Weir's defeat in Term of Trial is not just that of a liberal educational philosophy but a whole set of moral and spiritual values as well, brought to its knees by the work of a cynical 'affluence'. And, yet, the film's

conclusion is curiously ambivalent, as if it too has fallen prey to the very assumptions it would seek to oppose. At one level, the logic is straightforward: the sensitive and idealistic Weir is destroyed, incapable of survival save by the enactment of the culture's fantasy of sexual depravity. The "upside-down" values of a commercialised society - making "toughness and sexual prowess the supreme virtues of manhood" and sneering at "gentleness and restraint" - are thus exposed.²³ Yet, insofar as the film manifests its own anxiety about the status of Weir's masculinity so, to a degree, is it hoist by its own petard. The characterisation of Weir is heavily marked by inadequacy (exacerbated, in turn, by the theatrical fussiness of Olivier's performance). He is dependent on drink, given to bouts of self-pity and derided by his wife for both his failure to earn more money and use of pacifism as a cover for cowardice. To some extent, his wife conforms to a type (already seen in Sapphire and Flame in the Streets), the "unfulfilled woman" whose inability to have a baby and domestic frustrations resurface as neuroticism. And, yet, by making Weir's wife French, rather than English as in the novel, the role also exudes a sensuality, characteristic of Simone Signoret's performances and partly reminiscent of Room at the Top, which cuts across such typing and reinforces a sense of Weir's own, other than his wife's, failings. "For God's sake, please stop being so bloody noble", she exclaims. "Show some spark. Come and hit me. Go and get another woman. Do something human for a change."

The suggestion thus set in motion is less that of Weir's nobility than his debilitating sexual inhibition. It is clear, for example, that he is attracted to Shirley but cannot allow himself to act on his desires. The consummation of their day in Paris together is thus 'converted' by the film into the surrogate necking of Mitchell and untroubled pick-up of a fellow teacher, Truman. And, as with Spare the Rod, the very excess of violence deployed against Mitchell suggests less a moral disgust than a disturbing sublimation of the desires upon which he cannot act (given emphasis, in turn, by the inter-

cutting of the confrontation with Shirley who, strictly speaking, could not be expected to know what it is about). Simone Signoret suggests that her husband's refusal to sleep with Shirley amounts to no more than pure 'funk'. The irony of the film is that it seems to agree. For, by so 'objectifying' the lack of virility, or 'castration', of its hero so it, in turn, reinstates the very version of masculinity it has been at such pains to dispute.

Modern mass culture is also a key element in Some People (1962). Just Term of Trial had offered a pot-pourri of the new culture's symbols (juke-boxes and sex), so Some People begins with an equivalent montage of images from the 'affluent society'. Records, televisions, washing machines, jewellery and fast food dominate the shop windows while adverts invite us to 'enjoy' 'immediate delivery' and 'credit with dignity'. A concluding sign announces that 'today's cigarette is a Bristol'. Insofar, as it is Bristol which provides the film's location such a flourish amounts to no more than a joke, but it is, in another way, the key to the film's identification of the problem of youth. As director, Clive Donner, explained the Bristol location was explicitly selected as a contrast to the more 'socially deprived' areas to be found in Spare the Rod and Term of Trial: "It had to be made in a provincial city, not London. I didn't want to make it in a city where there was a traditional background of working class problems, because I don't think that the subject we're considering in the film relates so much to traditional 'bad areas' but much more to the housing estates and so forth: we didn't want a town like Jarrow."²⁴ As such, the gang of youths upon whom the film focuses are in employment with money to spend on conspicuous consumption, most notably clothes and motorbikes. What then characterises their situation is not unemployment, poverty or economic disadvantage but a kind of aimlessness, or 'money without responsibility' typical of the 'affluent teenager'.²⁵ Taken to court for speeding, the magistrate complains how "monstrous" it is that boys of their age should so readily obtain motorbikes by virtue of HP. Deprived of their licenses, the boys continue their

purposeless behaviour: hanging around the bus station and eyeing up the girls, jeering at diners inside a city restaurant, loading a bookseller with books they don't intend to buy, throwing away a young sea-cadet's cap and gluing their faces to the window of a shop selling pornography. What appears to be absent is some kind of satisfactory outlet for their energies. The boys all play musical instruments but have nowhere to practise: they are thrown out of a youth club where Johnny (Ray Brooks) begins to play the piano while a vicar naturally resents their choice of his church as a locale for pop music and twisting. The 'salvation' of the boys then begins with the church caretaker and choirmaster, Smith (Kenneth More), offering them the use of his hall for rehearsals and subsequently encouraging them to enrol for the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme. As Smith explains, "Some people have hardly any interest in life at all. They need a push ... It's just that some people get a kick out of doing something a bit out of the ordinary line. It satisfies them and helps others. It's just really a question of keeping everybody busy." In this way, the Duke of Edinburgh scheme holds out the prospect of reform to the boys, providing new aims and ambitions and keeping "everybody busy".

The process of reform, however, is not uniform and each of the boys displays a different response. To some extent, the film employs the duality, already seen at work in I Believe In You. Bert (David Hemmings), the youngest and most innocent of the three, represents the basically 'nice boy' who quickly responds to the new challenges, constantly attending rehearsals (when the others stay away) and working on a canoe, despite a lack of support from Bill (David Andrews). As such, he epitomises the words of the title song: "Some people think that kids are bad, well that's too bad. Cos they don't know the kids the way I do". Despite appearances to the contrary (the bike and the leathers), Bert is not 'bad' but 'good'. Given the right circumstances this will show through. By contrast, Bill does not change and evades the net of reform. He is the first to tire of rehearsals, shows no

enthusiasm for the Duke of Edinburgh scheme and is ultimately involved in wrecking the hall in which the group are rehearsing. The problem his character then poses for the film is that, in resisting reform, he ends up being typed in precisely the way the film is concerned to avoid with the other boys. Early on in the film, a youth club leader throws the boys out. Turning on Bert, he exclaims, "I remember you ... you're a trouble-maker ... Get out ... And take your pals with you. I'll not have teddy boys contaminating my boys and girls". Bill responds angrily, "Who are you calling Teds? If you want that sort of trouble mate, I'll bring a gang of proper Teds up and we'll see." Once outside, he is still complaining, "They're all the same. Once you've disagreed with them, you're a Ted". And, yet, by the end of the film it is precisely such a reversion to the Ted label which marks the film's treatment of his character. Previously, the film had employed the image of a gang on motor-bikes to undercut audience expectations: coming to a halt, one of the gang comments, "This looks alright, dunnit" while Bill enters the church hall on his own to look for Jenny (Angela Douglas). The anticipated 'threat', which the imagery had initially suggested, thus fails to materialise. Later on, however, almost exactly the same image is used to confirm the stereotype: this time it is a 'gang of proper Teds' while Bill is a real 'trouble-maker', 'mindlessly' helping to destroy the contents of the church hall. Incapable of changing him, the film ends up by deploying the very "folk devil" imagery of the teddy boy which it had initially sought to upturn.

Somewhere between the other two characters, we find Johnnie. For him, in particular, the experience of the group and Duke of Edinburgh scheme entails a widening of cultural horizons. Rejecting the advances of the working-class girl and group's singer, Jenny, he strikes up a relationship with Smith's daughter, Anne (Annita Wills). With her he visits the theatre, eats out at a 'posh' restaurant and abandons the confines of the city for the open spaces below the Severn bridge. The film's second montage sequence seems to mark the change in emphasis. In contrast to the opening's brash

materialism, the connotations of the second are more contemplative and spiritual. The shops are closed and a church appears in two shots; the jazzy soundtrack has been replaced by organ music. It is a Sunday morning and also a time for Johnnie to take stock. Whereas, the pop group had established a kind of 'utopian' community of 'classless' youth - successfully integrating male with female, black with white, working class with middle class - the social divisions between Johnnie and Anne are not so easily resolved. Anne is going to college and she informs him that "he won't be the last". Johnny is now forced to face questions about the nature of his future identity. As with Bill, it appears as if he too might revert to teddy-boy type. Bill promises to 'save' Johnnie and following the destruction of the church hall the film dissolves from Smith's face, as he watches Johnnie leave, to a close-up of Johnnie's motorbike now being given a clean. A subsequent scene, however, makes Johnny's dissatisfaction with this alternative clear. He fights with Bill at the skating-rink and demands to know what its got to do with him if he likes the people at the club. A second possibility seems to lie in a rapprochement with his father who complains that children don't think their parents 'understand'. Forcing a drink upon him, he entices his son to play the bar piano (beginning with a rendition of 'My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean'). This traditionally working-class world of his father, he chooses to reject as well. The only 'solution' open is to return to his friends at the club. The role of the real father is replaced by the surrogate father-figure, Smith, who speaks with him outside the hall and encourages him to go in. The camera then holds on Smith while Johnnie makes his way through the door, to be greeted by sounds of delight from those who are inside.

How far, in the film's terms, this represents a satisfactory resolution is open to question. The strategy of the film has been to effectively 'embourgeoisify' Johnnie, by introducing him to the tastes and values of the middle-classes. However, by refusing to sanction the relationship between him and Anne, Johnnie is effectively denied an acceptance by the middle-class

(and even Johnnie's benign father-figure, Smith, displays a constant concern that his daughter might become too 'serious'). The result is that Johnnie is now stranded between the two classes, unable to fit in satisfactorily to either. The logic of the film is to intensify Johnnie's dissatisfaction with the limited life-chances afforded by his own family and class, with its connotations of cultural deprivation. In comparison to the tasteful elegance of the Smith's home, Johnnie's is noisy and cluttered, dominated by the TV and an ineffectual father to whom he can't relate. On the other hand, the film then has very little to offer him, save the restricted community of the church hall with its 'magical' resolution of the real social divisions of class and race.

And, yet, there is a competing perspective which the film tries hard to deny. Bill, for example, rejects involvement with the Smiths because it requires that they "conform and be happy". The Duke of Edinburgh scheme allows for individuality only insofar as they join 'the team'. Such a position is, of course, undercut: Bill loses claim to individuality once he rejoins the teddy boy 'team' and behaves according to type. And, yet, it is also Bill who correctly predicts, despite Anne's denials, that her relationship with Johnnie "won't work". Of all the characters, he most clearly perceives the social and cultural divisions which continue to divide them. What he also puts into question is the automatic assumption of superiority in the values now pursued by Johnnie. What is implicit in his position, but not embodied in the film, is the worth of those values thrown up by working class culture which may not necessarily conform to those of the middle-class and may, indeed, represent a positive resistance. All the film shows Johnny able to offer Anne, however, is 'respect' and the knowledge of how to shrink jeans in the bath. Victor Perkins' suggestion that "Anne learns as much from Johnny as he does from her" is hardly supported by the film overall.²⁶

What is then characteristic of not only Some People, but Spare the Rod, Term of Trial and practically all of the Basil Dearden oeuvre, is a denial of

worth and validity to working-class forms of culture. Education and advancement derives from an assimilation of middle-class norms; the 'reform' of working-class youth through a contact with middle-class outsiders (teachers or youth workers) who occupy the parental role, either absent or weakly fulfilled by the children's own parents. Middle-class culture itself is hardly even the subject of inquiry. The pattern persists with To Sir With Love. Made as a film in the mid-sixties, it nonetheless looks back to the fifties (when the original E.R. Braithwaite novel was published) in the organisation of its assumptions. Like Spare the Rod, it involves a new recruit to the teaching profession confronted by a hostile and threatening classroom. Like Saunders, Thackeray (Sidney Poitier) abandons the school curriculum (throwing the set books into the waste-bin) and ultimately succeeds in winning over the pupils. His educational philosophy, however, is entirely middle-class in its attitudes, consisting primarily of 'suburban formality' (addressing the girls as 'Miss') and 'culture for the masses' (a trip to the museum). The role performed by Poitier, in this respect, is eloquent. He is both like the kids but not, a 'toff' yet at the same time ordinary. An immigrant from the colonies, with a background of poverty and manual labour, he functions as a mediator between what the kids currently are and what they might yet become. "If you're prepared to work hard, you can do almost anything, you can get any job you want", he explains (a statement which is ridiculous even in the film's own terms since he himself is unable to get a job as an engineer).

For Jim Pines, such a characterisation represents part of a basically 'progressive' development in the cinema's representation of blacks insofar as the appearance of a black character is not automatically marked as a 'problem'.²⁷ The price to be paid for such 'understatement', however, is an assimilation of the character to an entirely conformist and unthreatening set of values. Poitier has rejected his own black culture (substituting 'proper' English for his native patois) and completely internalized the manners and mores of the white middle-class world. The result, as Pines also

suggests, is a kind of "emasculatation". For in its determination not to make Poitier a 'problem', To Sir With Love has removed the novel's theme of miscegenation, developed in the form of romance between the black and his fellow white teacher. And, yet this is a relationship to which the film constantly alludes, by dint of dialogue, editing and composition; that its failure to bring it out into the open is tantamount to a "structuring absence".²⁸ The anxiety provoked by myths of black sexuality may have been avoided but the result is a characterisation replete with associations of inadequacy and impotence. This in turn reverberates against the programme of education he is promoting: the assimilation of respectable middle-class values by the kids inviting a similar repression of energy and vitality.

However, it is The Boys (1962) rather than To Sir With Love which probably stands closest to Some People. Basically a courtroom drama, the film's concern is not just the establishment of guilt and innocence but an inquiry into the defendants' status as representatives of modern youth. In effect, it is youth who are in the dock and their dress, lifestyle and apparent association with violence which are on trial.

The film's first section - the case for the prosecution - apparently confirms the dominant images of youth. "I'll bring before you evidence of four hooligans on the rampage", announces the prosecuting counsel, Webster (Richard Todd) and, sure enough, the evidence of the witnesses confirms this. In the course of a series of flashbacks, we are shown Stan Coulter (Dudley Sutton) behaving suspiciously at the garage which is later to be robbed, the fighting of him and his friends at the bus stop and public toilets, their aggressive behaviour towards a bus conductor, toilet attendant, car-owner and old man queuing at the cinema and the mounting evidence of a plan for robbery. The pattern of the evidence is clear: the youths concerned are consistently identified as 'teddy boys'. Their behaviour is viewed as that of 'yobbos' and hooligans, mindlessly violent and inevitably escalating into more serious crimes such as robbery and murder. Much of the prosecution thus

depends on the youths conforming to 'type', revealing the 'surly, aggressive and menacing' behaviour complained of by one witness. Up to this point, the film conforms to the model set by so many of its predecessors. The novel aspect of the film, however, is to go beyond this stereotyping and reveal the 'other side', the same events as seen by the boys themselves.

The turning-point, in this respect, is the scene which takes place between defence counsel, Montgomery (Robert Morley) and the boys, once the prosecution is over. Drawing a parallel between his own stigmatism as a fat person and the labelling of them as teds, Montgomery complains that they haven't told him a thing. He wants to know what they are "really like behind the great tough act". The defence is now able to proceed, revealing what the boys are "really like" and challenging the prosecution image of mindless violence. "No doubt you will wish to hear something of the violent and hooligan behaviour, my Lord" Montgomery announces to the court. "They will go into the box and you will hear an unbiased account from their own lips. I'm going to show you this is a perfectly ordinary outing, as innocent and innocuous an occasion on which any boys of this age have organised an evening out for themselves on a barren Thursday night before payday". As the boys themselves take to the stand, the film returns to the events already seen in flashback, only now in a manner that fundamentally alters their meaning. The movement here is not towards relativism but complexity. Unlike Rashomon, the film does not offer incommensurate flashbacks which make it impossible to measure the 'truth' of what has happened. The events shown remain fundamentally the same; what is altered is the amount and type of information given about them. Three main strategies are involved: (a) the addition of scenes to those we have already seen, (b) the addition of the boys' own point-of-view shots, and (c) the shooting of scenes from a different camera position. In the first set of flashbacks, the relationship to the boys had been primarily one of exteriority, as seen loosely from the point-of-view of the prosecution witnesses (only loosely because the film does not adopt subjective camera

techniques). Through the addition of further narrative information, the inclusion of 'missing' point-of-view shots and adoption of alternative camera set-ups, the second set of flashbacks move closer to an interiority, providing a context and a reason for the events which had previously been denied. Thus, the events at the bus stop and on the bus assume a different significance by revealing how the fighting was precipitated by an argument over Stan's mother (dying from throat cancer) and how they would have apologised to the old lady they had knocked down, had it not been for the interruption of the bus conductor. In a similar fashion, it is now shown how the boys had intended to change a wheel for the car-driver before being chased off; while the apparent scuffling in the toilets had been inspired by the boys' innocent fantasies of acquiring wealth.

More particularly, a number of the scenes are now re-edited to include the boys' own point-of-view shots. The inclusion of such shots now reveals that Stan was looking at a pin-up, not the cashbox, at the garage, while, at the pub, it was a pair of girls visible in an upstairs window who were preoccupying the boys, not the lay-out of the garage. In other scenes, the inclusion of the boys' point-of-view shots is accompanied by an absence of the witnesses' point-of-view shots and a re-positioning of the camera, usually from in front of the boys to behind. At the billiard hall, the owner's point-of-view shot of Stan is now replaced by Stan's point-of-view shot of him, as he advances menacingly towards him, inter-cut with close-ups of the billiard players as they look on in hostility. Whereas the conversation between the two men had previously been shot from behind the owner, now it is shot from behind Stan. This is repeated in other scenes. The second flashback of the car sequence removes the driver's point-of-view shot (previously used to introduce the boys), shoots the scene from behind the boys rather than in front as previously, and employs only one take, without the cut in to Billy (Ronald Lacey) being given money by the driver's sister. In the toilet scene, the attendant is introduced in a menacing point-of-view shot and for most of

the time is shot from in front. Finally, in the sequence outside of the cinema there are none of the point-of-view shots belonging to Lonsdale (Colin Gordon) which had been characteristic of the earlier flashback. Apart from one mid-shot of Lonsdale, the camera remains behind the boys and while the earlier sequence had employed cross-cutting to isolate Billy, he is now shot in a group context, where we can see the efforts of the others to bail him out. The logic of the changes is clear: by providing point-of-view shots and positioning the camera behind the boys our identification is structured in their favour rather than the witnesses'. Rather than the boys appearing "aggressive and menacing" it is now the prosecution witnesses who appear so.

Our sympathy towards the boys is further extended by the type of information now offered. Hitherto denied any social context, the boys' work and families are now introduced via details of their low-paid manual jobs, crowded high rise homes and, in some cases, problematic family circumstances (Stan's mother is dying while his father is weak and ineffectual, Ginger is apparently fatherless, while Barney's parents are openly hostile to his dress). Thus, by the end of the defence, our perspective on the case has changed dramatically. Montgomery admits in court that much of the prosecution evidence was 'prejudiced and mistaken' while, in private, he shows doubt with respect to the boys' guilt.

The film's resolution then turns on the establishment of innocence or guilt and it is at this point the film faces problems. Webster is allowed to recall two of the boys to the stand, and, by careful calculation of their finances, manages to secure an admission of guilt. Once so established, the attention of the film diverts to the question of capital punishment and the propriety of sentencing Stan to death, a punishment to which he is liable because his crime was for gain, rather than pleasure, anger or revenge. As Montgomery demands of the court, "who will plead for the law?"

But what sense is then to be made of the sympathy generated for the boys in the film's second section, now that their guilt has been made clear? For Montgomery, the implication remains as before:

"I could say that any four boys - given the circumstances which involved my clients might have done this dreadful, senseless deed, that any four boys consistently condemned by social and economic background, by their fellow citizens, by their very appearance took the inevitable next step - indulged in petty robbery, that this was a petty crime and that the killing was as foreign to their nature as killing a bird or a cat. I could say that these were no more than boys trying to have an evening out. I passionately believe this to be true."

However, the tenor of the judge's remarks quickly undermine this, returning to the conventional imagery of the film's beginning: "It is impossible for me not to comment on the several acts of savagery to which you and the other accused have admitted: the wanton lawlessness, the contemptuous and reckless disregard for public property and finally this bestial attack upon an old man". As with the treatment of Bill in Some People, the liberalism of the film's second section, with its challenge to our expectations, is now undermined, while the 'prejudices' of the prosecution witnesses' are reconfirmed. Thus, the witness who had warned Billy that he represents 'the sort of person who'll end up in prison' has his prediction borne out by events. The mistake of the prosecution was not in assuming behaviour, and an escalation into violence, according to type as presuming the robbery to have been premeditated rather than spontaneous.

But, if condemnation of the youths appears to revert to their typing as Teddy boys, hooligans and yobbos, the evidence of the second section, and Montgomery's defence, still remains problematic. For if these were just any four boys on an evening out then, by the logic of the film, all youths are equally potential murderers. As Cohen has noted, there is a tension in delinquent imagery between viewing delinquents as typical of a whole generation and delinquents as exceptional (the 'lunatic fringe').²⁹ The thrust of the film's second section is clearly to refuse the 'lunatic fringe' perspective, and any accompanying 'explanations' in terms of psychopathy or internal

disorder. The boys are not exceptional, but quite ordinary. The resulting implication is that if these four boys can be involved in murder, then so can the rest of modern youth.

There is a further complication, however. For what the second section also makes apparent is the social and economic circumstance which led to their involvement in robbery and murder, the absence of money and demoralising scuffle over bus fares which finally prompted the break-in to the garage. In contrast to the witnesses' complaints in the first section that young people have too much money ('the affluent teenager'), the second section underlines the boys' consistent anxiety about finance - the dependence on parents for gifts of cash, the lack of ready money for buying girls drinks or taking them to a dance, the resentments towards the better off and dreams of being wealthy. Barney (Jess Conrad) asks the others why he shouldn't be a company director able to afford a £2,000 car; while Billy has fantasies of winning the pools. Ginger (Tony Garnett) draws the plan of an imaginary flat for Stan and his mum while Stan sourly accepts that the girls in the window are not for the likes of them: "that's for the nobs". In effect, the youths are not just any four youths but four working-class boys whose crime quite clearly relates to the economic disadvantages of their social position. Although the condemnation and justification of the boys' behaviour, provided by the film, tends to disavow the significance of class (by appealing to either stereotypes of aggressive behaviour or the boys' unexceptional characteristics) the implication of the second section is quite clearly to locate the boys within a structure of economic disadvantage. The sting in the movie's tail is that the only crime requiring punishment by death is murder for gain, with its grotesque sanctification of capitalist property relations and accompanying unequal distribution of wealth. The film fails to make the connection. Instead, of demanding a more equal economic system it opts for a humanitarian appeal for legal reform. The evidence of the film, however, cannot disguise that the law is only a symptom of the real problems it has

begun to uncover. As with Victim and the school movies, the most 'progressive' politics on offer is a minor accommodation (slightly more 'liberal') by the dominant legal and ideological structures.

Exploitation

While most of the films so far discussed have represented a generally 'serious' concern to deal with social problems, there is also in evidence, during this period, a more straightforwardly 'commercial' attempt to 'exploit' the issues involved, looking back less to documentary and Ealing than the more melodramatic offerings of Gainsborough (such as Good Time Girl (1947) and The Boys in Brown (1949)) and an early fifties 'social problem' film like Cosh Boy (d. Lewis Gilbert 1952).³⁰ In one sense, it can be argued that all social problem films are 'exploitative', capitalising on some current social trend or phenomenon (teddy boys, Wolfendon) as part of their overall appeal. The more specific connotations of the 'exploitation' label, however, are those of the 'exploitation' of subject-matter (and, by implication, the audience) through a sensational, and often prurient, treatment. Sensationalism is, of course, an essential component of the market strategy. Exploitation films are conventionally low-budget (dispensing with stars, minimising sets and elaborate camerawork), aimed at specific target audiences (usually male) and heavily reliant on a quick turn-over of capital. As such, they generally rate low in cultural prestige, conventionally ignored or reviled by the critics. Beat Girl, for example, - an 'exploitation hit de luxe' according to publicity - reminded the Daily Herald of "how ghastly British films can be" while the Daily Express confidently concluded that it was a film which "no one could like".³¹ The Times was more cautious, but displayed an appropriate cynicism about its methods: "This is the sort of film that is made to a formula for a market that is eager and anxious for it. The idea is to get a popular singer - in this instance, Mr. Adam Faith - concentrate on the 'beat' generation and the jivers in cellars, set the action against a background of striptease, clubs and coffee bars, tack a perfunctory

moral on the end, and sit back and wait for the click of money at the box-offices."³² For the critic of The Times, such flagrant commercialism, and reliance on formulas, implies a prima facie condemnation, and, yet, for many contemporary critics it is precisely such 'formulaic' qualities which constitute the exploitation film's appeal. Pam Cook, for example, has suggested that the overt manipulation of conventions characteristic of the exploitation film undermines traditional formal invisibility and hence exposes the ideological meanings which such conventions embody.³³ In the case of Beat Girl and That Kind of Girl it is the manipulation of the 'happy ending' which is most transparent (cf. Spare the Rod). As David Pirie has observed, the 'fascination' of Beat Girl derives from "the sheer prurience of its contents which like so much popular English art from Milton to Hammer horror allows its audience to enjoy virtue in principle and vice in practice", while, according to Eric Shorter, That Kind of Girl is "that kind of film" successfully combining both "salacity and moral primness".³⁴ And, yet, in both cases it is the moral 'virtue' or 'primness' which is most unconvincing, imposed as a kind of deus ex machina and drawing attention to its own 'conventionality'.

At one level, for example, Beat Girl (1959) would seem to amount to no more than a familiar drama of repression. The relations of "husband, family and home" enjoyed by Nicole (Noelle Adam) at the film's beginning are put under threat but ultimately reaffirmed by the reimposition of paternal authority and confirmation of family unity. But what is implied in the process of enacting this drama is somewhat different. For from the very beginning of the film, the associations accruing to home and marriage tend to suggest constraint. The attempts of Paul (David Farrar) and Nicole to embrace on the train are frustrated while the home to which they are travelling is large, austere and devoid of life. Paul's daughter, Jennifer (Gillian Hills) describes it as a "morgue" while Nicole baulks at the "living room's" barrenness. Appropriately enough, in this home of the "living dead" there lies a

'coffin' in the corner. Although not containing the 'body' which Nicole suspects, it does contain Paul's model for the City 2000 - "an almost silent place" in which "noise, hustle and bustle ... will be unknown". As Paul explains, "psychologists think most human neurosis comes from too much contact with other humans ... in my city man can be alone". And, yet, if there is neurosis it does not derive from too much contact, too much hustle and bustle, but its absence, as found in the death-like atmosphere of the home. By contrast, the world outside implies release. The coffee bar that Jennifer frequents (shot in cluttered compositions and with a quicker pace of editing) provides all the people, noise and energy which City 2000 would suppress.

The complication faced by the movie revolves around its female characters, whose roles begin to mingle the domestic expectations of wife and daughter with the 'perverse sexualities' of the world outside. Following the example of Expresso Bongo (1959) (whose poster decorates the coffee bar wall) the film deploys a Soho location to run together the teen world of coffee bars with the illegitimate sexuality of the strip-club. Nicole's role as wife and step-mother is dislocated by revelations of a past involvement in striptease and prostitution while Jennifer herself makes a visit to the strip club opposite the coffee bar. Through her exposure to a strip performance (loosely organised in terms of her point-of-view), Jennifer imports this role into the home, imitating her step-mother's past career, and stripping to please her fellow party-goers, who have 'taken over' the house. The implication of this eruption, however, is a descent into chaos. Jennifer returns to the strip-club where she becomes implicated in murder. Her only escape-route is to cry for 'Daddy'. As with Wind of Change, state and paternal authority become fused. The police sergeant advises Paul to "take over", explaining that if it wasn't for his pension he'd "wallop her". The film's closing shot reveals the family re-united as they turn their backs on the world of Soho. And, yet, as The Times has suggested, it is only a 'perfunctory moral'. The

energy and vitality of the Soho world survives; the home still remains the source of repression.

A similar imbalance also marks That Kind of Girl (1963). Once again, the threat to normality materialises in the form of extra-marital female sexuality. Like Shivers much later, this takes the form of disease. Although not its source, it is Eva (Margaret-Rosa Keil) who ensures a rapid circulation of VD (passing it on, apparently, even by kissing). As with Beat Girl, diverse social phenomena are pulled together into one composite image of deviance, embracing beatniks, strip clubs, students and CND, all linked as one by the threat of sexual excess. Elliot (Peter Burton) meets Eva at a beat club and takes her to a strip show; Max (Frank Jarvis) accompanies Eva on an Aldermaston march (with all the attendant dangers of over-night stops!); while Keith (David Weston) who is a university student, seduces her at a bathing party. Also, like Beat Girl, sexual promiscuity quickly degenerates into criminality: Elliot, for example, turns into a potential rapist and obscene phone-caller. The film's resolution is then dependent on bringing its sexuality under the rule of adult authority: the doctors whose medical diagnoses rapidly transform into moral denunciations, the police who capture Elliot and the Millers who confine Eva to the home, before finally sending her away, and exorcising her threat for once and for all.

And, yet, despite the denunciations, the film's 'exploitative' impulse also ensures a vitality to the club and seduction sequences which is entirely absent from the scenes at the home and the clinic. The latter are generally shot high-key to produce an overly white and sanitary image. The club scenes, by contrast, tend to employ strong contrasts, dynamic angles, rapid cutting and a loud soundtrack. One sequence makes this opposition between exciting nightlife and domestic constriction quite apparent. Elliot takes Eva to a strip-club as a preliminary to seduction. As Elliot takes a last look at the stripper's performance, there is a dissolve to the Miller home (where Eva is staying). The Millers are watching a television, compositionally dominant in

the centre foreground of the frame. Facing the opposite direction from Elliot, it is as if they have turned their backs on the excitement represented by the club in favour of the 'safe' domestic viewing provided by the box. They yawn, turn off the set and go to bed. The logic of the film, then, is to endorse the moral superiority and social stability represented by the Millers' family arrangements. Thus, by the end of the film we see Eva in a similar domestic set-up, listening to records with Mrs. Miller behind the telephone, in the position previously occupied by the TV (in fact, it's the same room, rearranged according to budgetary constraints!). But, as with Beat Girl, the Millers' home life has been endowed with few attractions compared to the world outside. It is, perhaps, not inappropriate that when Keith and Janet (Linda Marlowe) decide to get married, chastened by the disastrous effects of their contact with Eva, they conclude, "If we're going to be unhappy ... we'd better be unhappy together".

Beatniks also provide the subject-matter for The Party's Over (1963). Although completed in 1963, the film did not appear in British cinemas until 1965 as a result of a censorship wrangle. "The film was unacceptable for general release because it did not sufficiently condemn the socially undesirable behaviour it portrays", commented John Trevelyn. "We cannot be sure it would not influence the young"³⁵ Cuts, of about twelve minutes, were finally agreed on and, presumably, the addition of an opening voice-over making clear where the film's morality lay: "This film is the story of young people who choose to become - for want of a better word - beatniks. It's not an attack on beatniks. The film has been made to show the loneliness and unhappiness and eventual tragedy that can come from a life lived without love for anyone or anything. Living only for kicks is not enough."

This did not prevent the press from rising to take the bait: "The film makers say their work has a moral purpose: to show that depravity is not a good way of life", commented the Express: "The usual excuse for parading obscenity." "To me it is not so much a shocking picture", continued

Cecil Wilson in the Mail, "as a sickening one and a shameful specimen of British youth to show the outside world".³⁶ Not everyone, however, was quite so taken aback and it took the Observer and the Telegraph to strike a more appropriate note. "The general atmosphere is about as outrageous as a teenage hop juiced up with chemical cider", complained a cynical Kenneth Tynan, while Eric Shorter sounded a note of regret. "Why can't the English somehow put over a proper sense of impropriety?" he enquired, "... or did the censor rob the film of all its erotic and narcotic potency?"³⁷ Although the film undoubtedly merits some sort of historical footnote for its attempt to bring necrophilia to the British screen, their conclusions are difficult to dispute.

And, yet, as the censor suspected, there is undoubtedly an ambivalence in the film's treatment of its young. Although it is Beat Girl which Durgnat suggests anticipated 'flower power', it is The Party's Over which is most cynical about the virtues of ambition and economic acquisitiveness.³⁸ This is most clearly expressed in relation to the American, Carson (Clifford Evans) who penetrates the world of the Chelsea beats in pursuit of his fiancée Melina (Louise Sorel). Carson represents "the world we are conditioned to accept as normal". He has worked his way up to the Vice-presidency of a large corporation and is now 'scheduled' to marry the boss' daughter. Through his contact with 'The Pack', his production-orientated puritanism begins to wane: "I had everything mapped out. Well, I don't. As a matter of fact, I'm way off course". Indeed, after being bedded by Nina (Catherine Woodville) he abandons his search for Melina and resolves to turn his back on business ("I've to find something else to do"). But, of course, this is a luxury only available to the economically advantaged (cf. the fantasy of being a company director in The Boys). As Tynan observes the film remains resolutely "bourgeois to the core", chastely avoiding the details of economics which would explain how the principle characters support themselves.³⁹

Nor can the film allow the beat life-style to emerge without criticism, for the beats themselves must also change, adapt and 'mature'. As with so

many youth movies, one form of deviance (promiscuity, drug-taking) must necessarily lead to something more serious. Melina falls to her death at a party. Assumed to be unconscious she is apparently raped (the cuts make this slightly obscure). Discovering the truth later, Phil (Jonathan Burn) atones by committing suicide. The party is now effectively over for the 'Pack'. And, yet, the film is remarkably coy about where they should go. For having also rejected the conformist world of big business it leaves its characters in a limbo. Carson announces he wants to find a place called 'Stow-in-the-Wold'. His query, "Does it really exist?", underlines the retreat into fantasy.

The other peculiarity which the film presents is in its treatment of the female character, Melina. And, in a sense, it is with her that the real conformity of the film lies, not in its final denunciation of the immorality of youth. For Melina is a kind of structured blank within the film's discourse: wan, anaemic and marionette-like in her movements. What seems to make her representation so difficult is that, unlike the other female characters, she has refused all the conventional female roles. She is neither daughter nor wife, having fled from both father and fiancé; yet neither has she adapted to the norms of the sexually promiscuous beat society (thus avoiding becoming a 'tart' like Libby (Ann Lynn). She is, according to Moise (Oliver Reed), a 'miracle' - a girl "who says no". But, Moise himself is determined that her 'miraculous' purity should not survive. It is thus that she becomes his other 'miracle' - 'the statue' which bleeds. "The virgin is pure. Her soul can be loved precisely because her body has not been touched", writes Susan Griffin. "But the virgin is punished by carnality"⁴⁰ The retribution that Melina faces is thus not at the hands of her father (who finds her already dead) but the beats. The disturbance she poses to both straight and 'deviant' society (both male) can only be resolved by humiliation and death.

Conclusion

In the introduction, it was suggested how films might be seen to perform an ideological role in their accounts and explanations of the social world. Now, it would clearly be in error to argue that the social problem film of the late fifties and early sixties simply and straightforwardly reproduced the dominant ideological attitudes and assumptions of the period. As has been indicated, there were often differences of emphasis and varying degrees of ideological coherence to be found in the films. On the other hand, it would equally clearly be mistaken not to recognise some measure of consistency amongst these films and some degree of inter-relation between the way they represented the world and the dominant ideological discourses of the period. It should now be possible to sum up some of the more general tendencies.

In Chapter One, for example, it was suggested how an ideology of 'classlessness' had been constructed out of the experience of 'affluence'. Although the theme of 'classlessness' was rarely explicit in the social problem film, it was nonetheless implicit in the way that problems were identified and explained. As Richard Dyer argues, the nature of "the problem" is regarded as "essentially the same" irrespective of "social class or economic circumstances". This is so, he suggests, even when "the phenomenal forms of class" may be present. Thus, while films such as Sapphire and Victim do, indeed, sketch in the surface characteristics of class distinctions, they only do so in order to assert their ultimate 'irrelevance' to the issue at hand.⁴¹ This rejection of the dimensions of class is equally clear in the films' treatment of youth. As Chapter One indicated, it was an inevitable consequence of the ideology of 'classlessness' that the problem of juvenile delinquency should be identified as primarily a generational, rather than class-specific, phenomenon. This is also the case with the problem film. On the one hand, many of the films stress the 'universal' nature of the youth problem by focusing on teenagers who are also socially and economically privileged (cf. My Teenage Daughter, It's Great

To Be Young, Beat Girl, The Party's Over, That Kind of Girl, The Young Ones, The Wild and the Willing). Although there may be some merit in refusing to see 'delinquency' as the sole responsibility of working-class youth, the problem is in the way that these films assume a representative status for their well-to-do youngsters and so remove the significance of social and economic divisions in their identification of youth as a grouping.⁴² This suppression of the dimensions of class is particularly prominent in those films which deal with teenagers from a variety of social backgrounds (e.g. I Believe In You, Beat Girl, The Young Ones). Here it is what young people have in common as young people which is stressed and so marked as more important than any of the differences (of class and status) which might otherwise be expected to divide them. Even those films, such as Some People, which do acknowledge some degree of class division it is still not the economic relation which is considered significant. As with Term of Trial and To Sir, With Love, it is not economic disadvantage which handicaps the working-class youth ('affluence' has apparently seen to that) but rather cultural deprivation. But, even here, it is not the shared social condition which, in the end, is important but rather the differences of individual attitude. Films like I Believe In You, No Trees in the Street and Some People, for example, reveal a consistent concern to highlight distinctions between characters even though they may share a common social background. What is ultimately important in the identification of 'juvenile delinquency' is not economic divisions and conflicts but the quality of individual behaviour and attitude. This also helps explain both the stress given to and accompanying treatment of juvenile violence in so many of the films. For it is inevitable that, by undercutting the significance of class divisions and conflicts, the social problem film should render the violence of its characters not only "irrational" and "meaningless" but also unintelligible except in terms of the individual. If this violence has an explanation at all, it can only be in terms of the individual's own "psychological maladjustment" (e.g. Violent Playground, No Trees in the Street) or "psychopathy" (e.g. The Blue Lamp, I Believe In You).

This emphasis on juvenile violence can also be linked to the 'solutions' to the 'problem' of youth provided by the films. As was suggested in Chapter One, the amplification of the problem of teenage violence encouraged responses which were primarily punitive in intent. In the same way, the social problem film deploys an image of teenage violence in order to legitimate its own disciplinary solutions (cf. The Blue Lamp, I Believe In You, Violent Playground, No Trees in the Street). This is not always the case, of course. Many of the films, particularly those concerned with the 'cultural disadvantage' of teenagers, reveal a more liberal concern with re-education. But, despite the apparent differences, there is also a basic similarity of attitude at work in both groups of films. Both groups of films, for example, effectively rely on a negation of the attitudes and values of the teenagers with which they deal. Thus, just as the more disciplinary films employ images of 'mindless violence' to deny meaning and rationality to their characters' actions, so the more liberal films employ images of 'cultural barbarianism' in order to undermine the validity and integrity of the kids' own forms of cultural expression. As a result, while the latter films may reject the more directly punitive responses of the first group of films, they nonetheless share a common concern with social control. In these, it is not force which proves the most effective mechanism but an education which will encourage the acceptance and assimilation of middle-class norms of behaviour and attitude. The identification of homosexuality as a 'sickness' in films like Victim and The Trials of Oscar Wilde is similar. While this attitude may imply a rejection of more direct forms of legal control and punishment it still involves a denial of the validity of homosexual desire and a more oblique form of control, in the guise of 'treatment' and 'therapy'. As with the Wolfendon Report itself, the apparent leniency of the films with respect to homosexuality remains within the bounds of a commitment to a heterosexual norm, and, thus, the possibility, as with teenagers, of 're-educating' the 'deviant' back into it.

Indeed, it is this assumption of a sexual norm and corresponding concern with regulation that is probably true of all the problem movies. Although the ostensive problem may be juvenile delinquency or race relations, the implicit 'problem' is often that of sexual excess. As Chapter One suggested, the increasing number of married women at work, rising divorce rates and resulting preoccupation with the emotional health of children precipitated anxieties about family stability and 'declining moral standards'. The teenager often provided the convenient scapegoat for such anxieties by condensing the dangers of immorality and breakdown into a readily identifiable form. And, it was also this image of the sexual deviance of the teenager which was to recur in so many of the problem films (e.g. The Blue Lamp, I Believe In You, Spare the Rod, Term of Trial, Beat Girl, That Kind of Girl, The Party's Over). And, despite some ambivalence here and there, what is also generally characteristic is a preoccupation with the control and stabilisation of sexuality within the regime of marriage. Characters are either punished for their expression of sexuality outside of marriage (e.g. The Blue Lamp, That Kind of Girl) or rehabilitated back into the family and marital norm (e.g. I Believe In You, Beat Girl, A Place To Go). However, if an excess of sexuality outside of marriage represents a 'problem', so too does a deficiency within marriage. Stability of marriage and family not only depends on curbing extra-marital sexuality but also the use of sexuality as a 'cement' within marriage (and, hence, the importance of the 'sexual mother-figure'). It is for this reason, that the 'unfulfilled woman' in a film like Sapphire can also be seen to represent a 'problem'.

Three main conclusions can now be drawn. First, it is evident that the social problem films were only concerned with some problems, rather than others. They only targetted some issues and groups as problems while ignoring, or consigning to irrelevance, other more deep-seated problems (e.g. continuing economic inequality)⁴³ Second, by the way that they then treated these problems - refusing to acknowledge class divisions and conflicts, denying

rationality to 'deviant' groups and emphasizing the possibility of resolution, through either punishment or assimilation - they tended to conceal, or distract from, the socially structured determinants of the problems with which they dealt. As a result, the responsibility for social problems was shifted onto convenient 'outgroups' (e.g. the teenager) or isolated individuals. And, finally, it was because of such characteristics that these films, for all of their raising of problems, ended up confirming, rather than querying, a consensual view of the world. This was the result not only of what they did, or rather didn't, show, but also how such problems were then used to reconfirm a particular set of attitudes and assumptions. Images of teenage sex and violence, for example, not only functioned as indices of the 'problem' but also helped clarify the 'correct' standards of behaviour by which they were to be understood and judged. As Stanley Cohen suggests, "the devil has to be given a particular shape in order to know what virtues are being asserted"⁴⁴. Needless to say, such virtues were neither universal nor agreed upon but rather the definitions of 'virtue' subscribed to by only certain groups within society but made to appear, nonetheless, as if they were, indeed, the virtues subscribed to by all.

CHAPTER SIX

WORKING CLASS REALISM (1)

It has become something of a commonplace to view the British cinema of the late fifties and early sixties in terms of a breakthrough, surfacing, first, as a series of documentaries screened at the National Film Theatre under the banner of 'Free Cinema' and bursting into full bloom with the appearance in commercial cinemas of Room at the Top and Look Back In Anger in 1959. What, above all, seemed to distinguish this new cinema was its commitment to 'realism', a determination to tackle 'real' social issues and experiences in a manner which matched, a style which was honest and 'realistic' as well. As Chapter Three suggested, such claims to 'realism', however, can never be absolute. While it is in the nature of 'realism' to profess a privileged relationship to the external world, its 'reality' is always conventional, a discursive construction rather than unmediated reflection. What then identifies a 'realist' innovation in the arts is less the quality of its relationship to an external referent than its place in the history of artistic conventions, its 'inter-textual' relationship to what has preceded. Realist innovations thus take place in a kind of dialectic with what has gone before, underwriting their own appeal to be uncovering reality by exposing the artificiality and conventionality of what has passed for reality previously. As Paul Willemen explains: "Any change in the dominant tradition, any move 'closer to reality' can only be achieved by rejecting the essential features of the previous tradition"¹.

The 'realism' of the British 'new wave', in this respect, was no exception. By opting for location shooting and the employment of unknown regional actors, occasionally in improvised performances, it stood opposed to the 'phoney' conventions of character and place characteristic of British studio procedure. "Tony Richardson, fighter for protest and fresh expression, despises studios", declared the publicity for A Taste of Honey (1961). "They are artificial. They smack of artistic impotence. He will tackle any technical problem to leave them behind."² By extending cinematic subject-matter to include the industrial working class so it also opposed the British

cinema's traditional marginalisation of such a social group. "The number of British films that have ever made a genuine try at a story in a popular milieu, with working-class characters all through, can be counted on the fingers of one hand", observed Lindsay Anderson. "This virtual rejection of three-quarters of the population of this country represents more than a ridiculous impoverishment of the cinema. It is characteristic of a flight from contemporary reality."³ But, in addition, this determination to put working-class characters on the screen implied a more general confirmation of the 'humane values' and the value of a 'socially committed' cinema. "I want to make people - ordinary people, not just top people - feel their dignity and their importance", explained Anderson.⁴ "The cinema is an industry ... But it is something else as well: it is a means of making connexions. Now this makes it peculiarly relevant to ... the problem of community - the need for a sense of belonging together ... I want a Britain in which the cinema can be respected and understood by everybody, as an essential part of the creative life of the community."⁵ Or as Richardson summed up, "films should be an immensely dynamic and potent force within society"⁶.

To this extent, the debt to thirties documentary, with its similarity of emphasis on ordinary people and social democratic values, is readily apparent. And, yet, the relationship is not entirely straightforward. As Anderson explained, "The essential difference between the Free Cinema approach and the Grierson approach was the Free Cinema wanted to be poetic - poetic realism, but poetic - whereas the Grierson tradition was always rather philistine. He sniffed at the word 'poetic' and was concerned above all to make a social democratic contribution"⁷. To this extent, Willemsen's observation that Free Cinema claimed to be filming 'reality' directly is misleading.⁸ For Anderson, the key term in Grierson's definition of documentary ("the creative treatment of actuality") was 'creative' rather than 'actuality'; it was only through 'creative interpretation' that documentary was to be distinguished from mere journalism.⁹ In the same spirit, he defended his own documentary,

Every Day Except Christmas, against complaints that it lacked 'information' or 'social comment'.¹⁰ It was thus Humphrey Jennings, of all the thirties documentarists, that Anderson, and also Reisz, most admired, insofar as it was Jennings who was as much "stimulated by the purely aesthetic potentialities of the medium as by its propagandist power".¹¹ Two interlinked ideas were critical to this emphasis upon the "aesthetic": (a) the importance of the role of the artist, and (b) the conviction that the best "realist" art should not remain at the level of mere reportage but transform its material, as the earlier quotation suggests, into "poetry".

Implicit in the Free Cinema formulation were two related conceptions of freedom: on the one hand, a freedom from commercial constraint and, on the other, a freedom to give vent to a personal, or unusual, point of view or vision. As the programme notes to the second screening explained: "All of the films have been produced outside the framework of the industry ... This has meant that their directors have been able to express viewpoints that are entirely personal".¹² Looking back on the movement, it was this element of personal freedom that Reisz considered the most important: "We were not interested in treating social problems so much as we were in becoming the first generation of British directors who as a group were allowed to work freely on material of their own choosing".¹³ For Alan Lovell such a commitment to authorial self-expression highlighted one of the contradictions of the Free Cinema position: "A central demand was that the cinema should be a medium where personal expression was possible ... But the demand for realism limited that freedom since the director was necessarily constrained by the nature of the world he was trying to represent".¹⁴ But what this under-emphasizes is the idea of 'poetry', the commitment to 'poetic realism' rather than just 'realism'. "Independent, personal and poetic - these may be defined as the necessary characteristics of the genre", explained Anderson in his notes to accompany a Free Cinema revival.¹⁵ It was, thus, 'poetry' which completed the Free Cinema equation: independence from commercial constraint

and personal freedom of expression = 'poetic' cinema. The implication for 'realism', then, was that this should do more than merely duplicate the surface realities of working-class life. Karel Reisz was careful to distinguish 'sociological fact' from 'poetic truth' while Walter Lassally, cameraman for many of the Free Cinema documentaries and subsequent features, suggested that the "remarkable thing" about the 'new wave' was not its "strictly realistic view" nor its treatment of "working-class problems" but its "very poetic view of them".¹⁶ "Even when it has been very realistic" observed Anderson of his work, it "has struggled for a poetic quality - for larger implications than the surface realities may suggest".¹⁷ But, while, for Anderson, the key to such 'poetry' lay in the fusion of form and content, style and theme, to create "a whole greater than its parts", the evidence of the 'poetic' in the 'new wave' suggests something different: a disjunction or tension between form and content, or, more specifically, between narration and description.¹⁸

"The locations seem rather arbitrary", observes Pauline Kael in her discussion of The Entertainer (1960). "They're too obviously selected because they're 'revealing' and photogenic."¹⁹ "Richardson, Reisz, Schlesinger and Clayton ... are constantly obliged to 'establish' place with inserted shots which serve only to strengthen our conviction that the setting ... has no organic connection with the characters", adds V.F. Perkins.²⁰ What is at issue in both these complaints is the apparent absence of narrative motivation in the 'new wave' films' employment of place, compared with 'classical' models of narrative film-making. Conventional narrative films tend to be characterised by a high degree of ordering and minimisation of 'redundant' detail, excluding those elements which do not perform a function within the overall narrative process. By contrast, what becomes a characteristic of the British 'new wave' is its deployment of actions and, especially, locations which are ostensibly non-functional, which only loosely fit into the logic of narrative development. For example, it is a characteristic of conventional narrative cinema to transform place into setting. Place as place

is less important than its function in the narrative as a site for action. In many of the 'new wave' films, however, it is common to delay the fixing of a place as a locale for action, either by introducing places initially devoid of action (or characters) or by extending the number of 'establishing' shots involved in the introduction of a scene. Examples of both types can be readily identified. In Look Back In Anger, for example, there is a dissolve from Alison to a pair of street musicians, whose role in the narrative remains obscure. It is only as they depart from the frame to reveal Jimmy and Ma Tanner that the location assumes a narrative significance. In A Kind of Loving (1962) there is a dissolve from the coffee bar to an overhead shot of a canal, and the factory chimneys behind, before the camera pulls down to reveal Vic, and hence establish the shot in terms of a setting for action. There is a similar aerial shot of Nottingham in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner (1962). It is only once the camera moves to the left, passing a quarry, to reveal the two couples on the hill that the view makes sense dramatically. This emphasis on place prior to the presentation of a narrative action is writ large in the deployment of 'establishing' shots. Thus, in Look Back In Anger, there are four shots of the market, and the space around it, before its significance to the narrative is 'explained' by the appearance of Jimmy and Cliff. In A Taste of Honey, there are eight shots, lasting a total of twenty-seven seconds, of a street parade and the assembled crowd of onlookers before the scene is motivated in narrative terms by a cut to Jo. In Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (1960) there are two high-angle shots of the city and a back alley before Arthur is introduced at home in his bed. In The Entertainer there are three shots of a Punch and Judy show before Frank and Jean are identified, walking along the seaside promenade. The 'establishment' of place here, indeed, occurs in only the loosest of fashions: for it is, in fact, impossible to establish the precise (as opposed to merely general) spatial relationship between the couple and the Punch and Judy show, as revealed in the previous shot. This detachment of place from action is intensified in the form of descriptive shots which form a complete sequence in

themselves, what Metz has designated the 'descriptive syntagma', in which 'spatial co-existence' rather than 'diegetic consecutiveness' constitutes the principle of organisation.²¹ Thus, in The Entertainer, there are eleven shots of the Blackpool illuminations, functioning as a self-sufficient sequence and 'interrupting' the narrative actions which precede and follow. The 'Sunday morning' sequence in Some People, already discussed, is similar. Unlike the two 'Sunday morning' shots in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, mentioned above, which merely delay Arthur's introduction, this sequence is self-contained and does not motivate, even retrospectively, the location for Johnny's appearance at the sportsfield.

Similar in impulse to this use of descriptive shots is the multiplication of shots employed in following through a narrative action. Following the arrangement of a date with Ingrid, Vic, in A Kind of Loving, is seen running home in an extended series of shots. This begins with yet another shot of an industrial landscape before Vic enters the frame from the right; the camera pans right with Vic as he then runs down the slope of a hill towards the row of houses below, becoming smaller and smaller in the frame as he goes. There is a slight fade and then dissolve to a mid-shot of Vic, now in a cobbled street: the camera initially follows Vic but then holds, once again allowing him to decrease in size. A cut to a low angle shot of some steps follows, with Vic, at first barely visible, running down them towards the camera. The camera pans with him as he crosses the street below but holds for a few seconds as he enters his house and then disappears from view altogether. At one level, it is apparent that the shots are an attempt to signify Vic's sense of elation; but, at another, it is equally clear that the real subject-matter of the shots is not Vic but the locations themselves. It is the places rather than the actions which are marked out by the style and command the viewers' attention. A Taste of Honey provides a further example. Jo is seen returning home from school in a series of seven shots (lasting nearly fifty seconds) before the sequence is infused with a narrative

significance by the appearance of Jimmy. Once again, it is place rather than action which assumes importance. Rather than place providing the setting for narratively significant action, it is insignificant action which provides the pretext for a visual display of place. Such an 'excessive' emphasis on place is also to be found in the title sequence of Term of Trial. The narratively significant action (the boy running to school) involves no less than fourteen shots. The boy himself is repeatedly dwarfed by the use of high-angle compositions, while the camera chooses to introduce a location before the boy can be seen or hold onto a space after he has left.

One explanation for such devices is clearly to be found in the films' concern for realism. In this respect, the apparent 'mismatch' between place and action can be seen as one means of inscribing a distance between these films and the overly contrived 'fictions' of Hollywood, with their tightly structured narratives and avoidance of 'residual' elements.²² By contrast, place in these films is accredited an autonomy and 'integrity' outside of the demands of the narrative, authenticating their claim, in so doing, to be more adequately 'realistic' (and 'outside' of mere story-telling). Roland Barthes has discussed the role of objects and events in a fiction which are not 'used up' in the narrative process; providing neither narrative information nor character insight it is, in effect, their function to signify 'reality', to furnish the "effect of the real". The shots of the market in Look Back In Anger, of the carnival in A Taste of Honey etc. may be viewed in similar terms: "It is the category of 'reality' and not its contingent contents that is signified ... the loss of the signified becomes the very signifier of realism".²³

And, yet, there is something more. For the meanings delivered by such shots do not stop at mere 'realisticness'. Take, for example, Jo's walk along the canal in A Taste of Honey. What is striking is not so much the "reality-effect" as the artifice with which image and sound are organised. The shots are bound together by a soft and playful version of 'The Big Ship

Sails', lingering dissolves (of three to four seconds each) bleed one shot into the next, careful compositions maintain a graphic continuity of line and mass. Thus, is it not the 'actuality' which impresses but the 'creative treatment'. As Paul Dehn put it, at the time: "The film's heroes are Mr. Richardson and his masterly cameraman, Walter Lassally, who between them have caught Manchester's canal-threaded hinterland to a misty, moisty, smoky nicety. And they have found unforced poetry ... among the mist, the moisture and the smoke".²⁴ Note how three of the central terms of the Free Cinema aesthetic are neatly interwoven. The 'reality' of Manchester has been successfully 'captured' but, at the same time, transformed into an 'unforced poetry', the result of the film's real 'heroes', the director and cameraman. It is in this way that the tension between 'realism' and 'personal expression' is effectively resolved. For it is precisely through the production of a "realistic surplus" that the film marks the authorial voice; the signification of 'reality' becomes, at the same time, the site of personal expression. It was because of such stylistic 'manipulation' that a number of critics (including those attached to Movie such as V.F. Perkins) had objected to the British 'new wave' films.²⁵ For them the virtue of mise-en-scene in traditional American cinema was precisely its relative inobtrusiveness: style and technique amplified the themes of a film without distracting from the film's forward movement. By contrast, the style and iconography employed by the British 'new wave' is obtrusive; despite the claim to realism, the directorial hand is not hidden in the folds of the narrative but "up front", drawing attention to itself and the "poetic" transformation of its subject-matter. The implicit statement, "this is reality", is so transformed into a stylistic assertion of a controlling eye/I. To adopt the phraseology of Steve Neale, the films are "marked at a textual level by the inscription of features that function as marks of the enunciation - and, hence, as signifiers of an authorial voice (and look)".²⁶

It has been a common enough criticism of the 'new wave' films that, although about the working-class, they nonetheless represent an outsider's view. Roy Armes, for example, argues that they follow the pattern set by Grierson: "the university-educated bourgeois making 'sympathetic' films about proletarian life 'but not analysing' the ambiguities of their own privileged position".²⁷ Durgnat is even more scathing: "the Free Cinema radicals are uninterested in the masses except as images for their own discontent".²⁸ The importance of the point, however, is less the actual social background of the film-makers, none of whom ever lay claim to be just 'one of the lads', than the way this 'outsider's view' is inscribed in the films themselves, the way the 'poetry', the 'marks of the enunciation', themselves articulate a clear distance between observer and observed.²⁹ In the Free Cinema documentaries of Lindsay Anderson, for example, this is the result of the films' use of associative editing (a self-consciously 'artistic' patterning of images, in part influenced by Jennings) and, above all, of sound. As Bill Nichols suggests, Every Day Except Christmas (1957) is typical of a "classical expository cinema" in which the primary principle of ordering derives from a direct address commentary.³⁰ It is in this voice-over commentary, delivered by an invisible narrator, that final authority resides, guaranteeing the coherence of the organisation of images and maintaining a privileged interpretation of their meaning (bolstered, in turn, by the class authority of the narrator's accent). What is absent is the voices of the workers themselves, or their interpretation of events, either reduced to inconsequential chatter or overlaid with a musical soundtrack (significantly classical rather than 'popular', 'high art' rather than 'low'). O Dreamland (1953) does not employ a narrator, yet is similarly 'authoritarian' in its use of soundtrack (the laughter of models, the song 'I Believe') to impose a privileged interpretation of events and create meanings (usually ironic) not contained in the images themselves (e.g. the use of bingo chanting over the model prince's repeated kissing of Snow White). What, once again, is absent is the attitude or point-of-view of the characters themselves, strictly subordinated to the authorial

point-of-view announced by the film's aesthetic organisation.

With the shift to feature film-making there is, however, a concern to "fill in" the interiority which is absent from the documentaries. The films are conventionally organised around one dramatically central character, occasionally bestowed with interior monologue (e.g. Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner) or 'subjective' flashbacks (e.g. Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, This Sporting Life (1963)).

Point-of-view shots, in turn, are occasionally employed in a way which amplifies this first person modality. While, as Stephen Heath suggests, the conventional point-of-view shot is, strictly speaking, 'objective' - "what is 'subjective' in the point-of-view shot is its spatial positioning (its place), not the image" - in some of the 'new wave' films it is the content of the image which is also 'subjective'.³¹ When Colin and Mike turn down the volume of the television set in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, for example, the image of the television spokesman is quite noticeably speeded up as he continues to mouth off in silent agitation. The image, therefore, does not merely show, 'objectively', what would be seen from the boys' point-of-view but also their 'subjective' perception of the speaker's irrelevance and inanity. It was, indeed, this confusion of 'objective' and 'subjective' modes of narration in the film which made it impossible for Dilys Powell to decide whether she was a witness to what "the central figure sees ... or fact".³² This use of point-of-view shots is less pronounced in other films, but is still, in part, in evidence. The shots of Arthur's fellow-workers at the beginning of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and the point-of-view shots of Vic in the coffee bar in A Kind of Loving may more closely conform to the conventional 'objective' viewpoint; yet, by means of editing, composition and the postures of the characters there is a suggestion of something more: that these are indeed as Arthur and Vic 'see' (or, indeed, imagine) them, rather than as they would appear, strictly 'objectively'.

It has often been noted how such British films (especially Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner) were indebted to the French 'nouvelle vague' (indeed, providing the shorthand title by which the British films became known). Part of the influence, here, was undoubtedly the adoption of these 'subjective' techniques. As Terry Lovell indicates, "the subjective and objective worlds are fused" in the French 'nouvelle vague'. "Cartesian epistemology, egocentric and individualistic, is ... reduced to absurdity. Egotization of the world reaches the point of solipsism, where the ego submerges the world, and is in turn submerged in it."³³ In the British 'new wave', however, such "egotization of the world" can only go so far. The subjective mode never becomes dominant but is always held in check by the 'objective' point-of-view and the authority of the inscribed authorial voice. Thus, despite the dramatic prominence of the main character there are always scenes which exclude him or her (e.g. the scenes between Jack and Brenda in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, between Ingrid and her mother in A Kind of Loving). Even apparently 'subjective' flashbacks contain shots of events which it would be impossible for the character concerned to have witnessed (e.g. the graveyard scene in This Sporting Life, the beating up of Stacey in Loneliness). Such a superiority over the characters' own subjectivity is, of course, characteristic of the conventional film's employment of an omniscient camera, but, as Paul Willemen suggests, there is a distinction between such films and those which employ a first person narration: "wherever conjunctions, overlaps, frictions, dislocations etc. occur in relation to the first person narration, the presence of another 'person' is signified by a concrete mark"³⁴ In this respect, the look of the camera is not merely anonymous but also "authored", the look from the 'outside' is rendered 'visible'.

This is, more generally, true of the films' 'poetic' transformation of their subject-matter, the foregrounding of the 'artistry' rather than the 'reality'. The shots of Vic running home in A Kind of Loving, the shots of Jo by the canal in A Taste of Honey do not so much reveal an interest in their

characters (their 'subjectivity') as their subordination to aesthetics, their visually pleasing positioning as 'figures in a landscape'. As Andrew Higson suggests, it is in the aerial viewpoints of the city, characteristic of practically all these films, that this 'enunciative look' becomes most transparent: "That Long Shot of Our Town From That Hill involves an external point of view ... an identification with a position outside and above the city ... the scope of the vision, the (near) perfection of the vantage-point is stressed: spectator and cameraman are masters of the world below".³⁵

But, what then are the implications of this inscription of an 'outsider's' authorial view? It has become something of a commonplace of recent cultural criticism to argue that the introduction into art of "new contents", such as working-class life, does not in itself guarantee radicalism: what is important is the treatment of such subject-matter. Walter Benjamin, for example, has pinpointed how the potentially disturbing images of photography can be rendered 'safe' by an assimilation into aestheticism:

"Let us follow the ... development of photography. What do we see? It has become more and more subtle, more and more modern, and the result is that it is now incapable of photographing a tenement or a rubbish-heap without transfiguring it ... In front of these, photography can only say 'How beautiful' ... It has succeeded in turning abject poverty itself, by handling it in a modish, technically perfect way, into an object of enjoyment ... it has turned the struggle against misery into an object of consumption."³⁶

By codifying its images of cities and factories in terms of 'art' so the British 'new wave' runs a similar risk of transforming them into objects of "comfortable contemplation". "Richardson has used the place and its objects as he uses people", commented Isobel Quigly on A Taste of Honey, "moodily, lovingly, bringing beauty out of squalor".³⁷

But, what is also apparent is that it is only from the 'outside' that such 'squalor' can assume its fascination. Robin Wood suggests what might be at stake here: "The proletariat ... remains ... a conveniently^{available} object for projection: the bourgeois obsession with cleanliness, which psychoanalysis shows to be closely associated, as outward symptom, with sexual repression,

and bourgeois sexual repression itself, find their inverse reflections in the myths of working-class squalor and sexuality".³⁸ What is, indeed, striking about the 'new wave' films is how readily their treatment of 'kitchen sink' subjects ('working-class squalor') became attached to an opening up of the cinema's treatment of sex. Pascall and Jeavons' history of 'sex in the movies', for example, explains the 'breakthrough' of the 'new realism' in precisely such terms.³⁹ Riding on the back of the 'social commitment' to observe "ordinary people", then, emerges a kind of sexual fascination with "otherness", the "exotic" sexualities of those it now has a license to reveal, just as the Victorian "social explorers", described by Mick Eaton, reported back "the licentiousness of their objects of study".⁴⁰ "Audiences could identify with the people and places on screen", observes Nina Hibbin in her discussion of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning.⁴¹ Yet, the look which the films encourage is not so straightforward. "Outside and above", marking a separation between spectator and subject, the pleasures delivered may well rely less on recognition than the very sensation of class difference.

Such a preoccupation with the sexual also intensifies the films' retreat into individualism, a concern with the inter-personal rather than social and historical. Once again, this can be related to the tension between narration and description. As the Movie critics suggested, the result is to create a disjunction between character and environment, a separation of the display of place from the forward momentum of the narrative.⁴² For them, however, the implication is a deficient "psychologisation" of place; the use of environment fails to thematise the emotional and psychic states of the characters.⁴³ By contrast, I wish to emphasize a different disjunction: that between character and the social relations they inhabit. It is not just that the images of cities and factories are devoid of narrative motivation (for it could have been possible to use such non-narrative 'inserts' to offer a productive counter-pull to the individualising logic of the narrative) but that they are also hypostasized into visual abstractions, and so emptied of socio-historical

content. Thus, insofar as the city impinges on the characters' lives, so the relationship between the two is de-socialized: the external, impersonal city, on the one hand, its powerless 'prisoners' on the other.⁴⁴ It is also this quality which encourages the popularity of 'human' readings of such films: characters as representatives of a general 'human' condition rather than a concrete social situation.⁴⁵ Take, for example, the shots employed in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and A Kind of Loving, both of which initially 'mislead' the spectator's identification of character. In the final scene of Saturday Night, the camera picks up a couple in long shot while the voices of Arthur and Doreen are heard on the soundtrack; it is only when the camera pans left that it becomes apparent that the couple in shot are not Arthur and Doreen but another unknown and anonymous pair. In A Kind of Loving the camera picks out a solitary couple on the beach whom we assume to be Vic and Ingrid; it is only when the camera pulls back to behind an upstairs bedroom window (and we hear voices on the soundtrack) that we realise Vic and Ingrid are, in fact, inside and in bed. In both cases, the interchangeability of the couples is emphasized: the individual predicament is transformed into a general one. But, it is also an abstract, peculiarly content - less, interchangeability. The generalisation implied can only make sense at the level of a diffuse universalism: a common identification on specific social grounds (e.g. class) is explicitly blocked.

This blockage of access to the social is, in turn, intensified by the films' choice of narrative conventions. In common with classical narrative, the films' plots are conventionally organised in terms of one central character. Translation from the original novels and plays has generally involved a removal of 'auxiliary' characters and events and a tightening-up of the narrative thread (especially in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and A Kind of Loving). Even in those films (e.g. A Taste of Honey, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner) where there has been an expansion or addition to the original, the logic of the translation has been less complication than

simplification of narrative motivation (the quarrel between Colin and his mother's 'fancy man' in Loneliness, for example). As a consequence, there is an ideology of individualism cemented into the narrative form: it is the individual's desires and motivations which structure the film's forward flow, the attainment or containment of these which bring the narrative to a close. Thus, despite the surface rhetoric of class war occasionally mouthed by Colin in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, his trajectory through the movie is basically an individual one, with his final act of defiance explained 'psychologically' by the death of his father. Arthur in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning is explicitly set apart as an 'outsider', counterpointed to the "poor beggars" around him.⁴⁶ By contrast, to the attempts of British wartime cinema to project a sense of collectivity on the screen, by loosening narrative form in favour of a more episodic structure and multiplying the number of dramatically central characters, the more tightly wrought narratives and dominant central characters of the British 'new wave' work against an expression of the collective experience of working-class life. Indeed, insofar as the organising principle of so many of the movies is upward social mobility (see the next chapter), so the desires and ambitions of the individuals are premised upon an escape from one's class. This is particularly clear in Sons and Lovers (1960) and Young Cassidy (1965), both of which are indebted to the 'new wave' in terms of their choice of theme and style (in Young Cassidy the small and sickly Sean O'Casey, for example, becomes transformed into a rough and tough working-class hero as performed by Rod Taylor). Both Cassidy and Paul Morel in Sons and Lovers are possessed of 'special gifts' (artistic here but sporting in This Sporting Life) which can only find expression outside of their working-class backgrounds. Morel must desert his mining community for London; Cassidy must depart from Ireland (giving up 'everything' in the process). Escape as part of a class is impossible; only as individuals can both men achieve their salvation.⁴⁷

This emphasis away from collective experience and onto the individual is underlined by the films' treatment of work. Although it is work (and its place in the relations of production) which defines the working-class as a class, it is significant how evasive the films become about actually showing their characters at work. Just as Eli Zaretsky has argued that capitalist development "created a 'separate' sphere of personal life, seemingly divorced from the mode of production", so the films of the 'new wave' reproduce such a 'divorce' between "work" and "life" by their concentration on the characters' "personal lives", enjoyed during leisure not work (and, hence, the importance of shots of workers leaving the factory in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and A Kind of Loving).⁴⁸ The scenes which do occur inside the factories only highlight this discrepancy. Arthur is seen momentarily working at the beginning of Saturday Night: otherwise, such scenes are quickly retrieved for inter-personal drama by convenient interruptions of the work routine (a tea break, Arthur's need for first aid). Such an assimilation of the workplace into dramatic background is also in evidence in A Kind of Loving. In one striking ellipsis, the camera dissolves from Vic settling down at his desk after lunch to the girls in the typing pool preparing to go home. In one rapid stylistic manoeuvre, work is rendered invisible.

In so refusing to represent labour, so do the films also inhibit a perspective on character which might go beyond a notion of 'personal qualities'. For work is not outside and separate from the personal life, at all, but a crucial determinant of how that personal life is expressed. Terry Eagleton, for example, provides an analysis of Sons and Lovers (the novel) which suggests how far the personal and emotional life of Morel's father is structured by the capitalist division of labour and his exhausting and oppressive experience of work.⁴⁹ Although this 'explanation' is a product of Eagleton's criticism rather than the novel itself, it can nonetheless be seen how the forms of the 'new wave' films would work against such accounts of their characters. Thus, in Sons and Lovers (the film) and This Is My Street

(1963), the domestic behaviour of the two husbands (Morel's father and Sid) is constructed in terms of 'personal inadequacy' rather than social location (in turn, the effect of an absence of the representation of work). And, while in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning there is a specific contrast between Arthur and those who have been "ground down", there is little in the film itself which would provide an account of why they have been so reduced (e.g. predatory capitalism, alienating labour). The blame, instead, would seem to attach to the individuals themselves, either as willing victims or bearers of 'bad faith'. This tendency to reduce social relations to individual characteristics is more generally true of all the movies. Thus, in Room at the Top, class relations are converted into the personal tension between Joe Lampton and Brown; in Look Back In Anger, racism is reduced to the personally unpleasant behaviour of Hurst. And, indeed, the very metaphor at the heart of The Entertainer ('the family as nation') embodies such a transposition.

But the virtual absence of labour in the 'new wave' films should not be read merely as some unfortunate omission, which a few days more shooting might have rectified: for it also reflects back on an aesthetic problem, i.e. the difficulty of actually presenting work within the confines of narrative realism. The Kitchen (1961), the one film of the period to make the organisation and experience of work its central concern, is illuminating in this respect. "The world is full of kitchens", explains one character. "Only they call some offices, call some factories". The emphasis of the film is then towards typicality. The organisation of the work is characterised by mass production, a strict division of labour and a debilitating subordination to profit; the work-process is routinised, exhausting and unpleasant. Resisting the temptation to open out the original play, the action is almost completely confined to inside the kitchen, thus emphasizing the dominance of work in shaping the characters' physical and emotional existence. But, such an emphasis on work also creates a formal problem of presentation for the

film. On the one hand, the impulse of the movie is to reveal the shared, collective experience of work, its mechanical routines and enervating pace. On the other, it is in the logic of the form adopted to individualize the experience, fill in the psychology of characters and complement the non-dramatic tempo of work with the conflicts and climaxes of inter-personal relations. The result, as a number of contemporary critics observed, is a discrepancy between the film's representation of "talk and work", or, more specifically, between the individualising actions of the narrative proper and the collective work routine, revealed in two extended montages (lasting over ten minutes of screen time) when conversation comes to a halt (replaced by a musical soundtrack). The aesthetic interest of these two montage sequences is that they begin to propose an alternative formal approach to the representation of working-class experience in a way which would restore some of those elements which are 'repressed' in the other 'new wave' films. However, they remain no more than possibilities: in the end, it is in the logic of the framing narrative to retrieve a narrative significance and re-integrate the episodes by emphasizing the individuality of actions (e.g. the use of close-ups of characters whom we can identify) as much as the collective experience. The first sequence, for example, includes two lengthy tracking shots (of about forty-three seconds each). In one way, they can be seen to anticipate the use of tracking shots by Godard in the Ford factory sequence of British Sounds. There is a similar emphasis on noise and imprisonment (workers trapped behind equipment and utensils) and a sense of the general experience as the camera passes from one worker to another. Yet, in The Kitchen, such shots are also harnessed to a narrative purpose: bound in to the actions of individuals. Thus, the first tracking shot is motivated by the appearance of the kitchen owner, Mangolini, and his subsequent inspection of the work in progress, while the movement of the camera is halted as he engages in conversation with Kevin. Thus, while the film does begin to make the connection between character and work, noticeably absent in the other films, it still does so by shifting the balance in favour of individual psychology

rather than collective experience. Jonathan Miller suggested that this was the inevitable result of adaptation for the cinema: whereas a theatre performance allowed 'a single panorama', film tended to 'slice up the action into unrelated fragments'.⁵⁰ But such 'fragmentation' does not derive from any 'essential' differences between theatre and cinema: rather, it is the result of formal choices. Thus, it is in the logic of narrative realism, with its concentration on inter-personal drama, that it should separate out the individual from the group, transform the collectivity into the sum of its individual parts. It was precisely for this reason that Eisenstein rejected both realism and classical narrativity (with its strong, individual protagonists) when he attempted to project the "mass as hero" in films such as Strike and Battleship Potemkin.⁵¹

By contrast, the emphasis on the 'individual as hero' tends to transform the 'mass' into a 'mob'. Indeed, it is often the very condition of full individuality that characters should stand apart, if not opposed, to the 'crowd' around them (cf. the archetypal Western situation of a film like The Tin Star (1957) or the similar confrontation in a British 'political' drama, Captain Boycott).⁵² And, it is precisely this individual/mob dichotomy which structures the treatment of industrial conflict in the 'new wave' - influenced The Angry Silence, (1960). Like work, strikes are a noticeable absence in most of the films of the 'new wave' (relegated to off-the-cuff references in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner) and has a similar effect of removing social and economic relations from the agenda. But, while The Angry Silence may restore the significance of industrial conflict to its characters' lives, it can only do so by reducing its strikers to a menacing and herd-like mob. A crucial element in this process is the idea of conspiracy, the manipulation of strikes by individual trouble-makers. Thus, in the shooting of the mass meeting which decides upon the strike the film constantly draws our attention to the 'infiltrator', Travis. Following the works manager's comment that "that crew down there will never

get organised", the film cuts to the shopsteward, Connolly, addressing the meeting. But although it is Connolly speaking he is actually relegated to the rear of frame; it is Travis' profile which dominates the right foreground of the frame. It is this implication of influence, rather than an actual display, which characterises the whole of the scene. Travis says nothing during the meeting, but we are continually reminded of his presence by cuts to him in mid-shot or his position in the frame behind Curtis and Joe. When a vote is taken, it is Travis' raised hand we see first; when the meeting comes to an end it is Travis on whom the camera dwells before dissolving to the next scene. Without revealing how such influence is exercised, the dynamics of the strike are neatly reduced to a simple manipulation. As a result, it is entirely appropriate that we remain in the dark about the actual cause of the strike (although foregrounding industrial relations the film is characteristically reticent about showing the experience and organisation of work) and, indeed, the identity and motivations of the 'infiltrator' (seen arriving 'mysteriously' by train or making an unexplained phone-call to London!). It also absolves the film from any responsibility to account for the behaviour of the strikers themselves. Conventions of narrative and character structure identification in favour of Curtis, the black-leg (and also the only character to whose home life we are privy). Our relationship to Curtis is thus premised on interiority, our relationship to the strikers, exteriority. The picket line is seen from Curtis' point-of-view (shot in shaky, hand-held camera) while subjective techniques (rapid camera movement, tilts, distorted close-ups) are employed to signify his internal distress. The 'objective' view of the camera only reinforces this distance from the strikers: witness, the final aerial shot of the men, penned in on all sides, looking like sheep. Although the film's 'solution' requires that the men should 'come to their senses' and abandon their strike, this remains as resolutely individual as all that precedes. The 'mob' remain as susceptible to manipulation as before; only now it is the 'approved' manipulator, Joe, who is pulling the strings, by his emotional and inarticulate appeal to the men outside the factory gates.

Treatment of the strikers in Young Cassidy is similar. Although this Dublin 1913 lock-out sequence does not shy away from showing police brutality, its overall effect is one of a generalised 'plague on both your houses' disdain for violence which then works against the strikers as much as it does the police. Thus, just as the pickets had been viewed from Curtis' viewpoint in The Angry Silence, so here the camera assumes the viewpoint of the black-leg. In one particularly striking shot, the camera adopts his point-of-view as his cart comes falling down on top of him and into the river. The camera cuts to the cart hitting the water and then, perhaps inevitably, to the 'riotous mob' of strikers seen cheering above. However, once again, it is not so much collective action (and its significance for the Dublin working-class) in which the film is interested as its relation to the individual-centred plot. Narratively, the scene becomes motivated in terms of its importance to Cassidy (his meeting with Daisy, its influence on his art). Appropriately enough, this detachment of individual from the mass is complete by the film's close, when Cassidy now calls upon his previous opponents, the police, to remove the 'mob' from a performance of Shadow of a Gunman.⁵³

While it may appear a little unusual, there is nonetheless a suggestive point of comparison here with the films of the Carry On series, begun at around the same time with Carry On Sergeant in 1958. By contrast, to the predominantly private dramas of the 'new wave', the setting for the Carry On comedies (at least to begin with) is the public world of the institution (National Service, the hospital, the school, the police force). And, whereas the narratives of the 'new wave' are conventionally organised around one central character, the plots of the Carry Ons favour a multiplication of leading characters. As a result, the causal logic of classic narrativity is replaced by a more loosely motivated plot, less developmental than episodic. Gill Davies' distinction between the "bildungsroman" and the "picaresque" is helpful here.⁵⁴ The former tradition, to which we might allocate the narratives of the 'new wave', "entails the growth to maturity of a character

through the accumulation of experience", thus reinforcing a "linear plot with linear development"⁵⁵ The picaresque, by contrast, is more akin to the Carry Ons. Here "the narrative is not so much a progression as an accretion. The beginning of the story is loosely justified, and it continues with a series of loosely connected, often repetitive events, ending at a more or less random point. The reader is presented with a series of tableaux of equivalent significance, sealed-off from each other (except that some characters are carried through)". In the same way, the plots of the Carry Ons are weak in dramatic accumulation, functioning more as a thinly disguised pretext for the display of comic set-pieces (or 'tableaux') and ribald banter which are the films' real substance.⁵⁶ Continuity is maintained primarily by the consistency of character-types who carry us along the movie, and, indeed, across the series as a whole (much as the characters do in the serial narratives of television soap opera).

Such an attenuation of classic narrativity and emphasis upon more than one character structures, in turn, a different attitude towards the collectivity. As Marion Jordan has suggested, a common theme of the films is the resistance by characters to institutions which would deny their sexuality, physicality and fun.⁵⁷ More particularly, there is in the earlier films a focus on those institutions which bear most heavily on working-class experiences. As Parkin observes, the "them" and "us" attitude characteristic of certain forms of working-class consciousness refers primarily to the experience of authority relations, especially with petty officialdom.⁵⁸ And, it is precisely the face-to-face authority represented by the National Service, the hospital, the school and the police on which the first Carry Ons focus. The result, as with other forms of social comedy, is a kind of enactment of 'utopian desire' in which such authority relations are subverted and 'they' (the individual authority-figures) have to submit to "us" (the resistances of the group).⁵⁹ All the films end with a unified, collective effort (the winning of the tests by the misfit platoon in Sergeant, the do-it-yourself

operation in Nurse, the disruption of the inspector's visit in Teacher, the capture of the robbers in Constable). In the process, the figures of authority become 'humanised' or submit to a collective rather than individual ethic. In both Carry on Teacher, and later Cruising, the authority-figures (the headmaster, the captain) even forgo individual advancement in order to stay with the group. Of course, such communities are precisely 'utopian', binding together diverse social types through an 'imaginary' dissolution of real authority relations, just as there is much about the films that is conservative (especially their treatment of women and regressive attitude towards sexuality).⁶⁰ The point being made is primarily a formal one: of how an attenuation of classic narrativity opens up a possibility for the positive representation of collective action. Despite the ostensive commitment to represent the working-class, the British 'new wave', through their adoption of conventional narrativity and 'realism', tend to have the opposing effect, i.e. the creation of an accentuated individualism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORKING-CLASS REALISM (2)

If one movie had to be selected as the most eloquent of the dominant assumptions of the period, a strong contender would undoubtedly be Left, Right and Centre (1959). Affluence, consensus, political convergence mass culture and the position of women are all neatly intertwined in its comic treatment of a Westminster by-election. The changes wrought by affluence and the advent of mass culture have irrevocably transformed the social order. The old aristocratic seat of Wilcott Priory has been "handed over" to the masses who now flock to enjoy its rich variety of amusements (everything from fruit machines to 'sex in 3-D'). Lord Wilcott (Alistair Sim) has accommodated to this new order by an adoption of political 'neutrality', supporting his nephew's selection for a Tory candidature only insofar as it serves his 'sordid financial' ends. But if Wilcott Priory signifies a Tory adjustment to the post-war settlement, so this new social order has^{also} rendered redundant the traditional rhetoric of socialism. "Toryism means unemployment ... poverty ... destitution ... starvation ... despair", exclaims a Labour party supporter. The camera meantime reveals a row of rooftops, a TV aerial attached to each chimney.¹ The result for party politics is a complete absence of distinctions in policy. A Tory MP (one of the party 'intellectuals') mistakenly addresses a Labour Party rally, only to enjoy the same rousing reception he subsequently receives from a Tory meeting for exactly the same speech. As one elector sums up to a TV reporter, the result "don't make no odds either way". What differences do exist between the parties are then a fabrication, usually the work of party agents, who have a professional interest in creating confrontation where none in fact exists. Thus, while the 'convergence' of the two parties is dramatically highlighted by the two competing candidates falling in love - in a 'classless' alliance paralleled by the romance between upper-class model, Annabel, and 'physical culture expert', Bill Hemingway - it is the requirement of the party machines that they disavow their true feelings in favour of a dishonest display of 'fighting spirit'. "She seems to be acting all the time", worries Bill of

the Labour candidate's performance. "Of course, she is", comes her agent's cheery reply, "she's trying to win an election."

What underlines such fraudulence is the contamination of politics by the superficial values of television. Although the film's release predated the 1959 General Election by several months, it did successfully anticipate the advent of the 'TV election'.² On the spot reporters monitor the election's progress (usually stage-managed by the agents) while Vox pop interviews reveal the voters' uninterested attitude to it all. More particularly, the Tory candidate, Robert Wilcott (Ian Carmichael), is himself a TV celebrity, piloted to fame by the "popular panel game", "What on Earth Was That?" Taking his leave from the programme in order to join the election, presenter Eamon Andrews introduces footage of Wilcott's first TV appearance. Then, he was merely a 'naturalist', just returned from an Antarctic research expedition and inarticulate and maladroit in front of the camera. "You've come a long way since then, Bob", observes Andrews, while Wilcott removes his glasses and flashes a mannered media smile at the audience. Previously outside of society, and at one with nature, so Bob has now become 'socialised' but into a world where triviality and insincerity have become the accepted norms. Devoid of political credentials, Wilcott's claim to public office relies solely upon the familiarity of his face 'in every home'. "You could say the same for almost any detergent", observes his Labour opponent, Stella (Patricia Bredin). Television values^{have} become at one with politics; the promotion of a politician, no different from the selling of any other 'product'.

But, Stella herself is also the victim of "illusory beliefs" which the film, in turn, "exposes". An LSE graduate, and committed to a career, she is dismissive of marriage and scornful of her boyfriend's encouragements to read "Woman's Dream" and its article on "infant welfare". But just as "love" undercuts the false divisions of party politics, so does it also subvert her demands for independence. Through "love" she becomes properly "feminised" (seeing

herself, as if for the first time, in the mirror, hair down and in a soft négligé) and reconciled to the loss of her career (i.e. her defeat in the election). It is not, after all, marriage she has been rejecting: merely marriage to the "wrong" man.

This undermining of the "independent woman" is also interlinked with an attack on commercialism in The Battle of the Sexes (1960). Hostility to industrialisation, anti-Americanism and misogyny entwine as a small family business of tartan manufacturers struggle, à la Ealing, against the chill wind of modernisation. Thrown into crisis by the death of the firm's paternalistic owner, the "threat" to the firm's traditional methods is embodied in the form of the "new woman": divorcee, "castrator", and American "industrial consultant", Angela Barrows (Constance Cummings), with her plans for mass production and the employment of synthetic fibres. Just as the American businessman endures a cruel humiliation at the hands of the canny Scots in Ealing's The Maggie (1953), so now Angela is faced with the wily intrigues of an old retainer, Martin (Peter Sellers)³. Successfully reduced to hysteria, she is conveniently deprived of her position on the grounds of a "breakdown", a condition apparently "common with women who undertake the burdens of business life". Once so removed, the portrait of the erstwhile owner can be correctly positioned in a victorious re-assertion of paternal authority. Deprived of real power, Angela's consolation is to be found in the strength that is properly "feminine": "man's greatest hazard - a woman's tears".

The corrosive effect of the new "materialism" is also at the heart of the Boulting brothers', I'm All Right Jack (1959). Although much ink has been spilt on the film's anti-trade-unionism and lack of even-handedness between management and workforce, there is a sense in which the film is only, in part concerned with industrial relations, or, indeed, "the widening gulf between management and workforce"⁴. For underneath the apparent divisions, there is, at root, consensus, that is to say, the common self-interest and greed uniting all in the modern consumer society. I'm All Right Jack was, in fact,

closely based upon the Boultings' earlier film, Private's Progress (1956) in which this theme is already clear. Both films employ the same screenwriter (Frank Harvey in collaboration with John Boulting after the novels by Alan Hackney), many of the same actors and, indeed, characters (Windrush, Cox, Tracepurcel, Hitchcock and Dai) as well as many features of plot. In both films Ian Carmichael plays Stanley Windrush, a university-educated innocent at odds with the corrupt and cynical world beyond. Just as he fails to secure a post in industrial management in I'm All Right Jack, so he fails his commission in Private's Progress; just as he joins the shopfloor in I'm All Right Jack, so he is relegated to the ranks in Private's Progress; just as he is manipulated by his uncle in I'm All Right Jack so is he also set up by him in Private's Progress; and just as he is labelled 'ill' by the end of I'm All Right Jack so is he also accused of "cracking up" in Private's Progress.

"We need to get a clear picture of the sort of world we're all fighting for" declaims an army educational officer to an audience of visibly uninterested privates. Whatever the official rhetoric, what is apparent from Private's Progress is that for most of the characters, their primary preoccupation is the 'fight' to secure their own self-interest. Like the workers in I'm All Right Jack, the ranks are chock-a-block with dodgers and malingerers, stretching job details to the limit, skiving off to see In Which We Serve, and avoiding the completion of training via desertion. Such diligent resistance to work and noble causes is matched only by the opportunism with which the officer class contrive to line their own pockets. As with I'm All Right Jack, Windrush's uncle, Tracepurcel (Dennis Price), takes advantage of his position to further his own self-acquisitive ends, masterminding an elaborate secret mission whereby he can appropriate a fortune in German art treasures. Thus, while the beginning of I'm All Right Jack suggests a break with the old via the exit of Sir John, the cynical drama of Private's Progress implies less of a change than might at first appear: it is, after all, the actor Victor Maddern, deserter and layabout in Private's Progress, who cheerfully

welcomes this "brave, new world" with his well-known reversal of the V-sign.⁵ If there is a difference it is only insofar as the new commercialism and its worthless consumer items (such as "Detto", the "New Black Whitener") has encouraged hitherto unprecedented opportunities for economic self-advantage. In Private's Progress, Cox and Tracepurcel are, at least, brought to justice (just as in the Boultings' Carlton-Browne of the F.O., the cynically self-interested machinations of the British colonial office are up-ended by a successful 'revolution'); in I'm All Right Jack, by contrast, not only do Cox and Tracepurcel go free but receive the blessing of the court to boot.

Towards the end of Private's Progress, Cox (Richard Attenborough) arrives with a bag of money for Stanley. He does the same in I'm All Right Jack. In both cases, it is the bag of money which most eloquently underlines the theme which is at the films' core. In I'm All Right Jack, the bag is taken by Stanley as he joins a TV discussion of the film's strike, presided over by Malcolm Muggeridge (surely no accidental choice given his association with religious and spiritual belief). Finally appreciating the significance of what has happened to him, Stanley winds himself up to a denunciation of employers and workers alike, drawing on the film's title as he does so: "Wherever you look its blow you Jack, I'm all right". Requested by Muggeridge to stick to "the facts", he reaches for the bag to reveal the money inside. Showering himself with notes, he explains, "These are the only facts that interest anybody in this dispute. This is what they all want. This is all they want." As if to prove his point, the studio audience now degenerate into a rabble, falling over each other and fighting in order to cop their share of the loot. Muggeridge in the meantime makes a discreet exit.

Although C.A. Lejeune considered the film's nudist camp scenes to have "no real relevance to the film at all",⁶ they are in this light crucial. For in the materialist free-for-all that is modern society, there is no room for the uncomplicated innocence which Stanley represents; for such a society it is Stanley, rather than its own values, which are "mad".⁷ Stanley's own

solution is to go outside of society and make a retreat "back to nature". As he is pursued by a group of energetic female nudists, a sign is there to remind us of the 'danger' existing "beyond this point".

To this extent, there is a kind of rural nostalgia implicit in the Boultings' work, a sort of forlorn regret for the fall from grace entailed by the advent of industrialism. Thus, while Sunnyglades nudist camp is associated with scenes of rural bliss (thatched cottages and horse-drawn carts) at the film's beginning, it is overhead shots of ugly factories, all smoke and grime, which initiate Stanley's entry into industry. "From Burke's musings on the great trees of England to Leavis' on The Wheelwright's Shop the same image endures", observes Tom Nairn. "There is always a Village Green under siege from crass, irreverent materialism."⁸ Unlikely though it might at first seem, the Boultings are, in their fashion, the inheritors of this "great tradition". "Crass irreverent materialism" is also their target: "the legend world" of "Old England" its unfortunate victim.

This is also true of their later film, 'Heaven's Above' (1963). Based on an idea by Malcolm Muggeridge, who also makes another brief appearance in the film, the film underlines the impossibility of spiritual values and practical Christianity in a world which is dominated by commercialism and economic self-interest. As with I'm All Right Jack, the film's beginning contrasts the traditional rural imagery of England with the signs of the new commerce. "England's green and pleasant land" gives way to a sign announcing the 'erection of houses, flats and maisonettes'; a large and forbidding factory is revealed behind a small boy fishing in Orbiston Parva's "quiet backwater"⁹. And just as Left, Right and Centre had shown its characters' political interests coming a good second to the attractions of the News of the World, Spider Man From Mars and Tommy Steele, so the Sunday 'devotions' which preoccupy the citizens of Heaven's Above are television, bingo, dancing to the juke box and From Here To Eternity.¹⁰ The usurpation of spiritual by material values is

summed up in the product upon which the livelihoods of Orbiston Parva depends: "Tranquillax", the new commercialism's answer to the church's 'Holy Trinity', a "three-in-one" restorative, combining a sedative, stimulant and laxative. This time it is Peter Sellers as the Rev. John Smallwood who plays the innocent let loose in a world he does not understand. Attempting to generate an authentic Christian spirit of charity and goodwill, he merely succeeds in alienating the whole community who selfishly combine to reject him. As with Windrush in I'm All Right Jack, modern society can find no place for Smallwood's simple idealism, confining him to isolation as the Church's first bishop of outer space. "Idealism is neither here nor there", explains Durgnat, "but a kind of lonely warbling in orbit."¹¹

Although, at first glance, it might seem an unlikely comparison there is something of a similarity here with the film's of the British 'new wave'. For what also emerges as a theme in these is the corrosive effects of a modern mass, commercialized culture. As Karel Reisz explained of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning: "the film began to ask the question whether material improvements in people's lives weren't going to be accompanied by a spiritual crisis".¹² The same could clearly be said of I'm All Right Jack or Heaven's Above. There is, however, a specific inflection to the mass culture theme in the 'new wave' films; one which is, in turn, dependent on their commitment to a representation of the working-class. As Chapter One suggested, the increasingly dominant image of the working-class during the fifties was one of change and decline. Modern mass production, increasing geographical mobility and urban redevelopment were breaking up traditional working-class communities, while the 'economic emancipation' of the working-class was being bought at the expense of a cultural subjection to the hollow banalities of mass entertainment. The introduction of the working-class onto British cinema screens thus occurred at a particular 'cultural moment' whose attitudes and assumptions were to structure the way that the working-class were to be represented. As Alan Lovell has suggested, the "views of the world" characteristic of Tree Cinema resulted from

"preoccupations common among intellectuals in the second half of the fifties": "a sympathetic interest in communities ... fascination with the newly emerging youth culture ... unease about the quality of leisure in urban society and respect for the traditional working-class".¹³ This is particularly true of the two Lindsay Anderson documentaries, Every Day Except Christmas and O Dreamland, both of which are eloquent of the 'structure of feeling' governing the representation of the working class in this period. On the one hand, there is the dignity and community represented by the traditional working class of Covent Garden; on the other, the mass degradation of the working-class at the hands of an ersatz and commercialised culture.

For Anderson, Every Day Except Christmas was intended as a celebration: "at the moment it is more important for a progressive artist to make a positive affirmation than an aggressive criticism".¹⁴ "Only connect", it will be remembered, was Anderson's choice of title for his essay on Jennings, and like Jennings' Listen To Britain (1942), Every Day Except Christmas is concerned to stress the sense of community and interconnection both between the workers in the film itself and with 'us', the larger community beyond. The film's logic of exposition embodies this principle by following the pattern of the night's work as one job prepares for and then gives way to another. Although individuals are identified (e.g. Jenny, the flower-seller) it is the collective effort which is stressed, by inter-cutting the variety of people involved in any one task (be it packing, setting up a stall or portering) rather than dwelling on the individual action. This subordination of the part to the whole is underlined by the film's mismatching of sound and image. The voices we hear are not those of the people we see: the individual identity of the speaker is less important than the flow of the overall pattern. "We all depend on each other's work as well as our own - on Alice and George and Bill and Alan and Sid and all the others who keep us going", intones the narrator at the film's close. Character and spectator so intertwined, the Covent Garden workers now proceed with their "curtain call".

But, if Every Day Except Christmas seems to draw on the example of Listen to Britain, it is surely Jennings' Spare Time (1939), and its in part discomfiting survey of working-class leisure, that suggests a precursor for O Dreamland. For where Every Day Except Christmas offers affirmation, O Dreamland provides "aggressive criticism"; where Every Day Except Christmas bestows its 'ordinary people' with dignity, O Dreamland reveals their degradation. The film's choice of opening images, although undoubtedly ambivalent, is suggestive. A chauffeur is seen polishing a Bentley from a variety of viewpoints; the camera then pans away from the car and onto an empty gate. A group of people march past on their way, as a subsequent shot reveals, to the amusement park ahead. On the one hand, there is the "old order", the "traditional social set-up" of class and privilege under which the deferential worker labours to clean his master's goods; on the other, there is the "new order", the economically liberated working-class now laying claim to their new "democratic" culture.¹⁵ It is not a development, however, which O Dreamland can view with equanimity. In 1947, Anderson had decried the "moronic mass audience" for popular films and invited any critic who might doubt this to "spend their Sunday evenings in front of cinema queues just looking at them".¹⁶ The invitation of O Dreamland is the same: to look at the "moronic mass audience" in the arcade, as they gawk at a succession of model re-enactments of executions and torture and bow before the "shiny barbarism" of the Magic Garden. Whereas Every Day Except Christmas intercut individual actions to emphasize collective endeavour, the editing of O Dreamland reduces its characters to an interchangeable mass. There is a continual ambiguity, for example, in the use of eyeline matches such that it is impossible to be sure just who is looking at what. This is not important, however; what matters is the overall pattern of degrading spectacle and lethargic spectators. This disdain is further marked by composition, fragmenting the spectators' bodies and imprisoning them behind bars, as well as editing, whereby model dummies and spectators are intercut in the suggestion of a

parallel. But, it is in the use of sound that this attitude is most clearly expressed. "The image speaks. Sound amplifies and comments", declared the Free Cinema's first programme note.¹⁷ O Dreamland bears this out. In absence of direct sound, the overlaid soundtrack is only loosely motivated by what we see, quite commonly providing the element which binds together the film's association of images. Thus, the raucous laughter of a model policeman is heard one shot before we can identify its source and then continues over the four succeeding shots. It quickly becomes something of a motif, punctuating the film at a variety of stages and accumulating thematic significance, mocking the spectators and underlining the debasement of feeling that has turned torture and suffering into objects of amusement. The ritualistic chant of a game of bingo is employed in a similar fashion, as is the popular song, "I Believe" (in contrast to the classical music employed by Every Day Except Christmas). Introduced as a record on the juke-box, the song, like the laughter, recurs throughout the film before reaching a climax at the film's close when the camera sweeps up and over the illuminated Magic Garden to the rousing accompaniment of the chorus, "Cos I Believe". This final, carefully orchestrated, "bravura" effect sums up well the film's meanings: the spiritual emptiness of a modern mass culture in which faith and belief amount to no more than a flickering of lights, surrogate art and romantic fiction.

Allison Graham suggests that the film should at least "dispel any notion that Anderson romanticizes the working-class".¹⁸ Yet, this is, in some ways, to miss the point. For, the distaste for working-class leisure to be found in O Dreamland does not merely 'balance' the idealisation of working-class community in Every Day Except Christmas insofar as the attitudes at work in both are entirely consistent within the terms of the cultural viewpoint that animates them. A respect for the traditional working-class and hostility to the corruptions of modern mass culture are not opposed but part of one and the same response to the economic and cultural developments of the fifties.¹⁹ It is a tension, moreover, which is characteristic of the work of the 'new wave' as a whole.

The Blackpool amusements sequence in A Taste of Honey, for example, is practically a reprise of Anderson's O Dreamland. There is exactly the same emphasis on degrading spectacle and its culturally repellent mix of prurience, ghoulishness and pseudo-art (e.g. the grotesque tableau of Van Gogh's 'Fascination', 'now hanging in the Louvre Gallery in Paris'). Blaringly loud pop songs ("I'm gonna grab it. I'll have it. Why not, why not, why not?") punctuate the action, employing numbers already familiar from other films ("Baby, baby you're so square" is used in the youth club sequence in The Entertainer: "Slip Away" and, indeed, "Grab it" are heard during the fair sequence in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning). Like O Dreamland, the characters themselves are made to look grotesque, stuffing themselves with food, matching their heads to model cavemen's bodies, disfiguring themselves in front of distorting mirrors. And, in a practical steal, there is a cut from the close-up of a woman's face to a model clown in a glass cage, interlinked by their mutually repulsive laughter. This distaste for mass culture, however, is probably most in evidence in the films' treatment of television. Arthur (Albert Finney) returns home in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning to find his father absorbed by the television and its flow of vacuous adverts ("Bristol is today's cigarette", "Silvikrin for lovely hair"). Attempting to capture his attention, Arthur recalls an accident in the three speed shop: "This fellow got his hand caught in a press. He didn't look what he was doing. Of course, he's only got one eye, he lost the sight of the other looking at telly day in and day out". In Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, Colin's mother's 'fancy man' brings a television into the house which the family all gather round to watch (treated to yet more adverts); all except Colin (Tom Courtenay) who walks out of the room in disgust. In A Kind of Loving, Vic (Alan Bates) is prevented from attending a brass concert by his wife and mother-in-law; instead he must stay at home to watch 'Spot Quiz' and its parade of inconsequential competitors (e.g. a man whose hobbies include 'looking at people'). The television set also appears prominently in compositions in The Entertainer while Archie (Laurence Olivier) is derided by a

schoolgirl for never having made a TV appearance. In Look Back In Anger, it is the popular tabloids, rather than television, which inspires the most anger.

But what is also significant, especially in the two sequences from Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner and A Kind of Loving, is the contrast which is assumed between modern mass culture and traditional working-class culture, 'male' values and 'female' values. In Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, the death of Colin's father furnishes the family with a windfall. The resulting shopping spree is a kind of Cook's tour of modern consumer society as they trip from shop to shop, stylistically inter-cut with graphics of white stars, bursting forth onto the screen in a parody of advertising technique. On their return, Colin is given his share of the pay-out (despite his reluctance to accept); turning his back on the television, he goes into his dead father's bedroom, looks at himself in the mirror, moves past his father's photograph and proceeds to set fire to one of the pound notes. In A Kind of Loving, the scene with the television is preceded by shots of the brass band in concert, including a cut in to Vic's father as he begins a trombone solo. In both cases, it is not just modern mass culture which is criticised; it is also defined negatively in relation to traditional working-class culture. Crucial to the idea of the traditional working-class as it was developed in the fifties and sixties was the intimate relationship between work and cultural identity, the strong sense of identity and 'proletarian consciousness' characteristic of the "occupational community" (in industries such as mining, for example).²⁰ By contrast, the characteristics which most pre-eminently defined the 'new' working-class was less work than leisure, patterns of consumption and recreational pursuits. Thus, as Colin Sparks has observed of the work of writers like Hoggart, there is a significant absence of a discussion of work and trade unions in their consideration of patterns of working-class culture.²¹ Here then is another explanation for the omission of work and industrial conflict in the films of the 'new wave'. For their representation of class is being made precisely at a time when the traditional working-class

is perceived as being in decline, supplanted by a modern working-class whose identity is most tellingly revealed in consumption rather than production. Thus, in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning it is Arthur's "affluence" (instructed by his foreman not to let on to the others what he's earning) and "conspicuous consumption" (removing his newly laundered jacket from the wardrobe, narcissistically knotting his tie in front of the mirror) which is highlighted: the significance of capitalist exchange rather than production. Appropriately enough, the one reference to a strike in the film occurs in conversation with the "old-timer" whom Arthur meets in the traditional working man's club, not normally favoured by Arthur. Such an antithesis is also clear in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner. Colin's father, trade unionist and strike-leader, is dead; Colin - who is 'like his father' - refuses to succumb to the blandishments of the new consumerism by burning its symbol (the pound note) in his memory. In the same way, it is the traditional working-class concert of the brass band - 'this substantial pocket of music, so untouched by the mass media', according to Brian Jackson in his study of working-class community - which Vic is prevented from attending by his night's viewing of television in A Kind of Loving.²² In Stan Barstow's novel, it is a symphony concert he does not attend. Thus, while for the book it is the high v. low art opposition which is emphasized (as revealed in Van Huyten's education of Vic in classical music and Conroy's revelations of learning), for the film it is the traditional v. mass culture opposition which is stressed instead.

In The Entertainer, it is the traditional culture of the music hall which takes the place of A Kind of Loving's brass band. Billy's patriotic pub performance of an old music hall song ("Don't let 'em scrap the British navy") is followed immediately by Archie's lewd and tatty denigration of the patriotic spirit ("This was their finest shower"). A semi-naked Britannia, a mocking refrain of 'Land of Hope and Glory' plus an inverted V-sign (cf. I'm All Right Jack) complete the shoddy spectacle. Whereas Billy (Roger Livesey), singing without a microphone, is intercut with the appreciative group who join in the

chorus, the audience for Archie's performance remain invisible (save for the applause of the self-seeking Cox's). "The music hall is dying, and, with it, a significant part of England", explains John Osborne in his introduction to the play.²³ Billy's death on stage in the film thus marks the end of the traditional culture he represents, just as the death of Ma Tanner, the widow of a music hall entertainer, performs a similar function in Look Back in Anger. For Osborne, the music hall is "immediate, vital and direct" and thus representative of a popular culture under threat from the new trivialities of mass culture.²⁴ It is for the same reason that both films also draw on jazz. Archie recollects the sincerity and emotion of a negress' singing in a bar in The Entertainer; Jimmy escapes the 'phoniness' of the society around him by playing jazz trumpet in Look Back In Anger, making the claim that anyone who doesn't like jazz "has no feeling for music or people". Significantly, it is both music hall and jazz which Hall and Whannel use for examples in their defence of popular art against its 'corruption' into mass entertainment in The Popular Arts. Something of a similar contrast, though less emphasized than in The Entertainer, can be found in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning. Arthur and his friends sit upstairs boozing to the accompaniment of a pop group's chorus: "What do you want if you don't want money?"; meantime down below there is a traditional sing-song as the older clientele join in a version of 'Lily of Laguna'. In a similar fashion, the simple pleasures of Jo and Jimmy's romance in A Taste of Honey are counterpointed to the dance-hall jerkings of her mother and Peter (Robert Stephens), with its connotations of sexual deviance ("you know I like this mother-son relationship").

But what is also in evidence in the two sequences from A Kind of Loving and Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner is not just the traditional v. mass division but the contrast between male and female. Whereas the brass band in A Kind of Loving is all-male, including Vic's father, the viewing of television is associated with women, Vic's wife and mother-in-law, whose preoccupations

throughout the film are highlighted as shallow and consumerist. Ingrid (June Ritchie) is named after Ingrid Bergman, hasn't 'much time for reading' but can lovingly recall the details of a television soap opera ('Call Dr. Martin') while her mother's horizons of interest wouldn't appear to extend beyond 'Take Your Chance' and new acquisitions for the home (a carpet, chest of drawers, curtains). In one striking shot, both mother and daughter are shot in mirror-reflection, drawing attention to both Ingrid's narcissistic absorption with appearance and the 'counterfeit' values by which they live (Mrs. Rothwell is lamenting the fact that her daughter will be missing 'Spot Cash Quiz'). In a similar fashion, it is Colin's mother in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner who leads the foray to the shops and argues with Colin over the use of the money that the death of his father has provided.²⁵ Whereas the traditional working-class (as represented by Colin's father) had generally been characterised in terms of a pronounced masculinity (male pride in tough and demanding work, militant trade unionism), the identification of the modern era is in terms of its opposite, the 'triumph' of female consumerism, as explained in Chapter One.²⁶ One of John Schlesinger's films subsequent to A Kind of Loving, Darling (1965) emphasizes the point. Diana (Julie Christie) functions as the metaphor for the trivial and shallow values of the consumer society, its slavish devotion to appearance rather than substance (cf. the opening sequence's covering of a poster for 'World Relief' by Diana's cover girl portrait). As with the other films, the 'shiny barbarism' of the new age is counterpointed to the literary and rural values of Southgate whose death, like Billy's in The Entertainer, thus signifies the end of 'a certain flinty integrity ... perhaps, for ever'. For some of these films, indeed, this ascendancy of the 'feminine principle' becomes tantamount to "castration". In A Kind of Loving, Ingrid becomes the "preying mantis", described by Conroy; Vic, her 'victim' (shot under the cinema advertisement for the film of that name). Subordinated to an all-female household, Vic loses his potency, no longer making love to his wife. In The Leather Boys, Dot (Rita Tushingham)

represents an even more exaggerated version of Ingrid, likewise devoted to the values of the mass media and consumerism (the pictures, 'True Romance', dyed hair). Like A Kind of Loving, her husband's initial virility gives way to impotence and a retreat into a quasi-homosexual relationship with Reggie (Dudley Sutton).

This association of women with consumerism is underlined by the plot structures generally characteristic of the 'new wave' films. In all the films based on the work of Amis, Braine and Osborne, for example, the central theme and organising principle of the narrative is that of upward social mobility, of a working-class or lower middle-class character coming to terms with an upper middle-class milieu (cf. Lucky Jim, Only Two Can Play, Room at the Top, Look Back In Anger). Central to this process is the seduction of or marriage to a woman from a higher social class. This is also the case in The Wild and the Willing, Expresso Bongo and, as has already been noted, Some People. Indeed, as Blake Morrison suggests, in his discussion of the relevant literature, it is the combined connotations of the word 'class', as both social status and physical attractiveness, which underlines the ambivalent social/sexual ambitions of the hero ("You've got real class" is actually Bongo's comment to Dixie in Expresso Bongo)²⁷ Even in those films where the hero remains within his class, it is still characteristic for the women to represent a 'respectability' or 'classiness' distinct from that of the male hero (cf. the suburban homes and lower middle class aspirations of Doreen in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and Ingrid in A Kind of Loving). The result is that the women themselves can become something of a commodity, desired not so much for themselves as the economic advantages they represent (and, thus, a measure of the 'false' goals which the hero is pursuing).

This is nowhere clearer than in Room at the Top. For Joe (Laurence Harvey) the desire to have Susan (Heather Sears) is indistinguishable from his desire for what she represents (the sports car in which he first sees her). When he

returns to the home of his uncle and aunt (the traditional Northern working-class) to announce his impending marriage the confusion in his motivations is transparent. "I ask you about the girl and all you tell me about is her father's brass", complains his aunt. "Sure it's the girl you want, Joe, not the brass?", adds his uncle. As with the novel, it is the emotional and spiritual cost of this sacrifice of feeling to the pursuit of superficial, material values which is emphasized (his transformation into a "successful Zombie" as the novel puts it). The films use of a theatrical setting and emphasis on the parallels between theatrical performance and life outside (cf. Alice and Susan's performance as jealous lovers) foregrounds the problem of "authenticity" faced by Joe. "You don't ever have to pretend. You just have to be yourself", explains Alice to Joe (who does, indeed, become 'someone else' by his adoption of Jack Wales' name near the film's close). In contrast to Susan, Alice stands outside the complications of class ('self pity and class consciousness' were not part of her conception of Joe, explains the novel).²⁸ Alexander Walker pursues the point with respect to the casting of Simone Signoret and her absence of an English, i.e. "classbound", accent. Sex and class so disassociated, she does not represent just "one more conquest - among the English upper classes".²⁹ This is reinforced by their "escape" from the city and its corruptions to Alison's hide-out by the sea (a real location rather than the obvious set in which Joe and Susan make love). The 'naturalness' of their relationship is thus reinforced by an iconography of 'nature', contrasted to the social and economic pressures embodied in the city.

A similar contrast between the city and the country occurs in practically all the subsequent 'new wave' films. Colin and his friends enjoy a weekend in Skegness in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner; Paul (Dean Stockwell) and Clara (Mary Ure) take an illicit holiday by the sea in Sons and Lovers; Frank (Richard Harris) takes Mrs. Hammond (Rachel Roberts) and her children to the country in This Sporting Life; Vic and Ingrid take their honeymoon by the sea; in A Kind of Loving; Jo, Geoff and a group of children abandon the city for

their Sunday afternoons fishing in the canal in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning. Similar rural scenes can also be found in No Love For Johnnie, This Is My Street, and Some People. In such films it is the city which represents entrapment. A favoured shot in many of the films is a high-angle view of the city as seen by the characters inside: Jimmy looks out on the street below from his bedsit in Look Back In Anger; Arthur looks down on the close in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning; Jo looks over the city in A Taste of Honey; as does Lewis in Only Two Can Play. In This Sporting Life and Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, the characters observe the city from a hillside above. But the possibility of the characters so 'standing above' their environment is an impossibility, undercut by the enclosure and claustrophobia of the places from which they look or, in the case of the hill shots, the requirement that the characters return to the world below. In the same way, while it is in the country or by the seaside that the characters can most "be themselves", they cannot remain in this "natural state" but must return to the city to face the complications that bedevil their normal lives. Escape to the country or transcendence of their environment thus forceclosed, the characters must make some adjustment or compromise to the world in which they live.

Such an adjustment is quite commonly marked by a rejection of fantasy.³⁰ Archie must accept the destruction of his hopes for financial backing for his new show and face the prospect of impending imprisonment in The Entertainer; Jo's romantic retreat with Geoff comes to an end with the return of Jo's mother in A Taste of Honey; Vic's prospect of getting away are confounded by his marriage to Ingrid in A Kind of Loving; Billy (Tom Courteney) must abandon his fantasies of going to London in Billy Liar and reconcile himself to family responsibilities and the realities of his life as a 'nobody'. The renunciation of fantasy is also at the heart of Only Two Can Play. Although the Monthly Film Bulletin objected that the introduction of Liz (Mai Zetterling) was unrealistic, it is precisely such an 'unreality', the eruption of fantasy into

reality, that her character represents.³¹ Her large American car, her foreignness (having come over to Britain with the 'free Norwegians') and defiance of regulation (parking where she shouldn't, knocking down the 'no waiting' sign) provides a precise fulfilment of the sexual fantasies for so long nurtured by Lewis (Peter Sellers). But, inevitably the 'fantasy' must disappoint, must prove to be 'unworkable'. Chastened by his experience, Lewis now returns to his wife. Having learnt his lesson, the amorous overtures of his library customers are henceforth rejected.

As this would suggest, the rejection of fantasy and acceptance of compromise is closely related to the problem of sexual choice, the question of a female partner. As John Ellis suggests, "In a society where roles are defined in terms of the masculine, the female becomes a problem. The masculine is assumed to be a set of positive definitions: actions towards a goal, activity in the world, aggressiveness, heterosexual desire. This implies an opposite: the feminine. However, the definition of this opposite remains a problem, and this problem is obsessively worked over in narrative fiction films ... entertainment cinema depends upon the assumption of a masculine norm and the relentless demand to know what the female counterpart to that norm is."³² This problem of a 'female counterpart' is structured into the 'new wave' films in the form of a dichotomy between two types of female characters. On the one hand, there are wives or potential wives; on the other, there are lovers and mistresses (e.g. Look Back In Anger, The Entertainer, Room at the Top, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, Only Two Can Play and, to some extent, A Kind of Loving (where Ingrid is counterposed to the models in Vic's French girlie magazine). More generally, these divide into the virginal and/or spiritual v. the sexually experienced and physical (this is most pronounced in Sons and Lovers and Young Cassidy). This can, in turn, be related to class insofar as it is normally the lower status female characters who provide the most intense physical satisfactions (e.g. Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, Sons and Lovers, Young Cassidy and, in part, Room at the Top). Conventionally, it is the former

female characters whom the male hero chooses (or is forced to choose), the latter whom he rejects (though, in the case of Sons and Lovers and Young Cassidy, he rejects both in favour of an individual trajectory). Thus, despite the films' reputation for sexual explicitness (for some, even immorality) there is usually a moral and sexual conservatism in the films' endings with their emphasis on marital and procreative sexuality.³³

Thus, in Look Back In Anger, The Entertainer and Only Two Can Play the male characters engage in an adulterous affair (or at least attempts to in the case of Only Two Can Play) but ultimately return to their wives. In Room at the Top and Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, the male hero is punished by a beating (as is Morel in Sons and Lovers) and subsequently enters marriage, while Vic reconciles himself to marriage in A Kind of Loving. In three of these, the solution is explicitly linked to procreation: both Joe in Room at the Top and Vic in A Kind of Loving enter marriage because of the pregnancy of their partners, while Brenda returns to her husband in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning when she too becomes pregnant. The possibility of abortion is raised by a number of the films but rejected as a satisfactory alternative: Brenda's attempted abortion fails in Saturday Night; Jo rejects the possibility of one in A Taste of Honey; Alison is firmly reprimanded by her doctor for the suggestion of one in Look Back In Anger; while Jane's visit to the doctor in The L-Shaped Room makes up her mind to have the baby rather than terminate her pregnancy.³⁴ Those abortions which do proceed are marked in purely negative terms for their refusal of parenthood, as in Alfie and Darling. Indeed, childlessness and/or sterility is conventionally linked to marital failure and adultery as in Only Two Can Play, This Sporting Life (i.e. the Weavers), No Love For Johnnie, Term of Trial and The Wild and the Willing. "Can't even someone of your age distinguish", asks the professor in the last film, "between a kiss taken from a woman who has no child of her own and adultery?"

But, while then it is in the logic of many of these films to reintegrate its characters into marriage there is, to some extent, a tension between the energies which the films release and the viability of the solutions they propose. In part, this derives from the split in female characters, whereby it is the characters who are eligible for marriage who are also the least physically exciting. Thus, in Room at the Top, Susan proves sexually disappointing to Joe by comparison with Alice while his marriage to her is specifically marked in terms of a loss. Vic likewise fails to find physical satisfaction with Ingrid in A Kind of Loving, unable to integrate the 'exotic' sexuality of his magazine into their relationship. In Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, the vivacity of Arthur's relationship with Brenda contrasts sharply with the fear-edged seduction of Doreen (Shirley Ann Field), shot in total silence with Doreen's words unheard (cf. Brenda's ability to vocalise her desire and pleasure). In Sons and Lovers, Paul Morel rejects the prospect of marriage to Miriam (Heather Sears) because of the failure of their sexual relationship to cement the bond of friendship that already exists between them. His resulting isolation, as with Young Cassidy, thus, in part, derives from the inability of the female characters to be both physical and intellectual partners. This is also the case, with a homosexual variation, in The Leather Boys. It is Pete's emotional and domestic relationship with Reggie ('looking after' him, bringing him cups of tea, listening to his troubles) which is the most personally satisfying; yet it is 'impossible' because of Pete's sexual need 'for a woman'. But Pete's marriage is also 'impossible' and the result is, once again, isolation, caught between the conflicting demands of heterosexual desire and personal and emotional fulfillment. There is a similar tension in A Taste of Honey, only here it is the male characters who are split. It is with Jimmy (Paul Danquah) that Jo enjoys a physical relationship but with Geoff, the homosexual, with whom she finds domestic harmony. The very impossibility of integrating the sexual and the domestic is underlined by Geoff's attempted advances which Jo rejects ("you're just like a big sister to me" she explains earlier). With physical pleasure

apparently so divorced from marriage and domesticity, it is inevitable that those films which rely on marriage as a means of conclusion tend to imply less a positive endorsement than an emphasis on compromise and acceptance of constraint, the eschewal of fantasy already noted.

This would seem to be confirmed by the more general failure of the films concerned to project a compelling image of marriage outside of the main characters. The apparently 'ideal marriage' represented by Christine (Pat Keen) and David (David Marlowe) in A Kind of Loving, for example, is solid and respectable but hardly exciting, with David (an apparently 'good catch') showing all the signs of premature middle age (balding and bespectacled). Their smart but uninteresting modern flat is, indeed, more than a little reminiscent of No Trees in the Street (right down to the fenced-in tree growing in solitary confinement down below). Jack (Bryan Pringle) in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning is weak and easily deceived (seen reading a Daily Mirror, with its ironic headlines 'Be Proud of These Men' and 'He Was Once A Bride', as his wife prepares to go out with Arthur); his recipe for marital harmony and the keeping of Brenda at home, is the acquisition of a TV. Charles (Donald Houston) in Room at the Top renounces his ambitions for 'a girl with no brothers and sisters and nice little family business in the background' in favour of the solidly respectable June (Mary Peach) and her invalid mother. Maurice (Colin Blakely) and Judith (Anne Cunningham) in This Sporting Life (shorn of the novel's complications of pregnancy) merely provide a dull counterfoil to Frank's more intense physical and emotional entanglements with Mrs. Hammond. Families, where they exist, fare little better, generally marked by a 'decline in the status of the father'. Arthur's father on Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and Joe's surrogate father, his uncle, in Room at the Top have both been 'ground down' - 'dead from the neck up' in the description of Arthur's.³⁵ Mr. Morel (Trevor Howard) in Sons and Lovers is ignorant and weak compared to the strength and authority of his wife. Indeed, female domination of the household is complete in A Kind of Loving, A Taste of Honey

and Saturday Night where Ingrid, Jo and Doreen all live with their widowed or separated mothers. Insofar, as the male heroes of these films then themselves enter marriage so do they also risk a similar 'decline' or 'castration'. This has already been noted in A Kind of Loving and The Leather Boys but consider also the case of Arthur in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, only proposing to settle down once he has been beaten and put flat on his back in his sick-bed (in a kind of symbolic 'castration', in part, similar to the end of All That Heaven Allows)³⁶

It is then the very problem of securing an adequate 'female counterpart' in which so many of the 'new wave' films trade, abandoning its male heroes to isolation or imposing upon them 'solutions' which primarily consist of a compromise. This anxiety with 'female inadequacy' becomes highlighted in Look Back In Anger through Jimmy Porter's persistent railings against his wife's shortcomings and increasingly misogynistic attempts to awaken her from her 'beauty sleep' (indeed, she is asleep in bed on her first appearance, while Jimmy begins an attempt to make love to her). As Stuart Hall has suggested it is through Alison (Mary Ure) that Jimmy (Richard Burton) gives expression to the anger that he feels for the world, whereby "the sexual and human relationship between Jimmy and Alison is a metaphor for the social relationship between Jimmy and the world"³⁷ Alison's "pusillanimity" thus stands in for the absence of feeling and "good, brave causes" characteristic, for Jimmy, of the modern world. But more specifically, Alison is upper class, the daughter of a retired colonel, and Jimmy's hostility to the upper classes, his personal class struggle, transforms into an abuse of his wife. Just as the sexual mythologies surrounding race have led black males to "get back at the white world" through a sadistic treatment of white women (most starkly summed up in Eldridge Cleaver's commitment to the rape of white women as an 'insurrectionary act'), so Jimmy is able to get back at the class system by his attacks on Alison and then seduction of Helena (Claire Bloom)³⁸ As Kate Millett suggests, what is at stake here is less the existence of class division, which remains impervious to individual enmity, than the reaffirmation

of sexual hierarchy, the triumph of male 'virility' over female education and status.³⁹ "There's nothing fey about Jimmy", as Alison chooses to put it. Thus, despite an initial resistance, Helena soon submits to Jimmy, accepting her 'proper place' 'on her back' and in domestic servitude (taking up Alison's place behind the ironing board). Alison herself is effectively 'punished', even 'castrated', by the loss of her child (as had been wished upon her by Jimmy), only to return "grovelling" and "crawling" to her husband. Such punitive responses to 'female inadequacy' also occur in other films. Vic acts upon his father's advice (delivered from the 'natural' base of his allotment) to force Ingrid to live where "she's bloody put", after she too has lost a child in A Kind of Loving. Robert (Dirk Bogarde) both asserts his virility and punishes Diana in Darling by first making love to her and then forcing her to return, in tears, to the unhappiness of her marriage in Italy.

Thus, while it may be argued that 'the image of active sexuality' in the British 'new wave' provided 'a resistance to refinement and repression' it should also be noted that such an image is primarily masculine.⁴⁰ Just as many of the original novels (Room at the Top, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, A Kind of Loving, This Sporting Life) were written in a male first person narration, so most of the subsequent films assume a 'male norm', in their narrative organisation, employment of subjective techniques and patterns of identification. As Ken Worpole suggests of 'masculine style' in the working-class novel, the strengths are those of working-class virility and aggression, 'the celebration of individual resistance to arbitrary authority, its quick-witted repartee in response to authoritarianism', the weaknesses, "the avoidance of engaging with the reality of personal and sexual relationships", the denial of their "mutuality and reciprocity".⁴¹

The dramatic and thematic subordination of the female characters which results is most clearly in evidence in Sons and Lovers and Young Cassidy. Kate Millett's observations on Sons and Lovers, the novel, would apply with

equal ease to the film: "The women ... exist in Paul's orbit and to cater to his needs: Clara to awaken him sexually, Miriam to worship his talent ... and Mrs. Morel to provide ... enormous and expansive support."⁴² Janey Place's comments on Young Cassidy are almost identical: "His mother must die for his development, the 'little tart' must answer his passion, the upper-class woman must encourage the art his own people reject ... the intellectual woman must teach his mind and speak his feelings, and then he stands alone."⁴³ The result, as Laura Mulvey suggests of the western hero who likewise resists the demands of social responsibility, marriage and family, is a "phallic, narcissistic omnipotence."⁴⁴ For the female characters, however, the 'solution' is firmly inside of marriage. Clara's commitment to "women's rights" in Sons and Lovers is radically undercut. Her speech at a political meeting assumes dramatic significance only insofar as it serves Paul's ends of seduction; her integrity as a speaker is undermined by her subjection to the controlling look of the male (the model and inspiration for Paul's sketch). Her feminism is thus revealed as an "error" which she abandons in order to return to her unpleasant and brutish husband.

Such a narrative subordination of female characters to the male trajectory is more generally typical (cf. the disappearance from the plots of Brenda in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and Alice in Room at the Top) but reaches its most pronounced articulation in Alfie, a film which can be seen as bringing to a stark conclusion the logic already implicit in the films of the 'new wave', especially Saturday Night and Sunday Morning. Like Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, Alfie is organised around a 'playboy' hero, devoted to a 'good time' and sexual pleasure, and resistant to 'settling down'. The price of his 'sexual freedom', however, is a complete subordination and denigration of the film's female characters. Writing on the nude portrait, John Berger has suggested that what transforms the representation of 'nakedness' into 'nudity' is the absenting of "subject-ivity", both the exclusion of the female model's will and intentions and her 'activity as a subject' (as opposed to her status

as 'object' in the grip of the look of the male)⁴⁵ The aesthetic organisation of Alfie is similar, ruthlessly suppressing the 'subject-ivity' of the female characters which it presents. This is achieved, in the first instance, by an extension of the voice-over, characteristic of some of its predecessors, and the adoption of direct address by Alfie (Michael Caine). Whereas the voice-over leaves open the possibility of a disjunction between image and sound (as in the case of Darling where, significantly, it is the female voice-over of Diana which is marked as unreliable), the use of direct address in Alfie tends to ensure a harmony between the two, insofar as Alfie's commentary on the action becomes an element of its performance. Although such direct address can run the risk of laying bare the "illusion" of cinematic rhetoric (and is so employed by, say, Godard), the effect of its use in Alfie is less an 'alienation' of the spectator than an intensified complicity with Alfie's character, whereby it becomes impossible to separate Alfie's perception of events from the actual events themselves. Alfie's narration, indeed, occasionally employs the term "we" (e.g. "what she don't know is we won't be seeing very much more of her") as a means of reinforcement of the bond between character and spectator which the film assumes.⁴⁶ Of course, there are stops and gaps in the use of direct address and voice-over, when a more strictly "objective narration" begins to take over, but the 'separation' from Alfie which then results is kept firmly in check. Female point-of-view shots, for example, are conventionally refused, except insofar as they are initially motivated by a point-of-view shot of Alfie's. Even these are kept to a minimum by the film's adoption of relatively long two-shots and thus avoidance of the more standard procedure of reverse-field cutting. Furthermore, there are hardly any scenes in which we see the female characters without the presence of Alfie, and once their involvement with Alfie is over they are effectively disposed of by the narrative (cf. the disappearance of Annie). Insofar, as the film's plot is loose and episodic the appearance of a female character tends less to imply distinctiveness (stages in Alfie's development) than

repetition (the continuing confirmation of Alfie's sexual prowess). In formalist terms, i.e. in terms of narrative function, one woman is as good as another and the film could quite easily be re-edited without causing any particular violence to its thematic continuity. Such an interchangeability of female characters is highlighted by one short montage sequence. It only consists of six shots yet manages to introduce four different girls. They remain anonymous, it is their only appearance in the film, their narrative function no more than a confirmation that Alfie "was having a beautiful little life" but couldn't "see it". "Any bird that knows its (sic) place can be quite content", announces Alfie. For the film, it is quite evident that such a 'place' means either sexual or domestic subordination to Alfie (Annie neatly combines both roles, seen scrubbing the floor on her knees in front of Alfie's bed). The only female character apparently not bedded by Alfie in the film is "abnormal": a female doctor ("queer job for a bird innit?") whose swept back hair and glasses suggests repression.

The film does contrive the conventional moralistic conclusion: Alfie receives his come-uppance (a rejection from Ruby, the traumatic experience of the abortion intercut with his son's baptism) and, to that extent, appears to be moving towards a recognition of the hollowness of his existence (hollow for him, of course, not the women he's abused). But, like the exploitation films already discussed, the ending is itself hollow, undercut both by the complicity with Alfie's perspective that the film has maintained throughout and, as a result, the absence of any compelling alternative to Alfie's philandering. As with many of the 'new wave' films, the representation of husbands in the film is heavily marked by 'castration': Harry is either bed-ridden or in a wheelchair, entirely innocent of his wife's infidelity; Sadie's cuckolded husband is drab and uninspiring (bald, bespectacled and pipe-smoking, given to a study of gardening manuals while his wife is out with Alfie); Humphrey, the surrogate father to Alfie's child, can only offer comfort and understanding to Gilda rather than a genuine excitement or passion. Indeed,

to the extent that Alfie sets up home with Annie, so he too becomes "ponce-ified" (as his mates in the pub observe) and is forced to subsequently evict her. The new-found self-awareness which Alfie then discovers merely leaves him in limbo. In a previous discussion, I suggested there was something of a parallel between the British 'new wave' and the American film noir, insofar as both are marked by a weakness or fragility in their representation of the family.⁴⁷ The crucial difference, of course, is the absence in the films of the 'new wave' of strong female characters outside of home and marriage (the noir femme fatale). Whereas film noir foregrounds the insufficiency of marriage in relation to female desire, its inadequacy in the British 'new wave' is structured in relation to the male. The image of active sexuality, as Alfie suggests, is predominantly phallogentric.

But, what then of those films which do allocate a narrative centrality to female rather than male characters: most notably A Taste of Honey, The L-Shaped Room and This Is My Street? Although two of these films place their female characters outside of marriage, while the third (This Is My Street) emphasizes the woman's entrapment within marriage, the tendency is less to endorse a female self-direction than reaffirm the value of motherhood and reinsert their characters back into a network of family relations. The ending of A Taste of Honey, for example, necessitates a choice for Jo between Geoff and her mother. Although Geoff (Murray Melvin) is clearly more domestically-skilled than Helen (Dora Bryan), it is in the logic of Jo's impending motherhood that Geoff should be the one to leave. Indeed, the conservatism of the film's treatment of homosexuality is that Geoff can only properly find himself in his relationship to Jo ("before I knew you, I didn't care much whether I lived or died") and the fantasy of being a father to her child. Yet, it is precisely his homosexuality which blocks the possibility of wish-fulfilment, his adoption of a fulfilling parental role. Accordingly, he must be exiled once more by the film's close while Helena assumes her 'proper role' as a mother. The film ends with children dancing around a bonfire and brandishing

sparklers (the flame of life); excluded by the nature of his sexuality from procreation, Geoff observes the 'reconciliation' of mother and daughter before departing.⁴⁸ This does, of course, avoid a conventional resolution in terms of a submission by the female characters to the male, or a re-imposition of the 'normality' of the patriarchal family. But, what also undercuts this as a positive resolution is its association with compromise and a fatalistic acceptance. For what re-unites mother and daughter is the repetitive cycle whereby Jo has, in effect, lived through the errors of the parent. Despite Helen's warnings to learn from her 'mistakes' and not get 'trapped', Jo has followed in her mother's footsteps by succumbing to a transitory passion and becoming pregnant outside of marriage. What then brings them together is less a positive resistance to other alternatives than a resigned acknowledgement of things as they are. The absence of a father and 'proper' family relations is thus one of the components which marks their adjustment as 'second-best'.

The logic of The L-Shaped Room displays similarities. Although Alexander Walker praised the film at the time for its "story of a girl with a mind of her own" its endorsement of the female character is hardly so straightforward.⁴⁹ "Activity in the world", "actions towards a goal" and "heterosexual desire"; these were the terms employed by Ellis in his identification of a 'male norm' in conventional-narrative cinema. The substitution of a narratively central female character in The L-Shaped Room, however, does not lead to an equivalent set of values. Jane (Leslie Caron) is less positive than negative, less actively pursuing her goals than reacting negatively to events around her. She is attempting to escape from both her family and from the father of her child. Her decision to have the baby outside of marriage is prompted less by a positive commitment to motherhood than a negative reaction to the doctor (opulent and uncaring) to whom she originally goes for an abortion ("Anything is better than your way"). Even her 'heterosexual desire' would seem devoid of an active libidinal component. Her pregnancy derived from a belated attempt

to lose her virginity by a man for whom she had no love; her attempt at an affair with Toby (Tom Bell) involves more of a submission than a commitment (crying and in fear that "everything will be all right"). This lack of positivity in her actions is reinforced by the socially displaced role she now occupies: a foreigner alone in a strange city and, subsequently, a resident in a house whose dominant characteristics are rootlessness and sexual 'abnormality' (prostitution, lesbianism, homosexuality and adultery). Although it is possibly the film's intention to imply the virtues which the house can provide nonetheless (the 'neighbours ... that drew her back into life' as the novel's blurb puts it) it is clear that it can function as no more than a halfway house.⁵⁰ For both the 'role-models' of female independence which it supplies are explicitly marked as unsatisfactory. On the one hand, there is the ageing lesbian, now alone and isolated, with no family to go to. On the other, there are the prostitutes in the basement whose life is described as 'no worse' than a million years of purgatory. One of the prostitutes is also a foreign exile, sharing the same name as Jane, and threatening the fate which could also befall her namesake (who is, indeed, labelled a 'whore' by her housemate, Johnny). The speeches of both lesbian and prostitutes are linked to an abandonment of God, so it then becomes appropriate that Jane should secure a 'redemption' by giving birth to her child on Christmas Day. The 'holy family' so secured she is now able to return to her home in a submission to the law of the 'father' (he has sent her the ticket) and abandon the social and sexual irregularity which characterises the house.

This Is My Street (1963) comes closest to traditional melodrama, with its emphasis on family and domestic relations: "a strange hybrid of kitchen-sink and pre-war women's weekly", as David Robinson was to put it in his contemporary review.⁵¹ The 'problem' of the film is once again the 'problem' of woman. The central female character, Margery (June Ritchie) is trapped in a marriage which she detests: "I've got a lifetime sentence with Sid ... I cook for him, I sew for him, I sleep with him, Yet he's everything in a man I

despise. I'm married to a man I don't even like." Her 'solution' is to embark upon an affair with the lodger, Harry (Ian Hendry) but it is a course of action which the film cannot sanction. Harry subsequently loses interest in her, she makes an attempt at suicide but then settles for a reconciliation to her lot, re-integrated into her role as mother. She refuses Harry's invitation to go to his club preferring to go home. Meeting her daughter outside, she picks her up, hugs her and then carries her inside. "The street settles down once again to its drab existence", as the publicity hand-out explains. The morality implicit in such a conclusion is 'doubled' by the film's treatment of Maureen (Philippa Gail), one of Margery's neighbours in the street. She is 'punished' for her extra-marital affair with a dentist by a car-crash and resulting disfigurement to her face (also the film's reprimand for her narcissism). She is, however, 'saved' by the innocent affections of Charlie (John Hurt), whom she had previously rejected, but who still wants to take her out, despite the damage now done to her face. Although it is the female characters who are central, it is clearly the work of the film to confine them, re-establishing their 'proper place' within the 'normality' of family and marital relations.

What slightly dislodges this as a satisfactory conclusion is the ruthlessness with which the film then portrays its sexual relationships. Jane Feuer for example, has suggested how TV soap operas, such as Dallas and Dynasty, may be deemed 'progressive' for their 'demystification' of the economic and financial relations underlying conventional notions of marriage for love.⁵² By virtue of the persistence with which it reveals its female characters as the victims of a predatory male sexuality, based upon economics and power, so there is something of a similar 'exposure' in This Is My Street. Maureen 'sells' herself to the dentist for the presents he can provide; Margery is attracted to Harry for the economic advantages he possesses in comparison to her husband; while her boss at work promises her 'modelling' provided she supply him with sexual favours. One short, but striking, scene sums up the

predatory world in which the women find themselves. Maureen is eyed up by a customer at a club who slips her his card. Visiting the address, she is barely in the door when the man pounces on her, pulling off her dress and grabbing at her bra. His wife, then appears with a camera, announcing there will be 'no problem with the money'. While it is undoubtedly the intention of the film to use such scenes to underline the dangers to its female characters outside of the sexual regime of marriage and family, it does at the same time draw attention to the exploitative way in which they are used. Women's only asset in the film is their bodies (underscored by the film's own prurient camerawork); their only 'escape' in a world of female subordination through 'prostitution'. Harry explains to Margery that if she wants to get out of the street then she could - if she used her 'head'. What he, and the film, really imply is if she used her body.

The chapter began with a consideration of some comedies whose themes could be seen to overlap with those at work in the British 'new wave'. By way of a conclusion, I'd like to return to comedy and suggest how the 'position of women' also assumed a significance here. The intention, however, is not to provide a survey, merely to isolate a couple of examples whose characteristics are in some way distinctive. She Didn't Say No! (1958), for example, provides an unusual representation of the family; Petticoat Pirates (1961) one of women at work. Although in both cases the 'threat' represented by these abnormalities is 'contained', such a process is not as straightforward or punitive as might at first be expected.

She Didn't Say No!, for example, revolves around the 'problem' of Bridget Monaghan (Eileen Herlie), an unmarried mother with six children by five different fathers. What is unusual, however, is that this problem is not located in relation to either domestic or moral disturbance, as would conventionally be the case in the 'social problem' film. Bridget is financially independent and self-supporting, maintaining a well kept and ordered household. The first shot of the family at the dinner table is evenly lit and harmoniously composed

with no indication of any abnormality. This is confirmed by Bridget's success in preventing her children from being taken into custody. The judge establishes that the children are "well fed", "clean and neat" and "happy and contented" and dismisses the charge that their home is "not morally sound". The positive value attached to the family is underlined by the absence of 'normal' domestic relations elsewhere in the community. Mrs. Bates (Joan O'Hara) deprives her husband of his 'conjugal rights' while Mrs. Powers (Betty McDowell) is unable to have a child of her own. Hogan (Patrick McAlinney) lives with his spinster sister while Casey (Niall MacGinnis) lives alone.

It is, indeed, these weaknesses in the community at large rather than the inadequacy of the Monaghan family itself which set in motion the demands for change. In the first instance, these are precipitated by the birth of twins to Mrs. Bates, thus drawing attention to the paternity of the Monaghan twins. As with Wolfendon's attitude towards prostitution, the resulting anxiety is primarily focussed on the problem of 'visibility'. The plan to move the Monaghan family elsewhere leaves the family intact but removes the embarrassment it causes to the wider community.

However, the real anxiety provoked by the family is its threat to lines of community continuity. The 'solution' thus required by the film is for the fathers to recognise their children in order to maintain the patterns of patrilineal inheritance: O'Casey and Powers are thus provided with heirs to their farms while Hogan is able to see his theatrical talents carried on by his daughter. The resulting break-up of the Monaghan family thus relies on conventional notions of maternal self-sacrifice, with Bridget acquiescing insofar as it is "for the sake of the children". To this extent, the plot's resolution might have been expected. What it cannot suppress, however, is the recognition that the necessity for such a solution does not derive from any internal instability in a family without a father but solely from a community organisation that is ordered according to the principle of father-right.

Petticoat Pirates approaches the 'problem' of women in relation to work and, in particular, their fitness to undertake jobs which are traditionally male. Like Operation Bullshine (1959), the film picks up on the popularity of service comedies in the period, developing their conventions by an accentuation of the role of women. But, whereas the comedy of Operation Bullshine derives from the incompetence of women to adapt to military circumstances (preoccupied with romance and appearance), the humour engendered by Petticoat Pirates results from their successful compounding of male expectations by proving their worth in taking over a warship. Prevented from crewing a battleship of their own by a male commanding officer's predictions of the 'chaos' which would result, an all-female crew set out to prove that there's "not a single job that we couldn't do on board ship as well as any man" by first overpowering the male crew of the HMS Huntress and then putting out to sea. They successfully defy the men's own attempts to take back the ship, fight off a male-commanded warship sent to capture them and then play a vital role in NATO manoeuvres by 'torpedoing' the American flagship. Male order is, to some extent, reassumed when most of the female crew become sea-sick during a storm on their return journey and the female captain is forced to call on the male crew for assistance. But it is only a temporary, and flagrantly contrived, 'recuperation'. The Lieutenant who has consistently opposed the female piracy admits that Ann (Anne Heywood) is 'the best captain' he has ever sailed with while the Commander-in-Chief (Cecil Parker), who had previously opposed such 'feministic nonsense', now congratulates the women on their success and promises to make further representations on their behalf. Unlike Operation Bullshine, where the women's success in shooting down a German aircraft is marked as serendipity women in Petticoat Pirates have successfully defied male expectations and proven their abilities in performing traditionally male roles.

In his discussion of American war movies which foreground the 'female group', Michael Renov suggests how female effectivity is characteristically

'neutralized' by the 'erotic dependency' of the female characters on "male desire"⁵³ While this would also be true of Operation Bullshine, the example of Petticoat Pirates is, once again, more complex. Unlike Operation Bullshine where romance and marriage are constantly highlighted (indeed, much of its comedy derives from the women's competitive pursuit of a good-looking Lieutenant), home and family life are entirely absent from Petticoat Pirates. Romantic interest intrudes but not in a way which diminishes the women's pursuit of their goals. Ann, indeed, rejects Michael (John Turner), despite her attraction to him, once she realises his intentions to inveigle her into giving back the ship. The female crew enjoy flirtations with their captured male crew but this does not distract from their subsequent naval successes (achieved without help from the men).

"Erotic dependency", however, is not solely the product of narrative organisation but also the look of the camera. Just as women in institutions (e.g. prisons, convents) conventionally provide the pretext for voyeuristic spectacle, so both Operation Bullshine and Petticoat Pirates contrive plot situations (women preparing for bed, taking a shower) whose guiding rationale resides in a subordination of the female body to an implicitly male gaze. What activity the women enjoy within the narrative is thus undercut by their reduction to objects of a male spectacle. While this is straightforwardly the case in Operation Bullshine, the use of such camera work in Petticoat Pirates is partly qualified. Here, for example, the voyeuristic look of the camera is also drawn attention to. Charlie (Charlie Drake) is seen observing the women's gym exercises through a periscope. Our complicity with his look, and, indeed, its regressively infantile character, is rendered transparent by Charlie's direct addresses to camera. Moreover, the women themselves become aware of Charlie's gaze: his look is returned down the periscope and then the women as a group go downstairs to arrest him, effectively bringing him to task for his illegitimate 'peeping tom activities'. Second, while in Operation Bullshine the look of the camera is used to keep women 'in place', secure

them in a system in which their only proper role can be as objects of male desire, Petticoat Pirates does not enforce the same divorce between female 'desirability' and traditionally male activity. Thus, while in Operation Bullshine the women who do not conform to the demands of erotic spectacle are signalled as 'abnormally masculine' (e.g. the female sergeant), the women in Petticoat Pirates are allowed to retain their 'femininity' at the same time as they assume male roles. As Ann makes clear to Michael she wants to be both a 'beautiful woman' and a successful captain: it is only his male 'manoeuvring' which suggests that being 'beautiful' is sufficient in itself.

The positive values attached to the women's activities is reinforced by the persona adopted by the film's star comedian, Charlie Drake. As Krutnik suggests, the comedian conventionally figures as 'a locus of confusion', defiant of 'normal' expectations of identity and maturity.⁵⁴ By virtue of his diminutive stature, long hair and shrill voice, Drake makes problematic the relations of sexual difference, enjoying heterosexual courtship but also mistaken for a woman by male and female characters alike. In the same way, he is unable to find a clear-cut gender identification: on the one hand, he opposes the women's piracy, rallying the men to defiance, on the other, he supports them, helping fire a gun and wishing them 'good luck'. For Krutnik the resolution of the comedian's confused identity conventionally involves some sort of coming to maturity; if it does not, the comic-hero remains outside the conventional social order, symbolised, in particular, by a rejection of women.⁵⁵ In Charlie's case, the difference is illuminating. He does achieve a form of social integration but in way which leaves his ambivalent persona intact. Moreover, this is made possible, not by rejecting women, but joining them, as he cheerfully follows in the path of a group of marching Wrens. It may well be that this is only possible because Charlie is not a 'proper man'; the virtue of the film is that the yardstick of 'masculinity' no longer seems relevant.

Conclusion

In Chapter Five it was suggested how two of the most recurrent characteristics of the social problem film were their suppression of class divisions and conflicts and their preoccupation with the regulation of sexual excess. On the face of it, the working-class films of the 'new wave' would appear to provide a contrast. They take as their central focus working-class subjects and characters and show a consistent concern to deal with 'serious' and 'adult' sexual themes. It is certainly on this basis that they have been conventionally received and applauded for their energising effect on an increasingly ossified British cinema of the fifties. It would clearly be both perverse and ungracious not to acknowledge some degree of validity in all of this. The films did, without doubt, introduce new themes and topics into the British cinema and exert a considerable influence on both contemporary film-making (including the social problem film) and many British films to follow. As Alan Lovell suggests, "to gain a proper historical perspective on Saturday Night and Sunday Morning it should be seen with a film like Ealing's The Titfield Thunderbolt (1954) ... Saturday Night and Sunday Morning destroyed the coyness and showed it was possible for the cinema to be responsive to contemporary social developments".⁵⁶

And, yet, there is also a danger that the critical acclaim which conventionally accompanies a consideration of these films may itself degenerate into little more than ritual obeisance. All too often, the mere display of the working-class and sexual relationships on the screen is celebrated as a 'Good Thing' in itself irrespective of the way they have actually been dealt with by the films concerned. What the preceding analysis has attempted to provide, by contrast, is precisely this: that is to say, some sort of assessment of the way in which these themes of class and sexuality have actually been worked through by the films and with what kind of ideological consequences. From this point of view, a number of similarities with the social problem film

begin to emerge. In dealing with the working-class, there is the same emphasis on individual rather than collective situations and the same emphasis on inter-personal rather than socially structured conflicts. There is a similar emphasis on cultural attitudes rather than political and economic relationships and, by virtue of the inscribed authorial distance, a common tendency to observe and judge characters from the 'outside'. And, while the films may move towards a greater sexual explicitness, there is still a continuing suspicion of sexual variety and fondness for morally conservative 'solutions', particularly, in relation to female characters and the expression of their sexuality.

To this extent, there is considerable overlap with the work of the 'Angry Young Men'. While this has generally been regarded as a positive influence, a closer inspection of 'angry' attitudes reveals some problematic features. As Chapter One suggested, the 'anger' of this period was often politically ambivalent, prone to nostalgia and targetted primarily towards the superficiality of the modern age and its apparent figurehead, the female. In attempting to achieve 'the same sort of impact' as 'the Angry Young Cult' and in adapting so many of its key texts, it was, perhaps, inevitable that many of the same attitudes should survive. The other main influence was, of course, the New Left. In common with writers such as Richard Hoggart, there was a shared emphasis on the decline and corruption of the traditional working-class at the hands of modern consumer society and a corresponding focus on the quality of leisure, rather than work and political action. This affected, in turn, their response to more general perceptions of class relations. On the face of it, the films of the 'new wave' would appear to present a striking riposte to any complacent ideology of 'classlessness'. At precisely the time the disappearance of class was being ^{loudly} so asserted, these films, at least, seemed to provide clear evidence to the contrary. And, yet, the relationship is probably more complex. Chas Critcher, for example, suggests how the fashion for "working-class studies" which gripped the imagination of sociologists

during the same period tended less to challenge the foundations of the "withering away of class" debate than to refine, and elaborate upon it.⁵⁷ In a similar fashion, many of the 'new wave' films were less concerned with a re-assertion of the continuing gap between capital and labour than on exploration of the changing conditions of working-class life in the face of affluence and consumerism, the observation of, as Alan Lovell puts it, "a working-class world being transformed by increased wealth".⁵⁸ As with the New Left itself, many of the economic changes wrought by "affluence" were taken for granted; it was the value of their moral and cultural effects which were open to question. Politically, this tended to lead to a representation of the working-class as largely inert and conformist: it is only individual members of the class who are able to rise above or rebel against this general condition. Industrial action and organised political activity are absent and, by implication, increasingly redundant. "The class war" might not be quite over in McMillan's sense, but it certainly has become contained and constricted.⁵⁹

The same could not be said, however, about the 'sex war'. In common with the writings of the Angry Young Men there was more than a streak of misogyny running through the films and a failure to acknowledge the changing social and economic role of women in British society other than as a consumer. If, as the Birmingham Feminist History Group suggest, these changes had called for 'a new view of the role of women and their place in the family', there was little to suggest this in the films of the 'new wave'.⁶⁰ All too often, they were content to abandon their female characters to the confinement of familiar domestic and marital roles and even inflict a 'punishment' on those who chose to stray beyond. In terms of a history of the British cinema this clearly did not represent quite the major 'breakthrough' that is sometimes suggested while, placed in social and historical context, could be seen to be confirming, rather than querying and challenging, the dominant ideological assumptions about a 'woman's role'.⁶¹

To this extent, the films appear to occupy an ambivalent space. While they undoubtedly assisted in 'opening up' the British cinema with their innovatory contents and more socially enquiring attitudes they were, in the end, something less than radical. This can partly be attributed to the debt which they owed to the 'Angry Young Men' and, to a lesser extent, the New Left. As Chapter One suggested, the ideas and politics which they inherited from these groups were still shaped and structured by the dominant discourses of 'affluence'. While they may have countered many of their conclusions, they did not, at the same time, fundamentally break with their underlying assumptions, continuing to remain within, as it were, the same ideological problematic, or field of play. The organisation of the film industry also played its role. As Chapter Two suggested, the fact that the films were made at all was dependent upon the industry's openness to innovation in the face of economic decline. But, at the same time, the innovations which the industry allowed were still subject to constraints. These were not only economic (the continuing monopoly control of distribution and exhibition) but also, as Chapter Three argued, aesthetic. As a result, many of the ideological attitudes characteristic of the films resulted from a dependence on the formal conventions of mainstream commercial film-making. Whether these films could have actually departed significantly from these conventions and still remained financially viable is, of course, unlikely.

CONCLUSION

"Texts and contexts are indivisibly interrelated ... and to conceptualise them as discrete is to render full analysis impossible."¹

The aim of this study has been to provide an analysis of selected film texts - the British social problem film, the working class films of the 'new wave' - in relation to the social and economic context of their production. Strictly speaking, its focus has not been the relations between film and society (or text and context) in general but rather the more specific interconnections between film and ideology. This has involved a double focus. On the one hand, the study has attempted to provide an explanation of why the films assumed the ideological characteristics which they did, of how they were shaped and influenced by the context in which they were produced. It is for this reason that the study begins with a consideration of, first, the economic, political and ideological relations characteristic of British society during the period of the films' production, second, the specific economic and industrial relations in which they were made and, finally, the dominant aesthetic conventions upon which they drew. The subsequent discussion of the films themselves then proceeds to consider how their representations of class, youth, sexuality and race, in particular, may be understood in relation to these varying forms of influence. On the other hand, the study has not simply been concerned with 'origins' but also with 'effects', that is to say, with how the films were themselves 'effective' in shaping and influencing ideological attitudes and perceptions during this same period. This is a concern which is interrelated with, but nonetheless distinct from, the first. What the study has not suggested is that the ideological 'effectivity' of the films can be simply accounted for in terms of the sum of their social and economic determinations. Equally, it has obviously not suggested that the meanings which these films produce are then completely 'autonomous', with no determinate connection to other social relations at all. While the emphasis on the 'specificity' of the text may have provided a welcome antidote to the more reductionist forms of

sociological explanation, it has, on the other hand, tended to encourage a rejection of sociological analysis per se. What this study has attempted, then, is to maintain a proper respect for the specificity, or productivity, of the film text without then severing it from its social context. Its argument is that an understanding of the social and historical context of a film's production is still necessary to any satisfactory account, and certainly assessment, of a film's ideological role even if it does not then provide a sufficient explanation of all of a film's ideological characteristics. In this respect, the analysis does not suggest that the films concerned simply 'reflected' or reproduced the dominant ideological attitudes and assumptions of the period. It indicates how the films were themselves active in the construction of ideological meanings and with results that were often less consistent and coherent than the 'dominant ideology thesis' may sometimes be taken to imply. On the other hand, it does suggest a significant degree of interconnection between the films and more generally available ideological discourses. The issues and the topics with which the films dealt, and the attitudes and the values which they promoted, were not the creations of the cinema alone but were also identified and elaborated upon outside of the cinema (in political speeches and writings, government reports, novels and plays). To this extent, any adequate assessment of the ideological significance of the films does not depend on an inspection of the films alone but also a consideration of their interrelation and attachment to more general forms of social definition and explanation. Moreover, although the films may have displayed a degree of variation and complication in their views of the world, this did not, in the end, amount to a radical diversity of outlook. Certain perspectives on the social world tended to predominate while others were excluded or rendered marginal. The issue of class, for example, was either suppressed or conceived in such a way that its significance was undercut. Sexual attitudes were explored but only within certain limits or boundaries. What is significant, then, is not just the ideological

homogeneity, or otherwise, of the views which the films displayed but also the range of views and the boundaries in which these operated. What the study has suggested is that, even allowing for the shifts and innovations in theme and attitude which many of the films registered, the cinema of this period still remained constricted and constrained, bound to certain limits, in the attitudes which it promoted and view of the world which it suggested. The 'new' British cinema, in this respect, was neither as novel nor, certainly, as radical as has sometimes been claimed. Indeed, if as Bogdanor and Skidelsky suggest, the 'age of affluence' is now more properly seen as one of 'illusion' then the films of this period would also appear to have played their part.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Alan Lovell, "The British Cinema: The Unknown Cinema", British Film Institute Education Department Seminar Paper, 1969 (Mimeo).
2. The Abortive Renaissance, Axle Publications, 1963.
3. "The British Cinema" in Ian Cameron (ed.) Movie Reader, November Books, 1972, p.7 (orig. 1962). Movie was, of course, the journal most closely associated with auteurism as it was developed in Britain in the sixties.
4. Tom Ryall employs the term "qualified auteurism" to describe the influential approaches to genre developed by Jim Kitses and Colin McArthur in Horizons West (Thames and Hudson, 1969) and Underworld USA (Secker and Warburg, 1972) respectively. See 'Teaching Through Genre', Screen Education, No.17, Winter 1975/76, p.28.
5. See Ian Christie (ed.), Powell, Pressburger and Others, British Film Institute, 1978; Charles Barr, 'Projecting Britain and the British Character': Ealing Studios', Part II, Screen, Vol.15, No.2, Summer 1974; David Pirie, A Heritage of Horror The English Gothic Cinema 1946-72, Gordon Fraser, 1973; Sue Aspinall and Robert Murphy (eds.), Gainsborough Melodrama, British Film Institute, 1983. War films are also subject to a re-examination in Andy Medhurst, "1950s War Films" in Geoff Hurd (ed.), National Fictions, British Film Institute, 1984.
6. Two of the most recent attempts can be found in Jeffrey Richards and Anthony Aldgate, Best of British Cinema and Society 1930-70, Basil Blackwell, 1983 and Jeffrey Richards, The Age of the Dream Palace Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-39, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
7. See Thomas Elsaesser, "Between Style and Ideology", Monogram, No.3, 1972.
8. Ealing Studios, Cameron and Tayleur, 1977.
9. With variations in emphasis and methodology this is the approach adopted by such diverse studies as Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler, Princeton University Press, 1947; Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, Movies A Psychological Study, Athenaeum, New York, 1970 (orig. 1950); Andrew Bergman, We're In the Money, Harper and Row, New York, 1971.
10. A Mirror for England, Faber and Faber, 1970. Durgnat's choice of subtitle for the book - "British movies from austerity to affluence" - highlights the Anglo-centrism implicit in most conventional uses of the term "British Cinema". Although, for reasons of convenience, I have opted to continue this practice, it should be clear from the material which follows that I am dealing primarily with an English rather than a genuinely British cinema(s).
11. 'Book Review', Monogram No.3, 1972, p.43.

12. Op.cit. p.4.
13. "The Problem of Ideology - Marxism without guarantees" in Betty Matthews (ed.) Marx: A Hundred Years On, Lawrence and Wishart, 1983, p.59.
14. These formulations are, of course, indebted to Karl Marx's classic dictum that: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas ... The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it". The German Ideology, Lawrence and Wishart, 1970, p.64. But, insofar as the material base of ideologies is not necessarily class alone but also both sexual and ethnic divisions I have deliberately avoided an over-use of the term class, opting instead for the more general terminology of 'social group'. Ideologies of race and gender are, of course, deeply interconnected with ideologies of class but do not, in the final analysis, simply reduce to them.
15. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, Lawrence and Wishart, 1973. The use of the phrase 'active consent' can be found on p.244. For a useful introduction to the theory of hegemony, see John Merrington, "Theory and Practice in Gramsci's Marxism" in Western Marxism: A Critical Reader, New Left Review, 1977. See also, Chantal Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci", in Chantal Mouffe (ed.), Gramsci and Marxist Theory, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
16. Marxism and Literature, Oxford University Press, 1977, p.110. It is for this reason that John Mepham has also argued that ideology is not simply 'a collection of discrete falsehoods' but 'a matrix of thought firmly grounded in the forms of our social life and organised within a set of interdependent categories' ('The Theory of Ideology in Capital', Working Papers in Cultural Studies, No.6, University of Birmingham, Autumn 1974, p.113). Drawing on Marx's theory of surplus value, he suggests that this is not explained by bourgeois ideology's greater opportunities for being spread but the 'opacity' of bourgeois society itself; it is not ideas which conceal social relations but the phenomenal forms these relations themselves assume (for example, wages, money, commodities) which are deceptive. While this is an important corrective it does not, in itself, appear to offer a sufficiently general basis for a comprehensive theory of ideology (which would also include ideologies of race and gender, for example). That this process of inversion of social relations is not, in fact, the central feature of ideology is also suggested by Colin Sumner, Reading Ideologies: An Investigation into the Marxist Theory of Ideology and Law, Academic Press, 1979, p.13.
17. Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts, Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order, Macmillan, 1980, p.216.

18. "The 'Structured Communication' of Events", UNESCO, 1973, p.35 (mimeo). Stuart Hall also charts this re-emphasis on the media's role in the 'production of consent' rather than the 'reflection of consensus' in "The Rediscovery of Ideology: return of the repressed in media studies" in Michael Gurevitch et.al(eds.) Culture, Society and the Media, Methuen 1982, espec. pp.85-88. Commenting on Gramsci's distinction between state and civil society and its effect on subsequent thinking, Perry Anderson, however, has sounded an appropriate note of caution: "The fundamental form of the Western parliamentary state - the juridical sum of its citizenry - is itself the hub of the ideological apparatuses of capitalism. The ramified complexes of the cultural control-systems within civil society - radio, television, cinema, churches, newspapers, political parties - undoubtedly play a critical complementary role in assuring the stability of the class order of capital ... The importance of these systems should not be underestimated. But neither should it be exaggerated or - above all - counterposed to the cultural-ideological role of the State itself". "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", New Left Review, No.100, November 1976-January 1977, p.29.
19. Op.cit. p.112.
20. This is a perspective which is argued with particular force by Ernesto Laclau, Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, New Left Books, 1977.
21. It is for this reason that Nicos Poulantzas, in his influential work, has argued against a definition of class in purely economic terms and the need to acknowledge the constitutive role of political and ideological relations in the structural determination of social classes (see, Nicos Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, New Left Books, 1978, p.21). But, while it is irrefutable that classes always exist in and through political and ideological forms it nonetheless seems necessary to leave open the question of what those forms are and how they become articulated within particular class formations. As Goran Therborn observes, "To define classes in ideological terms ... precludes one of the most problematic questions that a materialist theory of ideology must confront: how are ideologies and classes of economic agents related?" (The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, New Left Books, 1980, p.7).
22. Iain Chambers, John Clarke, Ian Connell, Lidia Curti, Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, "Marxism and Culture", Screen, Vol.18, No.4, Winter 1977/78, p.114. See also Stuart Hall et.al. "The 'Unity' of Current Affairs Television", Working Papers in Cultural Studies, No.9, Spring 1976.
23. "On Screen, In Frame: Film and Ideology", Quarterly Review of Film Studies, Vol.1, No.3, 1976, p.256.
24. Terry Lovell distinguishes epistemological realism from empiricism on the grounds that it does not make knowledge of reality coterminous with empirical observation. It does, however, retain the criterion of correspondence to reality which conventionalist theories, by contrast, have abandoned. (Pictures of Reality: Aesthetics, Politics and Pleasure, British Film Institute, 1980, Chapter 1). It is this dual demand for both theoretical coherence and consistency and ultimate correspondence to reality which this present study attempts to maintain.

25. I have opted to present this material separately from, rather than integrated with, the analysis of the films themselves (for a recent example of this more familiar practice, see Peter Biskind's study of a comparable period in American cinema, Seeing is Believing, Pluto, 1983). The problem with this alternative approach is that, in absence of any clear explication of the social context, it can become near impossible to assess either the significance or more general representativeness of the 'sociological' material appealed to (a government report, here, a psychology text-book, there). It is often unclear whether the relationships suggested are actually sociologically plausible or simply an inspired piece of inter-connection on the part of the author.
26. Raymond Williams draws a distinction between 'alternative' and genuinely 'oppositional' ideologies in 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory' in Problems in Materialism and Culture, New Left Books, 1980, p.40.
27. 'Notes on Columbia Pictures Corporation 1926-41', Screen, Vol.16, No.3, Autumn 1975, p.69.
28. "Capitalism, Communication and Class Relations" in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch and J. Woollacott (eds.), Mass Communication and Society, Edward Arnold, 1977, pp.35-37.
29. Williams (1980) op.cit. p.34. For a more general critique of the 'determinism' of Murdock and Golding's approach see my own "Ideology, Economy and the British Cinema" in M. Barrett, P. Corrigan, A. Kuhn and J. Wolff (eds.), Ideology and Cultural Production, Croom Helm, 1979: also Ian Cornell, "Monopoly Capitalism and the Media" in Sally Hibbin (ed.), Politics, Ideology and the State, Lawrence and Wishart, 1978. For an instructive application of Williams' formulations to a study of the cinema, see Paul Kerr, "Out of What Past? Notes on the B Film Noir", Screen Education, Nos. 32/33, Autumn/Winter 1979/80.
30. "Bread and Circuses: Economics and the Cinema", in P. Mellencamp and P. Rosen (eds.), Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices. American Film Institute, 1984, p.10.
31. *ibid.* p.13.
32. In The Social Production of Art, Macmillan, 1981, Janet Wolff argues against a 'residual reflectionism' in the sociology of art by suggesting that 'the way in which the ideology of a class or other group is expressed in literature or painting will be affected, or mediated by (both) ... the conditions of production of works of art, and the existing aesthetic conventions' (p.61). This is also a useful way of summarising the logic of movement between Chapters One, Two and Three.
33. This emphasis on the tensions and contradictions within a work of art can be found in the writing of Pierre Macherey and Louis Althusser (see, for example, Macherey's A Theory of Literary Production, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978 and Althusser's "A Letter on Art in Reply to Andre Daspre" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New

Left Books, 1977). Although these writers tend to reproduce a high art/low art distinction in their work, the translation of their methodology to popular culture, and film in particular, has been undertaken by the editorial board of Cahiers du Cinema (see "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism" in Screen Reader 1, SEFT, 1977). Although they argue that the bulk of commercial cinema is "imbued through and through with the dominant ideology in pure and unadulterated form" there are, they suggest, a number of films "which seem at first sight to belong firmly within the ideology and to be completely under its sway, but which turn out to be so only in an ambiguous manner". There is, they argue, "a noticeable gap, a dislocation between the starting point and the finished product ... The films throw up obstacles in the way of ideology, causing it to swerve and get off course ... An internal criticism is taking place which cracks the film apart at the seams. If one reads the film obliquely, looking for symptoms, if one looks beyond its apparent formal coherence one can see that it is riddled with cracks, it is splitting under an internal tension" (p.7).

34. Nick Roddick, A New Deal in Entertainment, British Film Institute, 1983, p.13.
35. Buscombe (1975) op.cit. p.71. This should not imply that 'propaganda' is taken to be synonymous with 'ideology'. For a discussion, see Steve Neale, 'Propaganda', Screen, Vol.18, No.3, Autumn 1977.
36. As Jonathan Culler puts it with respect to literature: 'anyone wholly unacquainted with literature and unfamiliar with the conventions by which fictions are read, would, for example, be quite baffled if confronted with a poem' (Structuralist Poetics, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p.114). Conventions, in this respect, represent the terms on which audience and text 'agree to meet' and which thus make communication possible (see Raymond Williams, Drama from Ibsen to Brecht, Pelican, 1973, pp.3-4).
37. It is the critical activity of drawing attention to certain representations which would normally go unnoticed which Annette Kuhn usefully describes in her phrase of "making visible the invisible" (see Women's Pictures, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, Chapter 4).
38. The phrase is Colin McArthur's; see 'Counter Introduction: Limits of Auteurism' in Wayne Drew (ed.) David Cronenberg, British Film Institute, 1984, p.2).
39. Andrew Higson and Steve Neale, "Introduction: Components of the National Film Culture", Screen, Vol.26, No.1, Jan/Feb 1985, p.6. Implicit in this observation, is a more general critique of film analyses, such as this, concerned with 'representations of ...' which it is argued simply reduce a film's meanings to 'referential connotations'. Apart from the obvious simplification involved in such a characterisation, it is not at all clear why this approach should be any less important, or, indeed, valid, than the alternative which they propose. They contrast unfavourably, for example, the predominantly 'sociological' approach of studies on the British cinema with the attitude conventionally adopted towards Hollywood. A film like Rebel Without A Cause, they argue, is "as likely to be discussed in terms of its genre (melodrama) or its auteur (Nicholas Ray) as it is in terms of its 'overt' subject matter (youth, youth culture and the 'social problem' of the generation gap)" (ibid p.6). But while the underestimation of "aesthetics and style" has clearly been inhibiting to the study of the British cinema so it might equally be

argued has the neglect of 'issues of ideology and society' for studies of the American. Rather than attempting to counterpose the two approaches it would probably be more beneficial to try and bring them together.

40. See, for example, David Robinson's, quite clearly problematic, conclusion that "every sustained period of success of the British film has seemed to be based in a realist approach to contemporary life" ("United Kingdom" in Alan Lovell (ed.) Art of the Cinema in Ten European Countries, Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1967, p.197). For a critique of the general British preference for 'realism' see, Charles Barr, "Straw Dogs, A Clockwork Orange and the Critics", Screen, Vol.13, No.2, Summer 1972; also Colin McArthur, "Crossfire and the Anglo-American Critical Tradition", Film Form, Vol.1, No.2, Autumn 1977. The studies of Christie, Pirie, Aspinall and Murphy, already cited, can be seen as part of an attempt to reinstate those British films which have generally defied a 'realist' aesthetic.
41. Higson and Neale (op.cit.) p.7. Their definition of 'ideological matter', of course, does rather pre-empt their critical preference for psychoanalysis.
42. There are, of course, still some films which are excluded from the analysis, not by choice, but by necessity, due to the unavailability of viewing prints. I have not attempted to discuss films which I have not seen. As a result, there is no discussion of such films as Serious Charge, Passport to Shame or The Mark which would have otherwise merited inclusion. It is, of course, this absence of prints which often skews research in favour of the most critically favoured films, as it is generally these which have been preserved. Thus, the National Film Archive holds practically all of the British 'new wave' films but very few other British films from the same period.
43. "Ideology, Economy and the British Cinema" (op.cit.) pp.132-133.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Harry Hopkins, The New Look, Secker and Warburg, 1963, p.309.
2. Vernon Bogdanor and Robert Skidelsky (eds.), The Age of Affluence 1951-1964, Macmillan, 1970, p.7.
3. Nicholas Tomalin, quoted John Montgomery, The Fifties, Allen and Unwin, 1965
4. Quoted, T.F. Lindsay and Michael Harrington, The Conservative Party 1918-1970, Macmillan, 1974, p.202.
5. 'Bread and Circuses? The Conservatives in Office, 1951-64', in Bogdanor and Skidelsky op.cit. p.55.
6. The Conservative Nation, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, p.61.
7. Quintin Hogg, quoted Gamble ibid. p.65.
8. Quoted, Gamble ibid. p.66.
9. David Coates, The Labour Party and the Struggle for Socialism, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p.76.
10. M. Abrams and R. Rose, Must Labour Lose?, Penguin, 1960.
11. Quoted Hall, et.al. (op.cit. p.230).
12. C.A.R. Crosland, The Future of Socialism, Jonathan Cape, 1956. "I conclude that the definition of capitalism in terms of ownership ... has wholly lost its significance ... the proper definition of the word capitalism is a society with the essential social, economic, and ideological characteristics of Great Britain from the 1830's to the 1930's: and this, assuredly, the Britain of 1956 is not. And so, to the question 'Is this still Capitalism?', I would answer 'No'." (pp.75-76) Crosland also seems to have provided reading-matter for Quintin Hogg (op.cit.): "the intellectual framework within which most pre-war socialist discussion was conducted has been rendered obsolete, first by the fact that the economy is growing at a rapid pace, and secondly by the fact that we now have a quite different configuration of economic power" (p.41).
13. Coates op.cit. p.84.
14. Gamble op.cit. p.75 'Crossbow' was a quarterly journal founded in 1957 and chief disseminator of the ideas of the Bow Group: "the vanguard and chief exponent of the right progressive tendency within the party" (ibid p.74).
15. Gamble ibid p.67. Clearly in presenting this attenuated picture of the development of party politics in the 1950's it would be wrong to ignore its 'uneven development' and the continuation of conflict in both parties between 'reformists' and 'traditionalists'. As Stuart Hall has argued there were "distinct, opposing ideological formations within each of the two major parties in this period ... (and) the convergences between the 'Right Progressive' wing of the Conservative Party and the 'Revisionist' wing of the Labour Party are more significant than those

things which the Conservative Party shared with its traditionalist faction, or those which the Labour Party shared with Labour traditionalists" ('Reformism and the Legislation of Consent' in Permissiveness and Control: The fate of the sixties legislation, National Deviancy Conference, Macmillan, 1980, p.27). However, in both cases, it was the 'reformist' wings, the new 'political bloc', which were to seize the advantage: in the wake of Suez in the case of the Tories, in the aftermath of a second electoral defeat in 1955 in the case of Labour.

16. John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts, "Sub-cultures, cultures and class: A theoretical overview" in Resistance through Rituals, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Summer 1975, p.21.
17. In an early critique of the 'embourgeoisement' thesis, David Lockwood queries its novelty (tracing its origins back to Engels) and found little evidence that increased incomes led either to the acquisition of new attitudes and values or to a social acceptance into new class groupings (The New Working Class, European Journal of Sociology, Vol.1, No.2, 1960). As an alternative to the 'embourgeoisement' thesis, Lockwood and his fellow collaborators proposed a model of the 'new working class' in terms of an increasing instrumental orientation to work, trade unions and politics and a family-centred life-style, in which the economic advancement of the worker and his family becomes of greater importance than membership of a closely knit community (see John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer and Jennifer Platt, The Affluent Worker, Vols.1-3, Cambridge University Press, 1968-69). Such conclusions have, in turn, been criticised by John Westergaard, The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus, Socialist Register, 1970; Paul James Kemeny, The Affluent Worker Project - Some Criticisms and a Derivative Study, Sociological Review, Vol.20, No.3, 1972; and Chas Critcher, "Sociology, Cultural Studies and the post-war working-class" in John Clarke, Chas Critcher and Richard Johnson (eds.), Working-class Culture, Hutchinson, 1979.
18. Christopher Booker notes the gaining momentum of what he calls "the What's Wrong with Britain movement" in the early months of 1961 with its calls for greater 'dynamism' and 'tough-mindedness' in the management of the British economy (see The Neophiliacs, Fontana, 1970, pp.157-159).
19. Andrew Glyn and Bob Sutcliffe, British Capitalism, Workers and the Profits Squeeze, Penguin, 1972, p.38.
20. Andrew Schonfield, British Economic Policy since the War, Penguin, 1959, p.105.
21. Bogdanor and Skidelsky op.cit. p.8.
22. "Net investment (i.e. investment in addition to the stock of capital) in the United Kingdom has been running at about 5.6% of the net national product; all the West European countries have exceeded this, achieving rates of between 10 and 20%. On the other hand, the higher capital stock which the UK started off with implies that a larger volume of replacement investment has been necessary. Comparison of the proportion of national products going to gross investment narrows the margin between the British performance and that of other European countries; but once again the British rate of about 15% lags behind the 17-18% of France, 22-25% in West Germany, and nearly 30% in Norway" (Peter Donaldson, Guide to the British Economy, Pelican, 1965, pp.176-7).

23. Pinto-Duschinsky op.cit. p.59.
24. John Westergaard and Henrietta Reisler, Class in a Capitalist Society, Pelican, 1975, p.34.
25. ibid. p.43.
26. See Robin Blackburn, "The Unequal Society" in R. Blackburn and A. Cockburn (eds.) The Incompatibles - Trade Union Militancy and the Consensus, Penguin, 1967, pp.17-20.
27. See H. Frankel, Capitalist Society and Modern Sociology, Lawrence and Wishart, 1970, pp.77-8.
28. 'A Long Haul', Marxism Today, November 1982, p.17.
29. Alan Hunt, 'Theory and Politics in the Identification of the Working Class' in Alan Hunt (ed.), Class and Class Structure, Lawrence and Wishart, 1977, p.104.
30. John Clarke et.al. op.cit. p.37. The Birmingham Group here draw on a conceptualisation of ideology derived from the works of Louis Althusser (see, especially, his 'Marxism and Humanism' in For Marx, New Left Books, 1977) and Nicos Poulantzas (see, Political Power and Social Classes, New Left Books, 1975). And, drawing on the work of Poulantzas, it is possible to expand upon the ideological process at work here. For Poulantzas, the 'specific efficacy' of the juridico-political region of ideology under capitalism is to conceal 'the real index of determination and dominance' through a process of separation and recomposition whereby "it presupposes, composes or imposes the image of an 'equality' of 'identical', 'disparate', and 'isolated' individuals, unified in the political universality of the state/nation" (ibid. p.215). In a similar fashion, the ideology of affluence dissolved classes into isolated bodies of 'consumers', occupational strata and the like before reconstituting them into the 'imaginary' unity of a 'classless' 'one nation'.

This process of recomposition is also manifested in such non-class terms as the 'Establishment' and 'the power elite', both of which were to enjoy a popularity during the fifties. The idea of the 'Establishment', for example, was given currency by an article by Henry Fairlie in The Spectator (23/9/55) and subsequently became the title of a collection of essays, edited by Hugh Thomas in 1959, dealing with public schools, the army, Civil Service, City business, Parliament and the BBC.

Interest in the notion of a 'power elite' gained impetus with the publication of C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite in New York in 1956. The following year Twentieth Century magazine (October 1957) applied the question

'Is there a Power Elite?' to Britain and seemed to receive a convincing answer with the publication of W.L. Guttsmann's The British Political Elite (MacGibbon and Kee 1963). Although providing a welcome re-emphasis on the divisions between rulers and ruled, the gains made by elite theories were nonetheless at the expense of the abandonment of a concept of class: "Neither the division of society into classes nor the possibility that the values held by members of that society are in fact implicit justifications of the positions of one or more of those classes, are part of the perspective of the elite theorist" (John Urry, 'Introduction' in J. Urry and J. Wakeford (eds.), Power in Britain, Heinemann, 1973). That this, in fact, represents a crucial conceptual weakness is suggested by T.B. Bottomore: "the concept of the 'governing elite' says little about the bases of the power which the elite possesses except in so far as it incorporates elements from the Marxist theory of classes" (Elites and Society, Penguin, 1964, p.37) (my emphasis).

31. The title of a book by Graham B. Blaine Jr., Harper and Row, 1966.
32. Colin MacInnes, Absolute Beginners, Penguin, 1964, p.43 (Orig. MacGibbon and Kee, 1959).
33. Harry Hopkins op.cit. p.423.
34. See Frank Musgrove, Youth and the Social Order, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964 (espec. Chapter 3 'The Invention of the Adolescent'); John R. Gillis, Youth and History, Academic Press, New York, 1974; Stephen Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels?, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981; John Springhall, The Origins of Adolescence, Youth and Policy, Vol.2, No.3, Winter 1983/4.
35. Peter Laurie, The Teenage Revolution, Anthony Blond, 1965, p.9.
36. The Teenage Consumer, The London Press Exchange Limited, July 1959.
37. Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959, The London Press Exchange Limited, January 1961, pp.3-4.
38. Peter Laurie op.cit. pp.20-21.
39. Abrams (1959) op.cit. p.10.
40. Laurie op.cit. p.11.
41. Colin MacInnes op.cit. p.69.
42. Clarke et.al. op.cit. p.71.
43. *ibid.* p.71.
44. Bryan Wilson, "The Trouble with Teenagers" in The Youth Culture and the Universities, Faber and Faber, 1970, pp.23-24 (orig. Twentieth Century, August 1959).
45. For a close to contemporary discussion of the 'mass culture' debate, see James D. Halloran, Control or Consent?, Sheed and Ward, 1963, Chapter 6. Although the general climate of opinion was negative towards the advent of 'mass culture' there was one group of intellectuals who seemed to welcome it: those writers and artists associated with 'pop art'. As John Russell puts it: "Pop was a resistance movement: a classless commando which was directed against the Establishment in general and the art-Establishment in particular ... It was a struggle fought by people who

were for science against the humanities, for cybernetics against the revival of Italic handwriting, for Elvis against pre-electric recordings of Battistini, for American army surplus fatigues against waistcoats, for the analytical study of General Motors advertising against an hour in the print-room at Colnaghis" (Introduction in John Russell and Suzi Gablik (eds.) Pop Art Redefined, Thames and Hudson, 1969, pp.31-32). As such, pop art reversed the terms of the mass culture debate by turning its vices into virtues and welcoming the mass-produced, the ephemeral and the American. As pop artist, Richard Hamilton, put it, "Pop Art" was:

Popular (designed for a mass audience)
 Transient (short term solution)
 Expendable (easily forgotten)
 Low-cost
 Mass-produced
 Young (aimed at Youth)
 Witty
 Sexy
 Gimmicky
 Glamourous
 Big Business ...

(quoted John Russell *ibid.* p.33.)

46. Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1960, HMSO, 1962, p.16. The committee appeared to share such dissatisfaction by its elaboration on the theme of 'triviality' (see p.34 of the Report). Such observations were to lead to a hostile response from the press who decried its alleged 'anti-popular' stance (see Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, The Popular Arts, Hutchinson, 1964, pp.428-430). The educational concerns of Pilkington were also reflected in the National Union of Teachers special conference of October 1960 on 'Popular Culture and Personal Responsibility' the aim of which was 'to examine the impact of mass communications on present-day moral and cultural standards'.
47. Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, Penguin, 1959, pp.12, 284 and 285 (orig. Chatto and Windus, 1957). Hoggart's concern with the break-up of traditional working-class culture found a parallel in more conventional sociological studies, especially Michael Young and Peter Willmott's, Family and Kinship in East London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957 which examined the erosion of collectivism and kin and community contact resulting from the removal of families in Bethnal Green to a new suburban housing estate. Wilson (*op.cit.* pp.31-32) in turn relates the breakdown of working-class communities to the alleged anomie of the contemporary teenager.
48. Hoggart *op.cit.* pp.203, 204 and 205. Hoggart's concern with the debasement of taste amongst the juke-box boys can clearly be linked to an accompanying hostility towards the "Americanisation" of British culture. As Wilson (*op.cit.* p.30) puts it, "British youth culture imitates the American: for some time we have been a major 'cultural importer' from the United States, although American ideals act erosively on our traditional values". Dick Hebdige also comments: "From the 1930's onwards the United States ... began to serve as the image of industrial barbarism: a country with no past, and therefore no real culture, a country ruled by competition, profit and the drive to acquire" ('Towards a Cartography of Taste', Block, 4, 1981, p.42). Evidence of such hostility to 'Americanisation' manifested itself in relation to rock 'n' roll, US films and television programmes and was a key element in the campaign against horror comics, resulting in the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act of 1955 (see Martin Barker, A Haunt of Fears, Pluto, 1984).

49. Laurie op.cit. p.123.
50. Quoted Gamble op.cit. p.82.
51. Montgomery op.cit. p.173.
52. ibid. p.174.
53. op.cit. p.114.
54. See Michael Schofield, The Sexual Behaviour of Young People, Longmans, 1965.
55. The Insecure Offenders, Pelican, 1964 (orig. Chatto and Windus 1961).
56. Folk Devils and Moral Panics, Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1980, p.58.
57. Abrams (1959) op.cit. p.13 and Abrams (1961) op.cit. p.10.
58. Graham Murdock and Robin McCron, 'Youth and Class: The career of a confusion' in Geoff Mungham and Geoff Pearson (eds.) Working Class Youth Culture, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, p.10.
59. Clarke et.al. op.cit. pp.47-48.
60. Hebdige op.cit. p.53. This would appear to be confirmed by the origins of the teddy boy in the Elephant and Castle area of London. As John Springhall observes it is difficult to see it being "blessed with 'affluence' or anything like it" (Coming of Age, Gill and McMillan, forthcoming). However, it would still be an error to assume that youth sub-cultures, such as the Teddy boy, were typical of youth as a whole. As Simon Frith points out, sub-cultural theory does tend to be tied to 'the conventional deviancy focus on sensational, leisure-based males' in which "most young people vanish from the analysis altogether" (The Sociology of Rock, Constable, 1978, p.27 and p.57).
61. "The treatment of 'football hooliganism' in the press" in Roger Ingham et.al., Football Hooliganism, Inter-Action, 1978, pp.29-30. Roy Edgeley also notes how the antithesis between violence and reason seems to assume the force of an "a priori opposition" within liberal thinking. As he points out, violence in itself is neither rational or irrational, "it is not un-reason but non-reason" ('Reason and Violence - A fragment of the ideology of intellectuals', Radical Philosophy, Spring, 1973, p.21).
62. 'Adolescence as a Social Problem' in Howard Becker (ed.) Social Problems: A Modern Approach, John Wiley and Son, New York, 1966, p.38 cf. David Matza and Gresham H. Sykes, Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values, American Sociological Review, Vol.26, No.5, October 1961 and their suggestion that juvenile delinquents represent a 'caricature' of adult society through their emphasis on the 'subterranean values' of 'leisure' already existent in the larger society.
63. Cohen op.cit. p.139.

64. Clarke et.al. op.cit. pp.71-72.
65. Fyvel op.cit. p.127.
66. Tony Bennett, James Bond in the 1980's, Marxism Today, June 1983, p.37.
67. 'The Position of Women' in Essays on 'the Welfare State', Unwin, 1963, p.91.
68. Ann Showstack Sassoon, Dual Role: Women and Britain's Crisis, Marxism Today, December 1982, p.6. Jeffrey Weeks, for example, notes the pervasive concern of the Beveridge Report of 1942, the foundation document of the Welfare State, with the reinforcement and encouragement of marriage and how these values were to permeate the whole Welfare State structure (see, Sex, Politics and Society, Longman, 1981, p.235).
69. Stuart Hall (1980) op.cit. p.23.
70. Pearl Jephcott's study of working wives in Bermondsey, begun in 1954, concluded that 'the way her wages were spent showed that the woman worked neither to meet basic economic needs nor to provide personal pleasures for herself. Money was wanted as a means of raising the family's standard of living. It was used to build up, on a do-it-yourself basis, a more modern and attractive home, to provide more generous food, better footwear, and larger wardrobes ... In addition, the wife's earnings eased her housekeeping' (Married Women Working, Allen and Unwin, 1962, p.165).
71. Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles: Home and Work, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956, p.74. Veronica Beechey draws a parallel with Marx's conception of the 'industrial reserve army' to account for women's disadvantaged role in the labour force:
- "I want to argue that married women workers are like semi-proletarianised workers so far as capital is concerned, since they too can be paid wages at a price which is below the value of labour power. In the case of married women, it is their dependence upon male wages within the family for part of the costs of production and reproduction of labour power which accounts for the possibility of individual capitals paying wages which are below the value of labour power. The married woman does not, therefore, have to pay for the entire costs of reproducing her labour power, nor that of her children ... This argument, if correct, can explain why women's wages are significantly lower than men's" ('Some Notes on Female Wage Labour in Capitalist Production', Capital and Class, No.3, Autumn 1977, p.53.).
72. Hopkins op.cit. p.324.
73. Peter Lewis, The Fifties, Heinemann, 1978, p.45.
74. Women and the Welfare State, Tavistock, 1977, p.64.

75. Netta Glass, "Eating, Sleeping, and Elimination Habits in Children Attending Day Nurseries and Children Cared for at home by Mothers", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol.XIX, No.4, October 1949, discussed in Myrdal and Klein op.cit. pp.127-8. Such conclusions seem borne out by the research of Jephcott op.cit.: "In a matter so difficult to measure as the general well-being of children, considerable weight must be attached to the opinion of trained and experienced people in close contact with them. Teachers, health visitors, and social workers all agreed that the worker's child displayed no sign whatever of physical neglect, and practically no one could identify characteristics distinguishing the two sets of children" (p.170).
76. John Bowlby, Child Care and the Growth of Love, Pelican, 1963, p.105.
77. Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce, HMSO, 1956, p.11.
78. *ibid.* p.9.
79. Hall op.cit. p.8.
80. Report of the Committee on Homosexual Practices and Prostitution, HMSO, 1957, p.20. This 'weakening of the family' was also interlinked with juvenile delinquency by the Report of the Committee on Children and Young Persons (HMSO 1960): "It is the situation and relationships within the family which seem to be responsible for many children being in trouble, whether the trouble is called delinquency or anything else" (p.7). Quite clearly, this emphasis on the family as the source of delinquency also diverted attention away from more general questions of social and economic inequality.
81. This is made particularly clear in a BBC interview given by Lord Wolfenden on the Report: "I don't want to be taken as ... approving, or encouraging or morally approving of this sort of behaviour ... we don't approve of it morally, just as we don't approve of all sorts of other things morally, for instance, adultery and fornication. But we don't see why this particular form of sexual misbehaviour ... which we regard, most of us, as morally repugnant ... why that, and that only, should be a criminal offence". As the Daily Express (5/9/57) summed up: "The Citizen has the right to be wrong" (see The Sixties: Swingeing, Channel 4, 3/6/84).
82. Lucy Bland, Trisha McCabe and Frank Mort, 'Sexuality and Reproduction: Three 'Official' Instances' in M. Barrett et.al. (op.cit.) p.109.
83. 'Law and the Control of Women's Sexuality: The Case of the 1950's' in Bridget Hutter and Gillian Williams (eds.), Controlling Women: The Normal and the Deviant, Croom Helm, 1981, p.51.
84. *ibid.* p.53. The increasing emphasis on non-procreative sexuality within marriage can also be related to the expansion of Family Planning Association clinics and Marriage Guidance counsellors during the fifties as well as the publicity enjoyed by the second Kinsey report, Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female in 1953. See Lewis (op.cit.) Chapter 2; Birmingham Feminist History Group, 'Feminism as femininity in the nineteen-fifties?', Feminist Review, No.3, 1979 and Elizabeth Wilson, Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Post war Britain 1945-68, Tavistock, 1980, espec. pp.88-95.

85. The sting in the tail of 'permissiveness' can also be observed in relation to the operation of The Obscene Publications Act of 1959. As Bernard Levin wryly observes, this act was "designed by its sponsors (the Society of Authors outside Parliament, and Mr. Roy Jenkins inside) to remedy a strange state of affairs in which many serious and reputable books were subject to prosecution for obscenity without a serious defence being possible because of the antiquated nature of the law under which they were charged. The new legislation was designed to prevent in future prosecutions of such books as D.H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover. This being the case, it naturally came about that the Director of Public Prosecutions selected as the first book to be prosecuted under the new law Lady Chatterley's Lover" (The Pendulum Years, Jonathan Cape, 1970, p.280). As with the visibility of prostitution, it seemed as if much of the concern lay less with the book itself than the fact that it would become readily available in paperback by virtue of being published by Penguin. Although the publishers were acquitted, the trial's outcome, as the Birmingham Feminist History Group argue, was hardly a straightforward victory for "the line of defence, for eminent literary figures and respectable left clerics alike, lay in the claim that the book was both a work of art and an expression of the wonderful sacrament of marriage, with sex religiously viewed as an act of communion" (op.cit. p.60). Moreover, the same act was successfully employed against the publication of Fanny Hill and then the Last Exit to Brooklyn (although the conviction was subsequently quashed in the Court of Criminal Appeal).
86. Michele Barrett, Women's Oppression Today, Verso, New Left Books, 1980. Johanna Brenner and Marias Ramas, however, criticise Barrett for over-emphasizing the role of the state and gender ideology in accounting for women's oppression under capitalism and under-emphasizing its 'material base': "While the capitalist development of the forces of production tends to undermine the family-household system by pulling women into wage labour, capitalist class relations set up a counter-tendency reinforcing the sexual division of labour. This is not ... because gender divisions are 'embedded' in capitalist relations of production. It is because one consistent tendency of the capitalism system is to reduce working-class living standards and to force working people to accomplish the labour necessary for their reproduction in their 'own' time ... To provide quality childcare and to allow parents to organize their work around the demands of child-rearing - flexitime, infant care at the work-site, parenting leave, after school care, paid time off for family responsibilities - would represent a substantial increase in the wage bill ... Up to now, even in the most advanced capitalist countries, the working-class has not been able to achieve such gains" (Re-thinking Women's Oppression, New Left Review, No.144, March-April 1984, pp.60-61).
87. 'The Intellectuals - Great Britain' in Encounter Vol.IV, No.4, April 1955, p.6.
88. 'The Intellectual Aristocracy' in J.H. Plumb (ed.) Studies in Social History, Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, p.285. Such a remark may be read alongside Perry Anderson's observations that the "peculiarity of English history has been the tradition of a body of intellectuals which was at once homogeneous and cohesive and yet not a true intelligentsia. The reason for this was that the unity of the group was mediated not through ideas but through kinship" (Origins of the Present Crisis, New Left Review, No.23, January-February 1964, pp.42-43). See also Tom Nairn, The English Literary Intelligentsia in E. Tennant (ed.) Bananas, Blond and Briggs, 1977.

89. Philip Larkin rather engagingly dismisses the claimed significance of his book as 'trend-spotter's comment' in his introduction to the reprint of Jill (Faber and Faber, 1977, p.11). Alan Swingewood, on the other hand, argues that the book, along with Room at the Top, embodies the 'transition from the Tressell/Crassic Gibbon/Greenwood model of a largely inert proletariat to the new, more aggressive and independent view of the working class' (The Myth of Mass Culture, Macmillan, 1977, p.67).
90. Robert Hewison, In Anger: Culture in the Cold War 1945-60, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981, p.129.
91. Kenneth Allsop, The Angry Decade, Peter Owen, 1958, p.141.
92. Lewis op.cit. p.161; Wilson quoted Allsop (op.cit.) pp.177-8. As with the teenager the connotations attaching to the Angry Young Men were by the same token not always flattering. The Sunday Express opted for the label of 'intellectual Teddy Boys' (31/7/60) while J. Harman in the Evening News saw fit to comment as follows: "This infant disagreement with things as they are used to disappear with the onset of adolescence. Nowadays the process is prolonged - among schoolboys who must not be caned, Teddy boys who cannot be blamed for their sins, and literary and dramatics blokes who make fortunes out of insisting that life stinks" (28/5/59).
93. Gene Feldman and Max Gartenberg (eds.), Introduction, Protest, Quartet, 1973, p.6 (orig. Citadel Press, 1958) cf. Clarke et.al. who argue that the expansion in education necessary to the development of modern capitalism helped create 'a crisis in the youth of this class ... specifically, as a crisis in the educational and ideological apparatuses' (op.cit. p.63).
94. William Donaldson quoted Allsop (op.cit.) p.137.
95. Blake Morrisson, The Movement English Poetry and Fiction of the 1950's, Oxford University Press, 1980, p.73.
96. John Wain, Hurry on Down, Penguin, 1960, p.250 (orig. Secker and Warburg 1953).
97. Allsop op.cit. p.75.
98. Dave Rimmer, Inside the New Outsiders, City Limits No.11-12, December 18-31, 1981, p.60. Although this article is in fact a spoof of an alleged 80's Angry Young Man revival its observations are often very much to the point.
99. Collected Poems 1950-70, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p.27.
100. Kingsley Amis, Socialism and the Intellectuals in Feldman and Gartenberg op.cit. p.271 (orig. Fabian Society Pamphlet 1957). As Hewison (op.cit.) aptly observes this "must be the most apolitical pamphlet every produced for that body" (p.122).
101. Morrisson op.cit. p.95.

102. Bernard Bergonzi, The Situation of the Novel, Macmillan, 1979, p.151. Bergonzi also observes that "Amis has shown himself to be assertively anti-modern, anti-experimental and anti-cosmopolitan" (p.162).
103. Allsop op.cit. p.117 and p.26. In assessing such observations, it is worth bearing in mind Hewison's observation that Allsop's book represents less 'a survey of the phenomenon, than a contribution' (op.cit. p.140).
104. Wilson quoted Allsop op.cit. p.172.
105. Allsop ibid. pp.194-5.
106. D.E. Cooper, Looking Back on Anger in Bogdanor and Skidelsky op.cit. p.257.
107. John Osborne, Sex and Failure in Feldman and Gartenberg op.cit. p.282.
108. John Osborne, Look Back In Anger, Faber and Faber, 1969, pp.59-60 (orig. 1957). Without wishing to make the issue a matter of personal sensibility, it seems impossible not to relate the misogyny of Osborne's work to the distaste shown for his mother in his autobiography, A Better Class of Person, Faber and Faber, 1981.
109. cf. Ken Worpole's observations on 'masculine style' in popular fiction: "What continues to be obvious ... is that the 'tough-guy' vernacular style of writing, is very much the narrative style which many working-class male writers adopt as the appropriate register and syntax for writing about contemporary class experience" (The American Connection: The Masculine Style in Popular Fiction, New Left Review, No.139, May-June, 1983, p.94).
110. Paul Hoch, White Hero Black Beast Racism, Sexism and the Mask of Masculinity, Pluto, 1979, p.98.
111. T.R. Fyvel op.cit. pp.130-1.
112. Leslie A. Fiedler quoted Allsop op.cit. p.18.
113. Universities and Left Review, Vol.1, No.1, Spring 1957, p.1.
114. The Left in the Fifties, New Left Review, No.29, p.15. It has been, of course, a subsequent argument of Perry Anderson's that Western Marxism generally has suffered from a concentration on the 'superstructural' at the expense of the more directly economic. See, Considerations on Western Marxism, New Left Books, 1976.
115. To some extent CND can also be seen as the harbinger of the more developed 'counter-cultures' of the sixties (as distinct from the working-class sub-cultures already discussed). "Middle-class counter-culture spearheaded a dissent from their own, dominant, 'parent' culture. Their disaffiliation was principally, ideological and cultural" and "in its own traumatic and disturbing way profoundly adaptive to the system's productive base" (Clarke et.al. op.cit. pp.62-65).

116. MacInnes op.cit. p.198.
117. As the inverted commas indicate, the very term 'race' is problematic. Although it implies a distinction between human groups on the basis of similarities and dissimilarities of physical characteristics, there is nothing automatic or inevitable about how 'races' are distinguished. The term 'race' is, in effect, a construct which relies on the selective identification and classification of some physical characteristics, rather than others, as the constitutive features of 'race'. It is for this reason that Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea argue that 'race' as such does not exist but is socially created:
- "Race' is not an objective, biological feature; it is an idea. The human species is not naturally divided into discrete and distinct biological 'races': it has divided itself into what is believed to be 'races'. Hence, 'races' only exist insofar as people think, and behave as if, they exist" (White Man's Country, Pluto, 1984, pp.13-14).
- It is, of course, a characteristic of racist ideology not only to accept and promote such socially-constructed definitions as 'natural' but also to assume that social and psychological differences can then be seen to result from these same 'biological' divisions.
118. These figures are provided by James Walvin, Passage to Britain, Penguin, 1984, p.111. West Indian migration to Britain had, in part, been stimulated by the restrictions on entry to the United States imposed by the McCarran Act of 1952. However, it also conformed to a larger pattern of migration, stretching as far back as the building of the Panama Canal, which had resulted from the deformation of the Caribbean economy under slavery and corresponding absence of a basis for autonomous economic development (see Miles and Phizacklea op.cit. pp.17-18).
119. Royal Commission on Population, Command 7695, HMSO, 1949, p.125.
120. According to 1961 Census statistics, the 'coloured' population still represented only 0.6% of the total U.K. population of 52,673,221.
121. Peter Fryer, for example, reports that only 13% of 'coloured' men and 5% of women entering Britain had no skills; yet, by the end of the fifties more than half the male West Indians in London were employed in jobs less skilled than those they might have expected at home (Staying Power, Pluto Press, 1984, p.374). A contemporary study revealed that one-third of the British were 'extremely prejudiced' against 'coloured' people and wished to exclude them; another third were only 'mildly' prejudiced (Anthony H. Richmond, The Colour Problem, Penguin, 1955, pp.240-6). Although Fryer estimates that half of Britain's white population had never met a black person, it was clear that Britain's imperial past had bequeathed a legacy of popular racist sentiment. Some evidence of this in action is provided by Fryer's descriptions of strikes and other action against the employment and promotion of black workers (ibid. p.376).

122. Immigration and Race in British Politics, Penguin, 1965, p.159. Hugh Gaitskell's remarks were made in the House of Commons, 16 November, 1961. The inadequacies of the Government, in this respect, can be related to a more general failure of housing and welfare provision. The absence of a proper housing policy, for example, was in evidence, not just in the workings of the notorious 1957 Rent Act, but in the general rundown of council house building (nearly halved between 1955 and 1961) and the lack of commitment to slum clearance (out of 850,000 slums identified by a government survey in 1955 only 280,000, or under a third, had been demolished five years later). Thus, in 1960, out of 15½ million houses in Britain, 1 million were without lavatories, 4 million were without bathrooms and 5 million only had outside lavatories (see Alan Brown, The Tory Years, Lawrence and Wishart, 1963; also Montgomery op.cit.). In such a context, it was easy for racist groups and politicians to exploit these failures by suggesting that it was the incoming population who were to be held responsible, rather than the Government itself.
123. Op.cit. p.377. Fryer also details the history of attacks on blacks, both before and after, the much more publicised events of August and September.
124. This construction of 'the race/immigration problem' is pursued in more detail in Miles and Phizacklea op.cit. espec. Chapter 2.
125. Op.cit. p.112.
126. This was despite the fact that the total number of aliens in England and Wales in 1961 (415,700) considerably exceeded the total 'coloured' population (see Walvin ibid. p.111).
127. Op.cit. p.140.
128. Gideon Ben-Tovim and John Gabriel, 'The politics of race in Britain, 1962-79: a review of the major trends and of recent debates' in Charles Husband (ed.), 'Race' in Britain, Hutchinson, 1982, pp.145-6.
129. Op.cit. p.44.

CHAPTER TWO

1. A. Robert Gordon, Chairman of Sussex Cinematograph Exhibitors Association, reported Kinematograph Weekly, November 13, 1958, p.7. Charles Oakley confirms this with his estimate that 54% of married women stopped going to the cinema between 1948 and 1960. (Where We Came In, Allen and Unwin, 1964, p.221). That other bogey of the fifties - the Teddy boy - was also invoked. As one letter to Films and Filming put it: "Television, production costs, entertainments tax - they are all singly and collectively advanced as the reason for falling attendance at the cinema. To my mind, the single greatest factor being ignored is the Teddy Boy menace" (April 1958, p.3).
2. For an attempt to quantify the impact of television on cinema admissions, see John Spraos, The Decline of the Cinema, Allen and Unwin, 1962, espec. Chap.1. By correlating the number of television licences and fall in cinema admissions between 1950-59, he suggests that "half the observed variation in the fall of admissions between regions can be 'explained' by differences in the extent of TV ownership" (p.20).
3. Five trade organisations were involved: the British Film Producers Association (BFPA), the Association of Specialised Film Producers (ASFP), the Federation of British Film Makers, the Kinematograph Renters Society (KRS), and the Cinematograph Exhibitors Association (CEA).
4. Membership of the AITC was the same as FIDO but did not include the Federation of British Film Makers who were only founded in 1957 by a group of independent producers and directors (including the Boulting brothers, Frank Launder & Sidney Gilliat, and Michael Balcon).
5. cf. Distribution and Exhibition of Cinematograph Films (Chairman: Arnold Plant), HMSO, 1949: "If the establishment of a British film industry on a self-supporting basis can be correctly assumed to be an accepted aim of government policy, then the amount of the cinema's admission prices which are levied in Entertainments Duty appear to us to be in general quite excessive. The overall proportion is in practice nearly 36 per cent. There cannot in our opinion be any doubt that the balance of receipts left in the industry after meeting the reasonable costs of exhibition and distribution is inadequate to recoup even reasonable production costs of the whole supply of first feature and supporting pictures required to keep the cinemas in operation" (p.27). Similar arguments about the problems of production were also revived in the fifties. In a House of Lords debate on Entertainments Duty in 1958, for example, Lord Lucas of Chilworth cited the example of The Good Companions (d. Jack Lee Thompson 1957) which had suffered a production loss of £118,382 while £131,500 had been levied on the film's box-office takings by Entertainments Duty (reported Kinematograph Weekly, April 3, 1958, p.6).
6. For a more detailed discussion of the industry during the thirties and forties, see The British Film Industry, Political and Economic Planning (PEP). London, 1952. For an analysis of the impact of the 1927 Films Act, see Simon Hartog, State Protection of a Beleaguered Industry in James Curran and Vincent Porter (eds.), British Cinema History, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983.
7. These are calculations of my own, employing figures derived from P. Braithwaite, The Cinema Industry 1950-70 and its customers, March 1970 and The British Film Industry, BFI Information Guide No.1, October 1980. Figures for seating capacity come from Recommendations of the Cinematograph Films Council: Structure and Trading Practices of the Films Industry (Chairman: S.C. Roberts), HMSO, 1964.

8. The details of this episode can be found in PEP (1952) op.cit., Peter Forster, J. Arthur Rank and the Shrinking Screen in Michael Sissons and Philip French (eds.) The Age of Austerity, Hodder and Stoughton, 1963; Robert Murphy, Ranks Attempt on the American Market, 1944-49 in Curran and Porter op.cit.
9. All figures derive from the British Film Producers Association Annual Reports, 1958-61. They do not include films in which Rank and ABPC had an indirect financial interest.
10. Quoted in Derek Hill, 'Where the Holy Spirit leads', Definition, 3.
11. Edward Goring, Daily Mail, 5/11/1959.
12. Some precedence for the AFM set-up can be found in the Group Production Scheme established in 1951 in the wake of Rank's production crisis. Under this arrangement groups of independent producers could secure distribution guarantees or even cash from the majors combined with financial support from the National Film Finance Corporation. Thus, British Film Makers were provided with distribution guarantees from GFD for 70% while the NFFC supplied the rest. ABFD advanced cash to a second group and distribution guarantees for 50% to Group 3 (with the rest again coming from the NFFC). In this way, the production risks of the combines were effectively transferred to the NFFC. For further details see PEP (1952) op.cit.
13. Quoted Daily Mail, 3/11/1959.
14. The main participants involved in Bryanston included Michael Relph, Basil Dearden, Charles Frennd, Norman Priggens, Ronald Neame, John Bryan, Monja Danischewsky, Albert Fennell, Julian Wintle, Leslie Parkyn, Aubrey Baring, George Brown, David Dent and Colin Lesslie. Michael Balcon acted as part-time chairman, Maxwell Setton as managing director.
15. Quoted Films and Filming, June 1959, p.28.
16. The Man Behind the Angry Young Man in Films and Filming, February 1959, p.9.
17. New Wave Hits British Films in Films and Filming, April 1980, p.11.
18. Quoted Alexander Walker, Hollywood England: The British Film Industry in the Sixties, Michael Joseph, 1974, p.468.
19. Quoted Bernard Husra, Patterns of Power, Films and Filming, April 1964, p.54.
20. The Money in Films, Films and Filming, July 1963, p.9.
21. cf. the NFFC Annual Report, 1961: "For a number of reasons, including in particular the Corporation's statutory duty to pay its way, the Corporation is not usually willing to assist such projects unless part of the finance is being provided in the normal way by a distributor" (p.5). One exception was the "unusual case" of The Kitchen for which the Corporation provided the whole cash cost of production (ibid.).

22. The other intervention by government into the British film industry produced much the same effect. In 1950, the British Film Production Fund was established to administer a levy (initially $\frac{1}{4}$ d per ticket), designed to be fed back into production through payments to producers. In 1957 the Production Fund was replaced by the British Film Fund Agency and the levy made statutory by the Cinematograph Film Act (partly out of fear that exhibitors would refuse to pay the levy as a protest against Entertainments Duty). Although the Act anticipated an initial sum of $\pounds 3\frac{3}{4}$ million being derived from the levy, it took pressure on the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade by the BFPA to ensure the first year's yield of $\pounds 3.67$ million. Although the BFPA consistently demanded that the maximum sum allowed by the Act ($\pounds 5$ million) should be collected, the amount of levy for succeeding years remained much the same (taking until 1977 to finally top $\pounds 5$ million). However, apart from being too small, the main problem with the fund was the basis of its payments, distributed in proportion to producers' direct home earnings. Spraos sums up the objections:

"First, it helps most those films which are in least need of help thanks to their box-office success. Second, it accentuates the difference between films selected for circuit showing ... and those not so selected ... Third, films which do poorly at the box-office through no fault of their own, say through their release coinciding with fog, snow, heatwave or a particularly attractive rival release, are penalized by being entitled to a correspondingly small share of the subsidy. Fourth, the system does not mitigate the inequality of risk carried by the independent producer who makes, say, one film a year as compared with that carried by the large producing company which makes at least half a dozen. The latter cancels out swings with roundabouts and stays in business; the former may suffer a fatal blow from one failure ... The effect of this will be a slow but steady decline of film production. Fifth, the system misses the opportunity of providing positive inducement for the expansion of production" (op.cit. p.141).

The other anomaly created by the Fund derived from its definition of a 'British' film in terms of location and labour. Because it ignored the source of finance, many American companies were able to benefit from Fund payments, such that by 1966 Variety was able to estimate that over 80% of the levy was going to American major companies (quoted Terence Kelly, A Competitive Cinema, The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1966,

23. PEP (1952) op.cit. p.263.

24. op.cit. p.24.

25. Page 7. Because of this disadvantage, the NFFC recommended a 'pari passu' system whereby the NFFC's rate of recovery would be closer to that of the distributor: "While the pari passu does not increase the amount of money to be provided or guaranteed by the distributor, it slows down the distributor's rate of recovery because his investment is not wholly recovered until the producer's is also recovered" (ibid). Such a scheme was in fact initiated in January 1965 between Rank, the NFFC and the National Provincial Bank. But, Rank's involvement was half-hearted, possibly only motivated by fear of the Monopolies Commission's impending report, and operations ceased while the NFFC awaited the return of its outlay. Indeed, the NFFC had to suspend its activities altogether in 1966-67 while it waited for loan repayments - a further indication of its high-risk and disadvantaged position in the industry's structure.

26. Films: A Report of the Supply of Films for Exhibition in Cinemas, HMSO, 1966, p.12. Under the terms of the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices (Inquiry and Control) Act of 1948, Rank was deemed guilty of monopoly with respect to the supply of films while both Rank and ABPC (along with the KRS) were found to engage in restrictive practices with respect to the booking of films through particular distributors and the activities of barring and block booking. Although the Commission went on to suggest that "it is desirable that any producer who has a good idea should be free to compete for the public's support, and that the market should therefore be organised on more competitive lines" (p.69), it rejected the breaking up of circuits or enforcement of competitive bidding as a solution: "on balance, we think that, although the present system is itself undesirable, the suggested alternatives ... offer insufficient assurance of benefit to justify the difficulty and upheaval they would entail" (p.81). A disappointed Alexander Walker commented: "complacency was now backed by the legitimacy reluctantly conferred on the situation by the Monopolies Commission. The status quo had been sanctioned, the monopolistic interests safeguarded" (op.cit. p.334).
27. Quoted in Survival or Extinction? A Policy for British Films, ACTT, London, 1964. The problem of circuit release for the independent distributor was exacerbated by the ties the major distributors had with their American counterparts and to whom they would conventionally show preference. Rank was thus 'tied' with Columbia, Twentieth Century Fox, United Artists and Disney while ABPC had similar links with Paramount, MGM and Warners.
28. Sunday Telegraph 26/1/1964.
29. As the Monopolies Commission puts it "The importance of a circuit booking thus puts ABPC and Rank in a position to determine very largely what films shall be given public exhibition, and hence what films shall be made, since those who put up money for film production take account of what they believe to be the circuits' booking policies in their assessment of a proposed film's chances of success ... Production is effectively determined by the policies of only two companies without the check of competition" (op.cit. pp.66 and 77). As they go on to argue, circuit power in this respect is not just seen in the films refused a booking but in the films not made at all (p.67). In terms of Stephen Lukes 'three-dimensional view of power', this system-based ability to prevent productions (or in his case political conflict), represents 'the most effective and insidious use of power'. (Power A Radical View, Macmillan, 1980, p.23).
30. Films and Filming op.cit.
31. Harry Saltzman quoted Walker op.cit. p.58.
32. Tribune, 5/8/1960.
33. Evening Standard, 28/11/1960.
34. *ibid.*
35. Walker op.cit. p.88.
36. *ibid.* p.152.
37. Notes For A Life, Everest Books, 1977, p.292.

38. Walker op.cit. p.248.
39. ibid.
40. Communications: the continuing crisis, New Society, No.603, 25/4/1974, p.181.
41. For a discussion of Trevelyn's role here, see Guy Phelps, Film Censorship, Victor Gollancz, 1975.
42. Terry Lovell also analyses the 'widespread openness to innovation' of the French film industry at this time in terms of economic decline and competition from TV. The difference in the extent of such innovations between the two countries can also be accounted for in industrial terms: "The French cinema is structured horizontally along functional lines ... It is highly segmented lacking any monolithic power structure, or important bottlenecks, were systematic discriminations could be made in determining the fate of individual films" (Sociology of Aesthetic Structures and Contextualism in Denis McQuail (ed.) Sociology of Mass Communications, Penguin, 1972).
43. For details of how Hammer by-passed the British system of finance by drawing on American capital, see David Pirie, A Heritage of Horror, Gordon Fraser, 1973 and Vincent Porter, "The Context of Creativity: Ealing Studios and Hammer Films" in Curran and Porter op.cit. A limited amount of production information can also be found in Kenneth Eastaugh, The Carry-On Book, David and Charles, 1978. As with others, the Carry On films were also initially made with NFFC financing. Carry On Sergeant, Nurse, Constable and Teacher all so benefited. Their phenomenal commercial success, however, pin-pointed another weakness in the NFFC set-up. As the NFFC Annual Report for 1963 complained: "several groups of producers for whom the Corporation has provided substantial help in their early period of development have become outstandingly successful. As a result they reach a stage when they can produce films (many of them very profitable) without recourse to the Corporation - either by receiving 100 per cent financial support from distributors or by providing the 'end money' themselves" (pp.5-6). Bearers of risks in the beginning, the NFFC found themselves deprived of the profits later.
44. The concept of the 'gatekeeper' was first employed by D.M. White to describe the activity of a newspaper wire editor who must choose a small number of items from the large supply of news agency telegrams (see The Gate-Keeper: A Case-study in the Selection of News, Journalism Quarterly, No.27, 1950). The idea can be extended to the Rank and ABPC circuit bookers who perform a similarly selective function in determining what may appear on their screens.
45. As with Cohen's notion of economic and ideological exploitation discussed earlier, the process of incorporation here was at once economic (the actual production of films) and ideological, whereby the raw edges of working-class realism were softened and 'made safe'. Alexander Walker, for example, discusses The Wild and the Willing in terms of a process of 'embourgeoisement' (op.cit. p.159). Dick Hebdige discusses the idea of 'incorporation' in relation to youth subcultures in Subculture: The Meaning of Style, Methuen, 1979, Chapter 6.
46. P.29.
47. Rank Annual Report, 1963, p.18.

48. CEA Annual Report, 1960, p.9.
49. Details of 'X' films distributed by the two circuits can be found in Neville March Hunnings, Film Censors and the Law, Allen and Unwin, 1967.
50. July 1963, p.4.
51. See 'The Censor Needs A Change', Films and Filming, June 1958 and Kine Weekly, March 20, 1958, p.3.
52. The term 'structure in dominance' is, of course, Althusser's. Putting it crudely, it describes the relations of domination and subordination between 'relatively autonomous' elements in a complex totality or social formation. See, in particular, 'On the Materialist Dialectic' in For Marx op.cit.
53. "In the absence of sustained, programmatic and collaborative work addressed to the social and economic structures impeding the film-making for which they had argued, the ensuing dispersal was largely to be expected" write Simon Blanchard and Sylvia Harvey, The Post-war Independent Cinema - Structure and Organization in Curran and Porter op.cit. p.230. For a discussion of Free Cinema and the withdrawal of funds by Ford, see Lindsay Anderson's comments in the National Film Theatre programme notes, 15/8/77; also Alan Lovell and Jim Hillier, Studies in Documentary, Secker and Warburg, 1972.
54. The Contemporary Cinema 1945-63, Pelican, 1971, p.119 (orig. 1963).

CHAPTER THREE

1. Rank Chairman, John Davis, at the Dorchester Hotel, 12 December 1963, quoted Husra (1964) op.cit. p.51.
2. 'The Imaginary Signifier', Screen, Vol.16, No.2, Summer 1975 pp.18-19.
3. See, for example, Stephen Neale, Genre, British Film Institute, 1980, pp.25-30.
4. Harmless Entertainment: Hollywood and the Ideology of Consensus, Scarecrow Press, 1983, p.187.
5. I use the term 'limitations' with hesitation because I do not intend to imply a wholesale dismissal of such conventions, as has often been the case. The political 'effectiveness', or otherwise, of such conventions will tend to vary according to the institutional and ideological context in which they are employed. For a consideration of the 'progressive' uses to which these conventions may be put, especially in the context of television, see Colin McArthur, 'Days of Hope', Screen, Vol.16, No.4, Winter 1975/6 and two articles by John Caughie, 'Progressive Television and Documentary Drama', Screen, Vol.21, No.3, 1980 and 'Scottish Television: What Would It Look Like?' in Colin McArthur (ed.) Scotch Reels, British Film Institute, 1982.
6. As Stephen Heath puts it: "'classic narrative cinema' has ... the status of a model; no individual film is that model'", 'Film and System: Terms of Analysis Part 1', Screen, Vol.16, No.1, Spring 1975, p.10.
7. The Poetics of Prose, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1977, p.111.
8. Story and Discourse Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film, Cornell University Press, 1978, p.48.
9. 'The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 70s', Monogram, October 1975, p.14.
10. 'The Ideology of the Social Consciousness Movie: Three Films by Darryl F. Zanuck', Quarterly Review of Film Studies, Vol.3, No.1, Winter 1978, p.60.
11. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, Film Art, Addison-Wesley, 1980, p.58.
12. Op.cit. p.57.
13. The prevalence of these two types of ending is suggested by Thomas Schatz, Hollywood Genres Formulas, Film-making and the Studio System, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1981, p.29.
14. Raymond Williams, quoted in Terry Lovell, Pictures of Reality Aesthetics Politics and Pleasure, British Film Institute, 1980, p.65.
15. *ibid.* p.65.

16. Alan Lovell, for example, suggests that the characterisation of Brecht as an 'anti-realist' is misleading insofar as he 'believed the function of art was to provide knowledge of the real world' ('Epic Theatre and Counter-Cinema's Principles', Jump-Cut, No.27, 1982, p.64). Damian Grant also includes the work of Joyce, amongst others, in his definition of realism insofar as it is based on a 'coherence theory' of reality, rather than one of 'correspondence' (Realism, Methuen, 1970, Chapter 1). Such writers would not count as 'realists', however, in the specific sense of the term used in the discussion which follows.
17. Robert Phillip Kolker, The Altering Eye, Oxford University Press, 1983, p.90.
18. See Patrick Gibbs' review of This Sporting Life in The Daily Telegraph, 9/2/1963.
19. 'Between Style and Ideology' op.cit. p.5.
20. 'Recent English Drama' in Boris Ford (ed.) The Pelican Guide to English Literature 7: The Modern Age, Penguin, 1961.
21. *ibid.* pp.497-499.
22. 'Realism and the Cinema: Notes on some Brechtian theses', Screen, Vol.15, No.2, Summer 1974. This argument is pursued in a number of subsequent articles: 'Days of Hope - A Response to Colin McArthur', Screen, Vol.17, No.1, Spring 1976; 'The Politics of Separation', Screen, Vol.16, No.4, Winter 1975/6; "Theory and Film: Principles of Realism and Pleasure", Screen, Vol.17, No.3, Autumn 1976; 'Memory, Phantasy, Identity: Days of Hope and the Politics of the Past' in Claire Johnstone (ed.) History/Production/Memory, Edinburgh '77 Magazine, Edinburgh Film Festival, 1977.
23. 'Realism and the Cinema' op.cit. p.10.
24. This apparently anonymous or impersonal narration is, of course, dependent upon another characteristic which is often taken to be the distinctive hallmark of 'classic realism' i.e. the concealment, or 'rendering invisible', of stylistic devices. Although this is often accounted for in terms of a desire for mimetic fidelity it is, perhaps, more satisfactorily explained in terms of a requirement for economy and fluency of narration (as in the case of the conventions of continuity). It is in this sense that Stephen Heath suggests that what is conventionally designated as 'transparency' might more accurately be identified in terms of 'narrativisation' (see, 'Narrative Space', Screen, Vol.17, No.3, Autumn 1976, p.90).
25. 'Realism and Cinema' op.cit. p.12.
26. As Maltby suggests, the primary aesthetic end of mainstream narrative cinema is 'that of convincing the audience that the story being told is a plausible fiction (and) is, in that sense, 'real'' (op.cit. p.205). Plausibility, in this respect, is dependent not only on the coherence and consistency of the fictional world, or diegesis, that is presented but also a degree of perceptual (as well as psychological) congruence between how this world (no matter how fanciful) is presented and how the world is 'seen' outside the cinema. Thus, even in a film like The Incredible Striking Man, 'there is only a distortion of size, not of the perspective which governs the audience's understanding of spatial relationships' (*ibid.* p.203).

27. 'Memory, Phantasy, Identity' op.cit. p.17. Given the stress of this study on the 'ideological' it is inevitable that it should be the cognitive rather than affective aspects of film which are highlighted (though I would not accept that the two are necessarily un-related). However, for a warning against over-emphasizing the role of film in knowledge production (and, indeed, ideological production), see Terry Lovell op.cit. espec. pp.87-95.
28. 'Recent Developments in Feminist Criticism', Quarterly Review of Film Studies, Vol.3, No.4, 1978, p.464. cf. Raymond Williams' summary of this objection: "that there are many real forces - from inner feelings to underlying social and historical movements - which are either not accessible to ordinary observation or which are imperfectly or not at all represented is how things appear, so that a realism 'of the surface' can miss important realities" (Keywords, Fontana/Croom Helm, 1976, p.219).
29. 'Memory, Phantasy, Identity' op.cit. p.16.
30. 'A Response to Colin McArthur' op.cit. p.100; 'Realism and the Cinema' op.cit. p.16. The 'spectator', in this respect, refers to an 'ideal' or 'implicit' spectator rather than an actual member of the audience. McCabe also makes it clear that we still have 'to consider the relation between reader and text in its historical specificity' ('Theory and Film' op.cit. p.24). Complaints that his formulation merely reproduces a traditional disdain for the 'passive consumer' are discussed in Screen, Vol.16, No.4, Winter 1975/6, pp.72-74.
31. McCabe's use of the term 'contradiction' is general rather than specific, referring not only to 'contradictions in reality' but also, at various times, to 'contradiction in the text', 'contradiction in the audience', contradiction between image and sound and 'contradiction between the dominant discourse of the text and the dominant ideological discourses of the time'. These are quite clearly not all the same kind of phenomenon and do not depend on a traditionally Marxist conception of a social contradiction viz "an opposition or disjunction of structural principles of social systems where those principles operate in terms of each other but at the same time contravene one another" (as in the 'contradiction' between the 'forces' and 'relations of production', for example), see, Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory, Macmillan, 1979, p.141. His formulations do, however, suggest the way in which the 'realism' of the social problem film and the films of the 'new wave' would, in effect, pre-empt the possibility of representing social problems or class position as 'socially contradictory' phenomena. For a useful overview of Marx's use of the term 'contradiction', see Gary Young, 'The Fundamental Contradiction of Capitalist Production', Philosophy and Public Affairs, Vol.5, No.2, Winter 1976. For an attempt to theorise the relations between 'objective' social contradictions and contradictions in the 'subject', see Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, Language and Materialism, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, espec. pp.82-92. For a definition of ideology in terms of its 'concealment of contradictions', see Jorge Larraín, The Concept of Ideology, Hutchinson, 1979.
32. 'A Response to Colin McArthur' op.cit. p.100.
33. 'Realism and the Cinema' op.cit. p.16.

34. The 'ideal-type' is a methodological construct employed by Max Weber. See, 'Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy' in The Methodology of the Social Sciences, The Free Press, New York, 1949.
35. Teresa de Lauretis, for example, defines the shift in narrative theory in terms of a refocusing of interest on 'narrativity' rather than 'narrative' i.e. a concern less with 'the structure of narrative (its component units and their relations)' than 'its work and effects' (Alice Doesn't Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema, Macmillan, 1984, p.105).
36. Genre op.cit. p.20.
37. "Women's place: the absent family of film noir" in E. Ann Kaplan (ed.) Women in Film Noir, British Film Institute, 1978, p.33.
38. Women's Pictures op.cit. p.35.
39. David Bordwell, 'Happily Ever After, Part Two', The Velvet Light Trap, No.19, 1982, p.4.
40. The term 'motivation' derives from Boris Tomashevsky, 'Thematics' in Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis, Russian Formalist Criticism Four Essays, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1965, pp.78-87.
41. Harmless Entertainment op.cit. p.195.
42. Roger Mains, for example, complained of Colin's 'political cliches' (Screen Education Yearbook 1967) while the critic of The Times described 'Colin's references to the rights of the workers ... as something of a joke' (26/9/62).
43. As Colin McArthur suggests, there is something of a parallel process in the American film Crossfire in which the narrative and visual conventions of film noir effectively subvert the liberal message (of racial and religious tolerance) which is provided by the dialogue. See 'Crossfire and the Anglo-American Critical Tradition' op.cit.
44. 'The Concept of Cinematic Excess', Cine-Tracts, Vol.1, No.2, Summer 1977.
45. Screen, Vol.17, No.2, Summer 1976, p.7. A similar point is pursued by Bill Nichols, Ideology and the Image, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1981, espec. pp.108-109.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Genre, op.cit. p.10
2. For a classic statement on the 'intentional fallacy', see W.K. Wimsatt, Jr. and M.C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', Swanee Review, Vol.54, 1946. For a discussion of the conceptual and methodological issues raised by 'auteurism', see John Caughie (ed.), Theories of Authorship, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
3. Quoted Daily Express, 10/10/1958.
4. 'My Idea of Freedom', Films and Filming, September 1961, p.24.
5. Forsyth Hardy (ed.), Grierson on Documentary, Collins, 1946, p.140.
6. Ealing Studios op.cit. pp.81 and 164.
7. *ibid.* p.17.
8. *ibid.* p.85.
9. *ibid.* p.83.
10. Op.cit. pp.34-35.
11. Op.cit. p.118.
12. Roland Barthes, S/Z, Jonathan Cape, 1975, p.75.
13. cf. Robin Wood, "The concept of Otherness ... functions not simply as something external to the culture or to the self, but also as what is repressed (but never destroyed) in the self and projected outwards in order to be hated and disowned." (An Introduction to the American Horror Film in Andrew Britton, et.al., American Nightmare Essays on the Horror Film, Festival of Festivals, Toronto, 1979, p.9).
14. Op.cit. p.152.
15. cf. Pam Cook on the heroine in melodrama: "the status of her perceptions ... is always in question ... her access to knowledge is blocked, and her desires are presented through narrative and mise-en-scene explicitly as fantasy", ('Melodrama and the Women's Picture' in Sue Aspinall and Robert Murphy (eds.) Gainsborough Melodrama, British Film Institute, 1983, p.19).
16. cf. Sheila Whitaker, 'It Always Rains on Sunday', Framework, 9, Winter 1978/79.
17. The "establishment arian" label is Raymond Durgnat's in 'Dearden and Relph: Two on a Tandem', Films and Filming, July 1966, p.27. For a discussion of post-war hostility to the 'old gang', see Stuart Hall, 'The Social Eye of the Picture Post', Working Papers in Cultural Studies, No.2, Spring 1972.

18. Op.cit. p.86.
19. Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for England, Faber and Faber, 1970, p.59.
20. Durnat (1966) op.cit. p.30.
21. Cohen op.cit. p.16.
22. Durnat (1970) op.cit. p.38.
23. Mark Thomas McGee and R.J. Robertson's description of American youth movies in the fifties suggests many points of similarity: "More often than not, the juveniles were divided into two groups: thoroughly reprehensible 'bad' teenagers and the basically decent if often misunderstood 'good' teenagers ... The 'good' teenager was often redeemed by a 'good' teenage girl or an understanding adult. His evil counterpart was either killed, exiled to reform school, or worse, abandoned by his peer group" (The J.D. Films, McFarland and Co., Jefferson, North Carolina, 1982, p.viii). They also suggest that the split in male roles derives from the gangster films of the thirties and forties e.g. the Cagney and Bogart roles in The Roaring Twenties (1939).
24. Durnat (1966) op.cit. p.30.
25. IRA violence is explicitly connected to sexual pathology in Shake Hands With the Devil (1959) and A Terrible Beauty (1960). Like the Dearden youth movies, all three films counterpose the cold, emotionless and ruthless IRA killer to a basically 'decent' IRA member who ultimately turns his back on the Republican cause. For a more detailed discussion, see my 'Ireland, Ideology and the British Cinema' in K. Rockett, J. Hill and L. Gibbons, Cinema and Ireland, Croom Helm, 1986.
26. Quote from a letter to Sunday Times, 13/10/1957, by Dearden and Relph.
27. Critical Practice, Methuen, 1980, p.114.
28. "Is this our James Dean?", News Chronicle, 28/2/1958.
29. British Youth Problem Feature Films of the 1950s, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Polytechnic of Central London, 1983, p.67.
30. Op.cit. p.95.
31. John G. Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery and Romance Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture, University of Chicago Press, 1976.
32. Christian Metz, Film Language, Oxford University Press, 1974.
33. Kine Weekly, December 25, 1958, p.15.
34. 'Approaching the work of Dorothy Arzner' in Claire Johnston (ed.) The Work of Dorothy Arzner, British Film Institute, 1975, p.14. The term is derived from Roland Barthes, 'Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein' in Image-Music-Text, Fontana, 1977.
35. Sapphire, Panther, 1959, p.115.
36. Richard Dyer, 'Victim, Hegemonic Project', Film Form, Vol.1, No.2, 1977, p.7.
37. ibid. p.18.

38. See Sigmund Freud, On Sexuality, Penguin, 1977, pp.77-78 and Stephen Heath, The Sexual Fix, Macmillan, 1982, pp.42-48.
39. Op.cit. p.54.
40. Jon Halliday, Sirk on Sirk, Seeker and Warburg, 1971, p.130: "The imitation of life is not the real life ... The girl (Susan Kohner) is choosing the imitation of life instead of being a Negro. The picture is a piece of social criticism ... You can't escape what you are."
41. The terms 'imaginary' and 'symbolic' are being used in their specific Lacanian sense. cf. Anika Lemaire: "The child's identification with the father announces the passing of the Oedipus ... At the same time, a symbolic castration takes place: the father castrates the child by separating it from its mother. This is the debt which must be paid if one is to ... have access to the order of the symbol, of culture and of civilization." (Jacques Lacan, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, p.83).
42. MFB, April 1961, p.51.
43. Op.cit. p.56.
44. Op.cit. p.16.
45. cf. Michael Relph's letter to Films and Filming, May 1961, p.3: "The film puts forward the same point of view as the Wolfendon Committee, that the law should be changed." Although the film puts most of its emphasis on the ill effects of blackmail, the Wolfendon report itself did not stress this aspect: "We would certainly not go so far as some of our witnesses have done and suggest that the opportunities for blackmail inherent in the present law would be sufficient ground for changing it." (op.cit. p.40)
46. This adoption of a 'sickness perspective' survived throughout the sixties and was generally regarded as a 'progressive' position in relation to law reform. As Mary McIntosh explains: "People like Leo Abse, who was the spokesman for law reform in the House of Commons, were adopting a sickness perspective. They were putting forward the view that homosexuals could not help being homosexual; it was just how nature made them ... so there should not be laws against homosexual behaviour." (The Homosexual Role: Postscript in Kenneth Plummer (ed.) The Making of the Modern Homosexual, Hutchinson, 1981, p.44)
47. Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, Allen and Unwin, 1952, p.259.
48. Andy Medhurst does stress, however, the importance of Farr's 'confession' scene as 'the moment when irresistible sexual desire finds - its voice' and thus begins to hint at what he calls "a genuinely gay discourse, a discourse of homosexual desire". (Victim: Text as Context, Screen, Vol.25, Nos.4-5, July-October 1984, pp.32 and 30)
49. Peter Biskind discusses this emphasis on an inward acceptance of external constraint in his consideration of American cinema of the fifties. As he puts it: "the Right Thing is made to appear as if it came from within: it is experienced as uncoerced, a result of emotional or spiritual growth, "maturity" on the one hand or "salvation" on the other". (Op.cit. p.166)
50. Durgnat (1966) op.cit. pp.32-33.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Quote from Leslie Mallory, Daily Herald, 6/1/1961.
2. Woman in a Dressing Gown and Other TV Plays, Barrie and Rockcliffe, 1959, pp.7-8.
3. Quoted Mallory, op.cit.
4. Op.cit. p.8.
5. Daily Mail 5/10/1957. Durgnat (1970) op.cit. also describes it as 'the Brief Encounter of the council houses' (p.58).
6. cf. David Robinson on Willis' Flame in the Streets: "Ted Willis addresses himself to a middle-class audience which expects to recognise the social milieu by external conventions of speech and behaviour, rather than because the characters express an individual culture within which they have grown and within which they think ... We know Mr. Willis' characters for working-class people because they are made to talk in a conventionalised idiom of clumsy, half-articulate speech; and because they make jokes about smelly feet. John Mills is only working-class because he sings music-hall songs as he washes in his vest at the kitchen sink, dabs under his armpits with the towel, and manages actor's cockney" (Financial Times, 23/6/1961). The evidence of Willis' mentor, as revealed in Marty, suggests that Chayefsky suffers from a similar problem of condescension.
7. Op.cit. p.17.
8. Jack Lee Thompson was himself an important figure in the development of the social problem picture, directing two early examples: The Weak and the Wicked (1953), dealing with women in prison, and Yield to the Night (1956), concerned with a woman facing imminent execution, both based on novels by Joan Henry. As he explained, "In every film I do I hold on to something, some social problem. Now, if you say 'Should the audience always see social problems?', no, not in a million years. The cinema is a mass medium for world audiences - there's nothing wrong with a Bob Hope/Bing Crosby picture. They're not trying to show any big social problem, but I personally must" (Films and Filming, April 1963, p.6). The Weak and the Wicked reveals an intriguing example of the social problem film in its embryonic stage, lacking the confidence to fully follow through the 'realist' thrust of its prison sequences and tempering its 'seriousness' with comic 'light relief' (in part, similar to that of I Believe In You). Its main debt, however, is to the 'women's picture' and the organising principle of its narrative is the 'punishment' of the upper middle-class heroine who ignores her fiance's advice and continues to engage in gambling. In the process, her class hauteur and selfishness are tempered by contact with the 'lower orders' to produce a kind of inter-class 'alliance' also characteristic of the Dearden films.
9. Tribune, 18/10/1957.
10. 'Towards an analysis of the Sirkian system', Screen, Vol.13, No.4, Winter 1972/73. See also, Robin Wood, 'Film Studies at Warwick', University Vision, No.12, December 1974.

11. For a discussion of 'impossible' camera positions see Stephen Heath, 'Narrative Space', Screen, Vol.17, No.3, Autumn 1976, pp.95-97. As Heath suggests, such shots often indicate no more than a 'stylistic marking', a writing in of the authorial signature. In the case of Lee Thompson, the conscious intention was undoubtedly no more than an attempt to be 'cinematic' in the treatment of an otherwise enclosed television drama (cf. Perkins, op.cit.).
12. As if to confirm this point a recent television report on the British cinema employed both the final shot from Woman in a Dressing Gown, plus, rather misleadingly, the shot, discussed earlier of George and Jim, to accompany the following commentary: "The home is not necessarily the place that people want to be. Being stuck at home is a problem for many women in particular. Domestic isolation breaks down communities and makes it difficult for like-minded people to meet each other. Family and workplace, if you have them, are not really enough to provide a satisfying basis for social life." (Visions, Channel 4, 27/4/1983).
13. As I have not been able to see the film I am relying on the published script, see Willis, op.cit. pp.154-155,
14. Quoted Evening Standard, 28/10/1961. Willis also comments, "I wouldn't write anything that I would not like my children to see" (ibid).
15. Kine Weekly, April 10, 1958, p.29.
16. Durgnat (1970) op.cit. p.51. The 'hysteric' and 'contentment' quotations also derive from Durgnat.
17. Underworld USA, Secker and Warburg, 1972, p.39.
18. cf. Robert Stam and Louise Spence: "The attitude toward the Indian is premised on exteriority. The besieged wagon train or fort is the focus of our attention and sympathy, and from this centre our familiars sally out against unknown attackers characterised by inexplicable customs and irrational hostility ... The possibility of sympathetic identifications with the Indians is simply ruled out by the point-of-view conventions" ('Colonialism, Racism and Representation', Screen, Vol.24, No.2, March-April 1983, p.12).
19. Board of Film Censors quoted Observer, 4/6/1961. Violent Playground suffered similar objections: "I really think this kind of dialogue is undesirable at a time when juvenile delinquency is a serious problem in this country" (John Trevelyn, 'Censored - How and Why We Do It', Films and Filming, July 1958, p.33).
20. Halliday, op.cit. p.132.
21. cf. James Barlow's description of "The flat cynicism and indifference of parents, the TV set, the older kids of the area, the self-evident hopelessness of education in these two square miles" (Term of Trial, Penguin, 1962, p.23). See also Humphries, op.cit. p.19 on the sociological literature of the 1950s and 1960s: "Social class was conceived in terms not of social and economic relationships but of a category indicating cultural deprivation. The origins of this deprivation were ... traced to faulty family socialization processes, such as ... a strong emphasis on the transmission of an anti-intellectual culture of resignation, low expectation and immediate gratification."

22. Barlow's novel also highlights this, incorporating a characteristic anti-Americanisation theme as well: "The second half of the twentieth century had such a contempt for qualification, for knowledge, for truth, that Mitchell, within a few years, might have the sort of dream money that Freda would like. He exuded the sex, brute force, masculinity, the wrong sort of Americanism, the confidence that might put him on films or behind some microphone, drooling slob words of love, shaking his genitals for the screams of the commercialized teenagers and a thousand pounds a week" (op.cit. p.14).
23. Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 18/8/1962.
24. Quoted V.F. Perkins, 'Clive Donner and Some People', Movie, No.3, 1962, p.23.
25. cf. the note accompanying Paul Corrigan's 'Doing Nothing' in Resistance through Rituals, Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 7/8, Summer 1975, p.103: "It testifies to the intense activity which is involved in the common pursuit of 'doing nothing', and to the fact that what most adults see as an endless waste of time, an absence of purpose, is, from the viewpoints of the kids, full of incident, constantly informed by 'weird ideas'."
26. Op.cit. p.24.
27. Blacks in Films, Studio Vista, 1975, p.117.
28. Dyer, op.cit. p.16 provides a convenient explanation: "The notion of a text's 'structuring absence' is a suggestive, even beguiling one, which is also much open to abuse. It does not mean things which are simply not in the text, or which the critic thinks ought to be in the text ... A structuring absence ... refer to an issue, or even a set of facts or an argument, that a text cannot ignore, but which it deliberately skirts round or otherwise avoids, thus creating the biggest 'holes' in the text."
29. Op.cit. pp.58-59.
30. The terms 'cosh boy' and 'spiv' dominated the press accounts of juvenile behaviour until Spring 1954 when the 'Teddy boy' label acquired a dramatic popularity. The mutation from 'cosh boy' to 'teddy boy' can be seen by comparing The Blue Lamp to Violent Playground.
31. Daily Express, 28/10/1960.
32. The Times, 31/10/1960.
33. 'Exploitation' films and feminism, Screen, Vol.17, No.2, Summer 1976, pp.124-125. See also Aaron Lipstadt, 'Politics and Exploitation: New World Pictures', in Jim Hiller and Aaron Lipstadt (eds.) Roger Corman's New World, British Film Institute, 1981.
34. Time Out, No.529, June 6-12, 1980, p.61, Daily Telegraph, 31/5/1963.
35. Quoted The Observer, 27/10/1963. The censor was also concerned about the script's change in setting from Paris to Chelsea, on the assumption that native British depravity was likely to set a more dangerous example.
36. Daily Express, 28/10/1963: Daily Mail, 5/5/1965.
37. The Observer, 9/5/1965: Daily Telegraph, 7/5/1965.

38. Durgnat (1970) op.cit. p.139.
39. The Observer op.cit.
40. Pornography and Silence, The Woman's Press, 1981, p.21.
41. Dyer (1977) op.cit. p.12.
42. What could be, but usually isn't, highlighted in such films is the way that similar offences by working-class and middle-class teenagers are often perceived and responded to differently. The middle-class youth who is caught stealing, for example, may only be reprimanded or taken to his parents by the police whereas similar activity on the part of a working-class youth would more commonly lead to an official arrest and classification as a delinquent. (See, for example, Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organisation of Juvenile Justice, John Wiley and Son, New York, 1968). It is interesting to note, in this respect, that one of the original intentions of The Boys was to include a sub-plot dealing with the prosecuting counsel's teenage son's "upper class brand of hooliganism" as well as just that of the four working-class youths. (See, Derek Hill, Scene, 14/9/62)
43. As Howard Becker indicates, there is nothing in a social condition or social group which in itself constitutes it as a 'social problem'. For it to become so it has to be defined or labelled as such (see, Social Problems: A Modern Approach, John Wiley and Son, New York, 1966). In theory, this implies that there are any number of potential contenders for 'social problem' status. In practice, only certain types of 'problem' tend to be identified. Thus, juvenile delinquency is taken to represent a 'social problem' while the expatriation of profits is not. As this example suggests, what is normally defined as a social problem is not necessarily the problem of society as a whole (drug-taking, for example, is not a problem for the user of cannabis although the law itself is) but rather of those groups with sufficient economic and political power to see their definitions of 'problems' legitimated. It is in this sense, that the selection of some 'problems', rather than others, for attention in the cinema is rarely ideologically innocent.
44. Cohen op.cit. p.75.

CHAPTER SIX

1. 'On Realism' in Screen Reader 1 Cinema/Ideology/Politics, SEFT, London, 1977, p.47. Willemen acknowledges a specific debt to Roman Jakobson's famous essay, 'On Artistic Realism' and its definition of progressive realism in terms of 'the tendency to deform given artistic norms as an approximation of reality' (see Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (eds.) Readings in Russian Poetics, University of Michigan, 1978, p.41). Andrew Tudor's emphasis on the relationship between text and viewer rather than text and external referent is also relevant; see 'The Many Mythologies of Realism', Screen, Vol.13, No.1, Spring 1972.
2. Press hand-out for A Taste of Honey in BFI Library. See also Evening News 8/5/1961: "What do we want rehearsals for? I want my actors to come fresh to the job."
3. 'Get Out and Push' in Tom Maschler (ed.), Declaration, MacGibbon and Kee, 1957, pp.158-159. See also Anderson's comments in Sequence: "The British commercial cinema has been a bourgeois rather than a revolutionary growth, and it is not a middle-class trait ... to be able to represent ... lower levels of society with sympathy and respect ... it has been the function of the lower orders to provide 'comic relief' to the sufferings of their social superiors or to slip in here and there with Dramatic Cameos" ('Chance of a Lifetime', Sequence 11, Summer 1950, p.39). For Raymond Williams, a concern with 'social extension' (the inclusion of persons of 'lesser' rank) has been a constant characteristic of realist innovations in the arts (see 'A Lecture on Realism', Screen, Vol.18, No.1, Spring 1977).
4. 'Free Cinema', Universities and Left Review, Vol.1, No.2, Summer 1957, p.52. The phrase 'Top people' assumed a particular connotation insofar as The Times had now proclaimed its pride in being read by the 'Top people' (see Montgomery, op.cit. p.12). Anderson praises Italian neo-realist films for their "passionate pleading" for the "humane values" in "Sciuscia", Sequence 4, Summer 1948, p.38. His own film, Every Day Except Christmas, was also motivated by a "belief in human values" (Free Cinema, p.52).
5. Anderson in Declaration op.cit. pp.160-161 and 177. Note also his choice of E.M. Forster's phrase 'Only connect' as the title for an essay on Humphrey Jennings (Sight and Sound, April-June 1954).
6. 'The Man Behind an Angry Young Man', Films and Filming, February 1959, p.32.
7. Interview in Eva Orbanz, Journey to a Legend and Back The British Realistic Film, Edition Volker Spiess, Berlin, 1977, p.42.
8. Willemen (1977) op.cit. p.51. Anderson's complete distaste for 'Direct Cinema' is in evidence in Orbanz, op.cit. pp.43-44 ("awful crap" "an excuse for not being creative") as, indeed, is Reisz's p.61 ("a blind alley", "basically anti-aesthetic").
9. See Anderson's appreciation of Listen to Britain, Observer magazine, 18/1/1981, p.56; also Free Cinema op.cit. p.52. Grierson's definition of documentary can be found in Forsyth Hardy, op.cit.
10. Free Cinema op.cit. p.52.

11. 'A Possible Solution', Sequence 3, Spring 1948, p.8. See also Orbanz, op.cit. p.53 where Reisz differentiates between the work of Jennings and that of Grierson, Rotha and Anstey.
12. Notes to Free Cinema Programme 2, 9-12 September 1956, available in BFI Library.
13. Interview in Gene D. Phillips, The Movie Makers, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1973, p.186.
14. 'The Chequered Career of Karel Reisz', The Movie, Chapter 57, 1981, p.1127.
15. National Film Theatre notes, 15/8/1977 (available in BFI Library).
16. Karel Reisz, 'A Use for Documentary', Universities and Left Review, 3, Winter 1958, p.66; Barbara White, 'Interview with Walter Lassally', The Journal of the University Film Association (US), Vol.26, No.4, 1974, p.61.
17. Quoted Elizabeth Sussex, Lindsay Anderson, Studio Vista, 1969, p.12.
18. 'Creative Elements', Sequence, 5, Autumn 1948, p.11. This is perhaps the clearest, if not the most enlightening, definition of 'poetry' in the cinema to be found in Anderson's various applications of the term. Such nebulousness undoubtedly derives from Anderson's insistence on sensibility, and the direct emotional response, in the appreciation of a film, as is evident in his attack on 'intellectualism' in About John Ford, Plexus, 1981. His 'anti-intellectual' defence of Ford as a 'poet', however, runs perilously close to tautology viz. "He was a creator, a poet in the original sense of the word - one who makes, a maker - the creator of a poem" (p.202).
19. 'Commitment and the Straitjacket' (1961) in I Lost It At The Movies, Jonathan Cape, 1966, p.71.
20. The British Cinema, op.cit. p.9.
21. Metz (1974) op.cit. pp.127-128.
22. This contrast is highlighted in Nina Hibbin's defence of 'a working-class realism' as 'a means of shaping a native film tradition, in opposition to Hollywood melodrama' (Review article, Red Letters, No.16, Spring/Summer 1984, p.59).
23. 'The Realistic Effect', Film Reader, 3, February 1978, p.134.
24. Daily Herald, September 15, 1961. cf. Pauline Kael, op.cit. pp.199-200. "Richard uses actual locations but he uses them like sets ... the documentary backgrounds ... don't so much help to tell Jo and Geoff's story as to reveal the director's story."
25. Implicit in many such criticisms was a Bazinian faith in the superior 'reality' of a film technique based upon composition in depth and the long take. Charles Barr, for example, complained of the 'unsure' sense of place in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning's first pub scene which opted for cross-cutting rather than 'moving the camera and using depth of focus' ('Saturday Night and Sunday Morning', Granta, Vol.1204, 26/11/1960, p.44) Peter Graham also invokes Bazin in relation to A Kind of Loving: "Schlesinger needlessly breaks up the physical

continuity of a scene which could have been taken in one shot; and by determining what should be seen at any given moment ... prevents the spectator from being presented with the ambiguity he is faced with in real life, and from making his own selection of significant detail" (The Abortive Renaissance Why are good British films so bad? Axle Publications, 1963). Ian Cameron's objections to This Sporting Life ('slugging' the audience with close-ups) is similar. ('Against This Sporting Life, Movie', 10, June 1963, p.21). Andre Bazin's original argument can be found in 'The Evolution of the Language of Cinema' in What Is Cinema?, University of California Press, 1971.

26. 'Art Cinema as Institution', Screen, Vol.21, No.1, 1981, pp.13-14.
27. A Critical History of British Cinema, Secker and Warburg, 1978, p.264.
28. Raymond Durgnat, 'Brain Drains: Drifters, Avant-Gardes and Kitchen Sinks', Cinema, No.3, June 1969, p.14.
29. Anderson was unapologetic about his "upper middle-class characteristics" in Declaration, op.cit. p.157. Karel Reisz explicitly rejected any identification with Arthur in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning: "I ... disagree strongly with the idea that Arthur Seaton embodied my values, my outlook - I am a middle-class Jew from Central Europe" (quoted Walker, op.cit. p.85).
30. Nichols, op.cit. p.196 cf. also his remarks that "the adoption of direct address has fun the perennial risk of dogmatism, using the voice of a commentator to authoritatively, if not authoritarianly, assert what is, and what is not, the case" (ibid. p.183).
31. Heath (1976) op.cit. p.93.
32. Sunday Times, 30/9/1962.
33. Lovell (1972) op.cit. p.342.
34. 'The Fugitive Subject' in Phil Hardy (ed.) Raoul Walsh, Edinburgh Film Festival, 1974, p.84.
35. 'Space, Place, Spectacle' in Screen, Vol.25, Nos.4/5, July-October 1984, pp.18-19. The phrase, 'Our Town from That Hill', derives from J. Krish, Society of Film and TV Arts Journal, Spring 1963. Note also Raymond Williams' observation of 'the distance of the observer ... no longer in the streets but physically or spiritually above them' in his discussion of Victorian representations of the city in The Country and the City, Paladin, 1975, p.261. This inscription of 'distance' is quite commonly highlighted in discussion of the work of Karel Reisz. Georg Gaston argues that "distancing" becomes "one of Reisz's most expressive means of commenting on the situation before us" (Karel Reisz, Twayne, Boston, 1980, p.34) while Alan Lovell suggests the sports field sequence in We Are the Lambeth Boys is 'emblematic' of the "distanced nature of his observation" (1981, op.cit. p.1127).
36. Understanding Brecht, New Left Books, 1973, pp.94-95.
37. The Spectator, 22/9/1961.
38. Wood (1979) op.cit. p.10.
39. Jeremy Pascall and Clyde Jeavons, A Pictorial History of Sex In the Movies, Hamlyn, 1975, pp.155-157.

40. 'Lie Back and Think of England' in Eileen Phillips (ed.) The Left and the Erotic, Lawrence and Wishart, 1983, p.167.
41. 'Saturday Night and Sunday Morning' in The Movie, Chapter 57, 1981, p.1124.
42. This tension is usefully explained by Higson, op.cit. in terms of a pull between voyeurism and fetishism: a curiosity to know/see more encouraged by the narrative v a captivation or visual fascination with images as 'complete' in themselves. What is perhaps open to question, however, is how for the idea of fetishism as a disavowal of sexual difference (cf. Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', Screen, Vol.16, No.3, Autumn 1975) implies as a correlative disavowal of 'otherness' in the fetishistic gaze of the British 'new wave'. For, as I have suggested, it is the very awareness of 'otherness' which constitutes the precondition of such fascination. As Wood's alternative notion of projection suggests, aestheticism does not so much "erase ... the traces of otherness" (Higson, p.10) as externalise it in a form that makes it 'safe'. D.N. Rodowick's suggestion, in response to Mulvey, that 'fetishism' is 'better characterized by another vicissitude - repression' would seem to confirm this ('The Difficulty of Difference', Wide Angle, Vol.5, No.1, 1982).
43. Something of a similar distinction can be found in Georg Lukacs' distinction between description ('from the stand-point of the observer') and narration ('from the stand-point of the participant') in 'Narrate or Describe?', Writer and Critic, Merlin Press, 1978, p.111.
44. The deployment of "expressionist"/"poetic" devices, such as low-key lighting, composition in depth, claustrophobic compositions, in Odd Man Out (1947) reveals a particularly clear example of such an "abstract" use of the city. Basil Wright's documentary, Song of Ceylon (1934) also provides a good example of how the "poetic" impulse can undermine the presentation of social and economic relations.
45. cf. Isobel Quigly, op.cit. on A Taste of Honey: "You cannot and are not meant to draw any social conclusions: only human ones." Also Karel Reisz: "If a director succeeds only in capturing the sociological situation of the moment in a film he will find that the film will be dated within a few years. But if he has caught some aspect of the human predicament ... then the film does not go out of date, but will have a lasting quality" (Phillips, op.cit. p.187).
46. cf. Lindsay Anderson's remarks on This Sporting Life:
 "Throughout This Sporting Life we were very aware that we were not making a film about anything representative: we were making a film about something unique. We were not making a film about a 'worker', but about an extraordinary (and therefore more deeply significant) man ... We were not, in a word making sociology."
 Clearly, the assumption that a film about a 'unique' individual is more deeply 'significant' than a film about a 'worker' reflects Anderson's own political values rather than any automatic "truth".
47. cf. Chuck Kleinhan's analysis of the importance of 'individual escape' in American 'working-class' movies of the seventies in 'Contemporary Working Class Film Heroes', Jump-Cut, No.2, July/August 1974. The role of the 'outsider' artist is also common in comedy films of the period cf. The Horse's Mouth (1959) and The Rebel (1961).

48. Eli Zaretsky, Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life, Pluto, 1976, p.30.
49. Literary Theory, op.cit. p.175.
50. New Statesman, 27/1/1961.
51. Sergei Eisenstein, 'Through Theater to Cinema' in Film Form, Harcourt, Brace and World inc, New York, 1949, p.16.
52. But cf. Terry Eagleton's defence of the concept of the 'mass' in his rejection of Raymond Williams' well-known formulation: "There are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses" in Culture and Society, Penguin, 1971, p.289:
 "That men and women really are now unique individuals was Williams' (unexceptionable) insistence; but it was a proposition bought at the expense of perceiving the political fact that they must mass and fight to achieve their full individual humanity. One has only to adopt Williams' statement to "There are in fact no classes; there are only ways of seeing people as classes" to reveal its theoretical paucity" ('Criticism and Politics: The Work of Raymond Williams', New Left Review, No.95, January-February 1976, p.13).
53. It is perhaps not surprising that the one film of the period to show a successful (albeit comic) revolution, Carlton-Browne of the F.O. (1958) should relegate its revolutionary movement to the role of background cheerleaders while victory is won by the 'important' individual hero. It is also a comment on the politics of the British cinema that it can only countenance a social revolution when it occurs in a far-off ex-colony that no-one in Britain has ever heard of and is led by the rightful King of the country!
54. 'Teaching About Narrative', Screen Education, No.29, Winter 1978/79, pp.59-60.
55. cf. Karel Reisz's description of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning: "the sentimental and social education of one specific boy" (quoted Walker, op.cit. p.38).
56. cf. Marion Jordan's complaint that "a 'Carry On' film labours to establish a 'story' about which no-one cares" ('Carry On ... Follow that Stereotype' in British Cinema History, op.cit. p.327). Charles Barr's suggestion, in reply to John Ellis, that "segmentalisation" is as much a characteristic of film as television is well exemplified in the Carry Ons ('A Conundrum for England', Monthly Film Bulletin, Vol.51, No.607, August 1984, p.234).
57. Op.cit. p.326.
58. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order, Paladin, 1972, p.89 cf. the remarks of director, Gerald Thomas: "We are relying on easily recognisable characters and situations rather than on a story line ... The result is ... rather episodic ... with audience participation playing a large part. Everyone knows about the army, for instance, or has had some contact with a hospital" (Kinematograph Weekly, 4/12/1958, p.17). This cultivation of familiarity is also due to the films'

reliance on music hall conventions which are instantly recognisable to working class audiences. This is, once again, in contrast with the films of the 'new wave' whose more self-conscious approach to film-making assumes a familiarity with the codes of 'art' more characteristic of middle class audiences.

59. cf. John Ellis, "Made in Ealing", Screen, Vol.16, No.1, Spring 1975: also Richard Dyer, "Entertainment and Utopia", Movie, No.24, Spring 1977 in which the idea of 'community is identified in terms of a 'utopian sensibility'. See also Gordon Gow's comments on the 'spirit of anarchy' characteristic of the Carry Ons in "Carrying On Instinctively", Films and Filming, June 1970, p.72.
60. Although Jordan, op.cit. p.317 observes how the Carry On world remains, at root, "solidly monogamous", there is nonetheless a striking absence of families in such films (the result of their focus on institutions) which contrasts quite noticeably with the emphasis given to families in the 'collective' dramas of wartime (cf. Millions Like Us (1943) or This Happy Breed (1944)).

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The only other film of the period to deal directly with Labour party politics was No Love For Johnnie (1961), after the novel by Labour M.P. Wilfred Fienburgh. The emphasis here, however, was less the changed conditions of existence of Labour politics than the corruption by office of an individual Labour M.P.
2. According to Colin Seymour-Ure, "1955 was billed in advance as 'the first TV election' but 1959 qualifies more aptly for the name". (The Political Impact of Mass Media, Constable, 1974, p.209). Anthony Howard stresses the importance of McMillan's TV address to the outcome of the result (see 'The Parties, Elections and Television', Sight and Sound, Autumn 1978, p.208). In the film itself, Gilbert Harding passes the, perhaps prophetic, observation that "the party who'll win the next election is the one that nails its flag to the television mast".
3. Colin McArthur's observations on The Maggie could apply equally well to this film: "The Maggie ... sets the two halves of the contradiction - American entrepreneur and Scottish workers - in opposition to each other, but with almost wilful perversity the film has the Scots win hands down. In true Kailyard style, what is not achievable at the level of political struggle is attainable in the delirious Scots imagination ... With a nod, a wink and a dram the Scots ... triumph at the level of the imagination while in the real world their country gets pulled out from under them" ('Scotland and Cinema: The Iniquity of the Fathers' in Scotch Reels, British Film Institute, 1982 pp.47-49).
4. The quote is from Anthony Aldgate, "Vicious Circles: I'm All Right Jack" in Jeffrey Richards and Anthony Aldgate, Best of British Cinema and Society 1930-70, Basil Blackwell, 1983, p.120. Although the film undoubtedly concentrates on the idleness and recalcitrance of the work force, the attitude assumed by the film strikes me as more than just simple opposition. Although Durgnat suggests "we can all identify with Ian Carmichael's enthusiasm" (1970 op.cit. p.237); we are also distanced from him by virtue of the film's comedy conventions. He is, in Northrop Frye's terms, an 'inferior' hero to whom the spectator is placed in a position of superiority due to the discrepancy between his awareness of his situation and the spectator's (see Anatomy of Criticism, Princeton University Press, 1957). As Windrush himself comes to recognise, he has been 'dead stupid' by virtue of his ignorance of the ways in which he has been manipulated. By contrast, the humour engendered by the actions of the work force derives from their self-conscious refusal to work harder than necessary, and the ingenuity and application with which they pursue this goal. Unless we assume there is some reason why they should work hard when they can get away with not, then the very appeal of their actions is that they are not Stakhanovites and refuse to submit to a social order which does not have their interests at heart.
5. This is not to deny that the attitudes of Privates Progress derive from the fifties, despite the setting in the Second World War. As Durgnat suggests, the film is also "the most evocative film on national service drudgeries and idiocies" (1970 op.cit. p.235) and no doubt derived much of its popularity from the contemporary experience of enforced military service (tapped, indeed, by a film like Carry on Sergeant).

6. Observer, 16/8/1959.
7. The Boultings themselves glossed this in terms of a denial of 'individuality', neatly entwining the themes of 'affluence' and 'mass society' in the process: "Nowadays there seems to be two sacred cows - Big Business and Organised Labour. Both are deep in an open conspiracy against the individual - to force us to accept certain things for what in fact they are not ... Certainly a great deal has changed since we used to be Angry Young Men before the war. Social disparities have largely been abolished, people are infinitely better off ... we are told from on high that we have never had it so good ... But at the end of this huge revolution we are not so sure that the losses have not been as great as the gains. For example, the tendency to think of people not as human beings but as part of a group, a bloc, a class." ('Why We Debunk Britain', Daily Express, 14/8/1959.)
8. Tom Nairn (1977) op.cit. p.65. See also Williams (1975) op.cit. for a discussion of the recurrence of pastoral myths.
9. The opening shot of Sons and Lovers with its movement of the camera off a field of sheep and onto the colliery is practically identical to the first shot of Heavens Above, with similar implications.
10. While the attack on TV in such films can clearly be related to the competition between the two media during the fifties and early sixties, the inclusion of cinema in these catalogues of mass culture's triviality would appear more problematic, being addressed, as they are, to a cinema-going audience. The resolution of this tension would seem to reside in the fact that the films on display are American and thus conform to the anti-Americanisation theme implicit in many of the critiques of mass culture (see Chapter 1).
11. Durgnat (1970) op.cit. p.236.
12. Orbanz op.cit. p.58. Such a theme is explicit in the ending of The Kitchen when the kitchen-owner addresses his work force: "I give work ... I pay well ... They eat what they like ... I don't know what more to give a man. He works, he eats, I give him money, that's life isn't it? ... What is there more?"
13. Lovell and Hillier op.cit. p.142.
14. 'Free Cinema' op.cit. p.52.
15. The phrase 'traditional social set-up' is Anderson's in Declaration op.cit. p.160.
16. 'A Possible Solution' op.cit. p.9.
17. Programme notes, 5-8 February 1956 (in British Film Institute library) Charles Barr (1984 op.cit. p.234) dubs this binding together of 'disparate images by means of linear diegetic sound', 'montage anglais' because of the persistence of its use in British cinema (Chariots of Fire is his most recent example).

18. Lindsay Anderson, Twayne, G.K. Hall and Company, 1981, p.51.
19. This hostility to modern mass culture is, to some extent, tempered in the more sympathetic (if, on occasion, paternalistic) treatment of youth culture found in Tony Richardson's Momma Don't Allow (1956) and Karel Reisz's We Are the Lambeth Boys (1959). Hall and Whannel (op. cit. p.32), for example, contrast the treatment of dancing in Violent Playground and We Are the Lambeth Boys.
20. See David Lockwoods' explanation of 'proletarian traditionalism' in 'Sources of Variation in working-class Images of Society' in Martin Bulmer (ed.) Working-Class Images of Society, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, pp.17-18.
21. 'The Abuses of Literacy' in Cultural Studies and Theory, Working Papers in Cultural Studies 6, University of Birmingham, Autumn 1974. See also Chas Critcher, 'Sociology, Cultural Studies and the post-war working class' in John Clarke et.al. (eds.) Working-Class Culture Studies in History and Theory, Hutchinson, 1979.
22. Working-Class Community, Penguin, 1972, p.39.
23. 'Note' to The Entertainer, Faber and Faber, 1957.
24. *ibid.*
25. This association of women with consumerism is also in evidence in I'm All Right Jack's treatment of Cynthia (Liz Fraser), repeatedly playing the film's title song on her record player and, like Ingrid in A Kind of Loving, shot in front of her bedroom mirror kissing the photo of a pop star.
26. For a discussion of this 'masculine culture of work', see Andrew Tolson, The Limits of Masculinity, Tavistock, 1977.
27. Morrisson op.cit. p.69. The theme of 'hypergamy' (i.e. marrying upwards) was first noted by Geoffrey Gorer in 'The Perils of Hypergamy' in Feldman and Gartenberg op.cit. Raymond Durgnat notes the continuation of this plot structure in recent British films such as The Ploughman's Lunch and, even, The Draughtsman's Contract (see 'Out of the Looking Glass', Monthly Film Bulletin, No.601, February 1984, p.40).
28. John Braine, Room at the Top, Penguin, 1961 (orig. Eyre and Spottiswoode) p.139. The phrase 'Successful Zombie' can be found in p.123.
29. Walker, op.cit. p.47.
30. cf. John Schlesinger's remarks: "It continues to be something that I'm interested in - escape from the real self into a fantasy world, or the means by which one compromises and accepts what one has got, which is invariably second best" (David Spiers, 'Interview with John Schlesinger', Screen Vol.11, No.3, 1970, p.10).
31. Monthly Film Bulletin, February 1962, p.21.

32. John Ellis, Visible Fictions, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, p.48.
33. The Angry Silence explicitly employs these conventions to interlink sex and politics. Joe (Michael Craig), is initially devoid of family responsibilities and sexually promiscuous. He is, however, rejected by Pat (Penelope Horner) who expresses her wish for "something more than that". His success in securing the 'nice girl' is thus dependent on his acceptance of political responsibility and abandonment of his previous passivity. Once he has spoken out against the strike at the film's close he is now joined by Pat as he departs from the platform, neatly underlining the film's combination of both sexual and political conservatism.
34. Some of this undoubtedly has to do with censorship. Aldgate (op.cit.) notes how Sillitoe's original screenplay included a successful termination of Brenda's pregnancy but was subsequently altered under pressure from the British Board of Film Censors. Durgnat (1970 op.cit. p.171) links the 'abortion and miscarriages so insistent in the Kitchen sink films' quite explicitly to "misgivings about the new morality".
35. The theme of paternal impotence becomes quite explicit in The Family Way when it is also interited by the 'son'.
36. In an earlier discussion of these films, I suggested the pertinence of Mulvey's discussion of 'sadism' to an understanding of the devaluation and punishment of women which seems to occur in so many of them ("Working-Class Realism and Sexual Reaction" in Curran and Porter op.cit.). This, however, underestimates the 'punishment' through beatings which many of the heroes endure as part of their reconciliation to social responsibility. To this extent, there is also perhaps a 'masochistic' element in the films' structures, which is precisely the 'economy' that D.N. Rodowick has suggested is absent from the original Mulvey formulation (op.cit.)
37. 'Jimmy Porter and the Two-and-Nines', Definition, February 1960, p.100.
38. See Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice, Panther, 1970, p.26. Calvin Hernton attempts to analyse this relationship between white woman and black male in Sex and Racism, Paladin, 1973. See also Susan Brown miller's bitter attack on the 'male power politics' implicit in such black attitudes in Against Our Will Men, Women and Rape, Penguin, 1976, p.252.
39. Sexual Politics, Virago, 1981, p.36.
40. The phrase is Andrew Higson's in his defence of the 'new wave' films against my original objections to their 'sexual reaction'; see 'Critical Theory' and 'British Cinema', Screen, Vol.24, Nos.4/5, July-October 1983, p.88.
41. Op.cit. p.94. Worpole includes the work of Alan Sillitoe in this discussion.
42. Op.cit. p.247.
43. The Non-Western Films of John Ford, Citadel Press, Secaucus, N.J., 1979, p.218. Although Place discusses the film in the context of the work of John Ford, he was, in fact, only responsible for about twenty minutes of the film (including the traditionally Fordian bar scene). The rest was the work of Jack Cardiff, who was also responsible for the direction of Sons and Lovers.

44. 'Afterthoughts ... inspired by Duel in the Sun', Framework, 15/11/17, 1981, p.14. Mulvey's designation of those westerns in which the hero does accept marriage as a 'resolution of the Oedipus complex' through an 'integration into the symbolic' would also apply to other 'new wave' films. See also Raymond Bellour, 'Alternation, Segmentation, Hypnosis', Camera Obscura, Nos. 3/4, 1979.
45. Ways of Seeing, BBC/Penguin, 1972, p.54.
46. For a discussion of this use of "we" in documentary, see Annette Kuhn, 'Desert Victory and the People's War', Screen, Vol.22, No.2, 1981.
47. Curran and Porter op.cit.
48. Like Victim, A Taste of Honey returns to images of children throughout the movie's course, emphasizing their status as the 'hope for the future' and echoing Jo's own complicated attitude towards motherhood. Insofar, as Geoff is at ease with children, indeed almost one of them, so is his homosexuality further undercut by the connotations of his 'imaginary' pre-oedipal state.
49. Evening Standard, 15/11/1962.
50. Lynne Reid Banks, The L-Shaped Room, Penguin, 1962.
51. Financial Times, 31/1/1964.
52. "Melodrama, Serial Form and Television Today", Screen, Vol.25, No.1, Jan-Feb 1984, p.14.
53. 'From Fetish to Subject: The Containment of Sexual Difference in Hollywood's Wartime Cinema', Wide-Angle, Vol.5, No.1, 1982, p.24.
54. Frank Krutnik, 'The Clown-Prints of Comedy', Screen, Vol.25, Nos.4/5, July-October 1984, p.54.
55. *ibid.* p.57.
56. *Op.cit.* p.1126.
57. *Op.cit.* p.16.
58. *Op.cit.* p.1126.
59. Arthur Marwick, for example, notes how Saturday Night and Sunday Morning presents 'no sense of a class enemy' but fails to appreciate its ideological significance (see, Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930, Fontana/Collins, 1981, p.296).
60. *Op.cit.* p.50.

61. Higson (1983) op.cit. p.87 has taken me to task for dubbing the films 'reactionary' because of this. While I accept that my use of the term was probably over-hasty and too eager to be polemical, it was, nonetheless, a judgement which was made according to different principles from those employed by Higson. My discussion, as here, was concerned not only with the evidence of the films themselves but also their place within a broader set of ideological relations. Higson, on the other hand, is only concerned with textual characteristics and displays a deep suspicion of any sort of more general sociological analysis. For a response to this position, see Andy Medhurst (op.cit.).

CONCLUSION

1. Andy Medhurst op.cit. p.35.

APPENDIX I

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS
AND BOX-OFFICE BEST 1956-63

This appendix provides a listing of selected feature films for the years 1956-63 in order of initial date of exhibition, though not necessarily of release. Most films were, in fact, released shortly after their initial date of exhibition, though this was not always the case. The Party's Over, for example, is listed here for 1963, though its release was actually delayed until 1965. In opting for initial date of exhibition, I am following the example of Denis Gifford to whose British Film Catalogue 1895-70 (David and Charles, 1973) I am indebted. The selection of films for inclusion is intended to provide some general impression of the types of films being produced during these years in addition to those discussed specifically in the text. They are designed to illustrate not only the traditionally valued films of this period but also something of the staple output of the British cinema during these years. An indication of the most commercially successful films is provided by the box-office listings which have been derived from Kine Weekly.

It is, of course, evident that there were large number of films produced in this period which the study has ignored. However, the basis for future research may well have been laid. The war film, for example, might be examined not only in relation to Britain's declining imperial status but also the sense of anxiety surrounding male identity which appears to have been precipitated by the social and economic changes of the post-war period. The horror film, with its increasing emphasis on sexuality (e.g. Dracula) and the 'outsider' hero in rebellion against social conformity (e.g. The Curse of Frankenstein) clearly suggests parallels with the films of the 'new wave' and might also be usefully examined in relation to the social and sexual tensions of the period. Some of this work has been begun; but much still remains to be done.

1956

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

Lost d. Guy Green; 1984 d. Michael Anderson; A Town Like Alice d. Jack Lee; Who Done It? d. Basil Dearden; Private's Progress d. John Boulting; The Feminine Touch d. Pat Jackson; It's Great To Be Young d. Cyril Frankel; Ramsbottom Rides Again d. John Baxter; My Teenage Daughter d. Herbert Wilcox; The Long Arm d. Charles Frennd; Reach For the Sky d. Lewis Gilbert; Jacqueline d. Roy Baker; Yield to the Night d. Jack Lee Thompson; Smiley d. Anthony Kimmins; Bhowani Junction d. George Cukor; The Baby and the Battleship d. Jay Lewis; Sailor Beware! d. Gordon Parry; X The Unknown d. Leslie Norman; A Hill in Korea d. Julian Amyes; The Green Man d. Frank Launder and Sidney Gilliat ; Loser Takes All d. Ken Annakin; The Battle of the River Plate d. Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger; The Spanish Gardener d. Philip Leacock; Tiger in the Smoke d. Roy Baker; Up In The World d. John Paddy Carstairs; Three Men In A Boat d. Ken Annakin; Anastasia d. Anatole Litvak; The Big Money d. John Paddy Carstairs.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. Reach For the Sky
2. Private's Progress
3. A Town Like Alice
4. Trapeze (US)

and in alphabetical order

The Baby and the Battleship
The Bad Seed (US)
The Cockleshell Heroes
It's Great To Be Young
Sailor Beware!
The Searchers (US)

1957

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

The Man In The Sky d. Charles Crichton; Town on Trial d. John Guillermin; Ill Met By Moonlight d. Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger; The Secret Place d. Clive Donner; True as a Turtle d. Wendy Toye; The Barretts of Wimpole Street d. Sidney Franklin; Brothers In Law d. Roy Boulting; Fortune is a Woman d. Sidney Gilliat ; The Good Companions d. Jack Lee Thompson; Time Without Pity d. Joseph Losey; Doctor at Large d. Ralph Thomas; Quatermass II d. Val Guest; High Tide At Noon d. Philip Leacock; The Smallest show on Earth d. Basil Dearden; Yangste Incident d. Michael Anderson; Carry on Admiral d. Val Guest; The Curse of Frankenstein d. Terence Fisher; The Admirable Crichton d. Lewis Gilbert; The Shiralee d. Leslie Norman; The Tommy Steele Story d. Gerard Bryant; Rock You Sinners d. Denis Kavanagh; Miracle In Soho d. Julian Amyes; Island in the Sun d. Robert Rossen; These Dangerous Years d. Herbert Wilcox; Hell Drivers d. Cy Endfield; Manuela d. Guy Hamilton; The Flesh is Weak d. Don Chaffey; Across the Bridge d. Ken Annakin; The Abominable Snowman d. Val Guest; No Time For Tears d. Cyril Frankel; The Long Haul d. Ken Hughes; Seven Thunders d. Hugo Fregonese; Campbell's Kingdom d. Ralph Thomas; Lucky Jim d. John Boulting; Woman In A Dressing Gown d. Jack Lee Thompson; The Scamp d. Wolf Rilla; The One That Got Away d. Roy Baker; The Bridge on the River Kwai d. David Lean; Just My Luck d. John Paddy Carstairs; Barnacle Bill d. Charles Frennd; Davy d. Michael Ralph; Blue Murder at St. Trinian's d. Frank Launder; The Naked Truth d. Mario Zampi; Windom's Way d. Ronald Neame.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. High Society (US)
2. Doctor at Large
3. The Admirable Crichton
4. The Battle of the River Plate

and in alphabetical order

Giant (US)
Gunfight at the O.K. Corral (US)
Ill Met By Moonlight
Island in the Sun
Oklahoma (US)
The Shiralee
The Story of Esther Costello
Three Men In A Boat
The Tommy Steele Story
War and Peace (Italy/USA)
Yangste Incident

1958

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

Violent Playground d. Basil Dearden; The Gypsy and the Gentleman d. Joseph Losey; A Tale of Two Cities d. Ralph Thomas; Carve Her Name With Pride d. Lewis Gilbert; Happy is the Bride d. Roy Boulting; The Golden Disc d. Don Sharp; I Accuse! d. Jose Ferrer; Rooney d. George Pollock; Innocent Sinners d. Philip Leacock; 6.5 Special d. Alfred Shaughnessy; The Duke Wore Jeans d. Gerald Thomas; The Young and the Guilty d. Peter Cotes; Orders To Kill d. Anthony Asquith; The Silent Enemy d. William Fairchild; Dunkirk d. Leslie Norman; The Camp on Blood Island d. Val Guest; No Time To Die d. Terence Young; Up The Creek d. Val Guest; Battle of the VI d. Vernon Sewell; Dracula d. Terence Fisher; Wonderful Things! d. Herbert Wilcox; She Didn't Say No! d. Cyril Frankel; The Key d. Carol Reed; The Wind Cannot Read d. Ralph Thomas; Law and Disorder d. Charles Crichton; A Night To Remember d. Roy Baker; Ice Cold in Alex d. Jack Lee Thompson; A Question of Adultery d. Don Chaffey; Next To No Time d. Henry Cornelius; Carry On Sergeant d. Gerald Thomas; Tread Softly, Stranger d. Gordon Parry; Indiscreet d. Stanley Donen; A Cry from the Streets d. Lewis Gilbert; The Revenge of Frankenstein d. Terence Fisher; Sea Fury d. Cy Endfield; The Man Upstairs d. Don Chaffey; Rockets Galore d. Michael Relph; I Was Monty's Double d. John Guillermin; Girls at Sea d. Gilbert Gunn; Further Up the Creek d. Val Guest; The Sheriff of Fractured Jaw d. Raoul Walsh; I Only Arsked! d. Montgomery Tully; Floods of Fear d. Charles Crichton; Nowhere To Go d. Seth Holt; Tom Thumb d. George Pal; The Inn of the Sixth Happiness d. Mark Robson; The Square Peg d. John Paddy Carstairs; Bachelor of Hearts d. Wolf Rilla; Alive and Kicking d. Cyril Frankel.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. The Bridge on the River Kwai
2. Dunkirk
3. The Vikings (US)

and in alphabetical order

Blue Murder at St. Trinians
Camp on Blood Island
Carry on Sergeant
Carve Her Name With Pride
A Cry from the Streets
Happy is the Bride
Ice Cold in Alex
Indiscreet
A Night To Remember
Pal Joey (US)
Peyton Place (US)

1959

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

The Captain's Table d. Jack Lee; Operation Amsterdam d. Michael McCarthy; Room at the Top d. Jack Clayton; Too Many Crooks d. Mario Zampi; The Horse's Mouth d. Ronald Neame; The Lady Is A Square d. Herbert Wilcox; Danger Within d. Don Chaffey; Passport to Shame d. Alvin Rakoff; Carry On Nurse d. Gerald Thomas; The Thirty-Nine Steps d. Ralph Thomas; Tiger Bay d. Jack Lee Thompson; The Angry Hills d. Robert Aldrich; The Doctor's Dilemma d. Anthony Asquith; Carlton-Browne of the F.O. d. Roy Boulting; No Trees In the Street d. Jack Lee Thompson; The Hound of the Baskervilles d. Terence Fisher; Idle on Parade d. John Gilling; Serious Charge d. Terence Young; Horrors of the Black Museum d. Arthur Crabtree; Sapphire d. Basil Dearden; Look Back In Anger d. Tony Richardson; The Heart of a Man d. Herbert Wilcox; The Bridal Path d. Frank Launder; Left, Right and Centre d. Sidney Gilliat ; Ferry To Hong Kong d. Lewis Gilbert; Operation Bullshine d. Gilbert Gunn; The Mouse That Roared d. Jack Arnold; The Scapegoat d. Robert Hamer; The Mummy d. Terence Fisher; Carry On Teacher d. Gerald Thomas; I'm All Right Jack d. John Boulting; Blind Date d. Joseph Losey; The Siege of Pinchgut d. Harry Watt; Jet Storm d. Cy Endfield; The Devil's Disciple d. Guy Hamilton; The Night We Dropped A Clanger d. Darcy Conyers; The Rough and the Smooth d. Robert Siodmak; North West Frontier d. Jack Lee Thompson; S.O.S. Pacific d. Guy Green; The Navy Lark d. Gordon Parry; Libel d. Anthony Asquith; Don't Panic Chaps! d. George Pollock; Tommy the Toreador d. John Paddy Carstairs; A Touch of Larceny d. Guy Hamilton; Desert Mice d. Basil Dearden; Follow A Star d. Robert Asher; Espresso Bongo d. Val Guest; Please Turn Over d. Gerald Thomas; The Battle of the Sexes d. Charles Crichton.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. Carry On Nurse
2. The Inn of the Sixth Happiness
3. Room at the Top
4. I'm All Right Jack
5. Rio Bravo (US)
6. The Thirty-Nine Steps
7. The Square Peg
8. Tom Thumb
9. The Big Country (US)
10. Operation Bullshine
11. The Sheriff of Fractured Jaw
12. The Reluctant Debutante (US)

1960

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

Our Man in Havana d. Carol Reed; Too Young To Love d. Muriel Box;
The Shakedown d. John Lemont; Two-Way Stretch d. Robert Day;
Sink the Bismarck! d. Lewis Gilbert; The Angry Silence d. Guy Green;
Conspiracy of Hearts d. Ralph Thomas; Carry on Constable
d. Gerald Thomas; The Flesh and the Fiends d. John Gilling;
Jazzboat d. Ken Hughes; Inn For Trouble d. C.M. Pennington-Richards;
Never Take Sweets From A Stranger d. Cyril Frankel; Hell Is A City
d. Val Guest; Bottoms Up! d. Mario Zampi; The League of Gentlemen
d. Basil Dearden; Peeping Tom d. Michael Powell; Circus of Horrors
d. Sidney Hayers; School for Scoundrels d. Robert Hamer; Cone of
Silence d. Charles Frennd; Sons and Lovers d. Jack Cardiff; Oscar
Wilde d. Gregory Ratoff; The Trials of Oscar Wilde d. Ken Hughes;
Dentist in the Chair d. Don Chaffey; The Day They Robbed the Bank
of England d. John Guillermin; The Nudist Story d. Ramsay Herrington;
Never Let Go d. John Guillermin; Make Mine Mink d. Robert Asher;
Village of the Damned d. Wolf Rilla; Light Up The Sky d. Lewis Gilbert;
In The Nick d. Ken Hughes; The Brides of Dracula d. Terence Fisher;
Doctor In Love d. Ralph Thomas; The Entertainer d. Tony Richardson;
Sands of the Desert d. John Paddy Carstairs; Tunes of Glory
d. Ronald Neame; A French Mistress d. Roy Boulting; There Was A
Crooked Man d. Stuart Burge; The Criminal d. Joseph Losey; Watch
Your Stern d. Gerald Thomas; The Siege of Sidney Street
d. Robert S. Baker; Too Hot To Handle d. Terence Young; Beat Girl
d. Edmond Greville; The Two Faces of Dr. Jekyll d. Terence Fisher;
The Millionairess d. Anthony Asquith; Saturday Night and Sunday
Morning d. Karel Reisz; The Night We Got The Bird d. Darcy Conyers;
Linda d. Don Sharp; Man In The Moon d. Basil Dearden; Circle of
Deception d. Jack Lee; Suspect d. Roy Boulting; The Pure Hell of
St. Trinian's d. Frank Launder; The Bulldog Breed d. Robert Asher;
The World of Suzie Wong d. Richard Quine; Hand in Hand d. Philip
Leacock; The Tell-Tale Heart d. Ernest Morris.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. Doctor in Love
2. Carry on Constable
3. Hercules Unchained (US)
4. Two-Way Stretch
5. Conspiracy of Hearts
6. The League of Gentlemen
7. Sink the Bismarck!
8. Psycho (US)
9. Ocean's 11 (US)
10. Suddenly, Last Summer
11. Dentist in the Chair
12. School for Scoundrels

1961

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

The Singer Not the Song d. Roy Baker; No Love For Johnnie d. Ralph Thomas; The Sundowners d. Fred Zinneman; The Long and the Short and the Tall d. Leslie Norman; Swiss Family Robinson d. Ken Annakin; The Full Treatment d. Val Guest; The Rebel d. Robert Day; The Mark d. Guy Green; The Hellfire Club d. Robert S. Baker; During One Night d. Sidney Furie; The Wind of Change d. Vernon Sewell; Carry On Regardless d. Gerald Thomas; Mr. Topaze d. Peter Sellers; Taste of Fear d. Seth Holt; The Greengage Summer d. Lewis Gilbert; So Evil So Young d. Godfrey Grayson; Very Important Person d. Ken Annakin; The Curse of the Werewolf d. Terence Fisher; The Guns of Navarone d. Jack Lee Thompson; Spare the Rod d. Leslie Norman; The Secret Partner d. Basil Dearden; Dentist on the Job d. C.M. Pennington-Richards; Flame in the Streets d. Roy Baker; Greyfriar's Bobby d. Don Chaffey; The Boy Who Stole A Million d. Charles Crichton; Watch It Sailor! d. Wolf Rilla; The Frightened City d. John Lemont; Whistle Down the Wind d. Bryan Forbes; Victim d. Basil Dearden; The Kitchen d. James Hill; On The Fiddle d. Cyril Frankel; A Taste of Honey d. Tony Richardson; The Queen's Guards d. Michael Powell; Johnny Nobody d. Nigel Patrick; The Day the Earth Caught Fire d. Val Guest; Petticoat Pirates d. David Macdonald; The Innocents d. Jack Clayton; The Young Ones d. Sidney Furie.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. Swiss Family Robinson
2. The Magnificent Seven (US)
3. Saturday Night and Sunday Morning
4. 101 Dalmations (US)
5. Polyanna (US)
6. The Rebel
7. The Sundowners
8. Whistle Down the Wind
9. Butterfield 8 (US)
10. Carry On Regardless
11. The Parent Trap (US)
12. The Long and the Short and the Tall

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

Only Two Can Play d. Sidney Gilliat; The Valiant d. Roy Baker; All Night Long d. Basil Dearden; HMS Defiant d. Lewis Gilbert; Play It Cool d. Michael Winner; Carry On Cruising d. Gerald Thomas; Walk of the Treadors d. John Guillermin; A Kind of Loving d. John Schlesinger; It's Trad, Dad d. Dick Lester; The Road to Hong Kong d. Norman Panama; Reach For Glory d. Philip Leacock; Crooks Anonymous d. Ken Annakin; The Pot Carriers d. Peter Graham Scott; Term of Trial d. Peter Glenville; The Quare Fellow d. Arthur Dreifuss; The Webster Boy d. Don Chaffey; Guns of Darkness d. Anthony Asquith; Life for Ruth d. Basil Dearden; The Day of the Triffids d. Steve Sekely; The Amorous Prawn d. Anthony Kimmins; Some People d. Clive Donner; I Thank A Fool d. Robert Stevens; The Damned d. Joseph Losey; The Boys d. Sidney Furie; Billy Budd d. Peter Ustinov; Live Now - Pay Later d. Jay Lewis; In Search of the Castaways d. Robert Stevenson; The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner d. Tony Richardson; The Dock Brief d. James Hill; Dr. No d. Terence Young; The Wild and the Willing d. Ralph Thomas; Don't Talk To Strange Men d. Pat Jackson; Maniac d. Michael Carreras; Private Potter d. Caspar Wrede; The Punch and Judy Man d. Jeremy Summers; Girl on Approval d. Charles Frennd; The Wrong Arm of the Law d. Cliff Owen; Lawrence of Arabia d. David Lean; The Mind Benders d. Basil Dearden; The L-Shaped Room d. Bryan Forbes; We Joined the Navy d. Wendy Toye; Dr. Crippen d. Robert Lynn; I Could Go On Singing d. Ronald Neame; Station Six-Sahara d. Seth Holt; The Fast Lady d. Ken Annakin; The Kiss of the Vampire d. Don Sharp; On the Beat d. Robert Asher.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. The Guns of Navarone
2. The Young Ones
3. Only Two Can Play
4. The Comancheros (US)
5. Dr. No.
6. A Kind of Loving
7. Sergeants Three (US)
8. Blue Hawaii (US)
9. The Road to Hong Kong
10. That Touch of Mink (US)
11. Waltz of the Treadors
12. Carry On Cruising

1963

SELECTED PRODUCTIONS

Summer Holiday d. Peter Yates; This Sporting Life d. Lindsay Anderson; The Mouse on the Moon d. Dick Lester; Paranoiac d. Freddie Francis; Sparrows Can't Sing d. Joan Littlewood; That Kind of Girl d. Gerald O'Hara; Bitter Harvest d. Peter Graham Scott; The Small World of Sammy Lee d. Ken Hughes; The Leather Boys d. Sidney Furie; Jason and the Argonauts d. Don Chaffey; Just For Fun d. Gordon Flemyng; Call Me Bwana d. Gordon Douglas; It's All Happening d. Don Sharp; Sammy Going South d. Alexander Mackendrick; Heavens Above! d. John Boulting; The Running Man d. Carol Reed; The VIPs d. Anthony Asquith; Billy Liar d. John Schlesinger; The World Ten Times Over d. Wolf Rilla; Doctor in Distress d. Ralph Thomas; Tom Jones d. Tony Richardson; A Place To Go d. Basil Dearden; The Caretaker d. Clive Donner; The Yellow Teddy-bears d. Robert Hartford-Davis; Live It Up d. Lance Comfort; The Chalk Garden d. Ronald Neame; Lord of the Flies d. Peter Brook; The Party's Over d. Guy Hamilton; From Russia With Love d. Terence Young; The Servant d. Joseph Losey; Children of the Damned d. Anton M. Leader; Nothing But The Best d. Clive Donner; Nightmare d. Freddie Francis; A Stitch In Time d. Robert Asher; The Victors d. Carl Foreman; Man In The Middle d. Guy Hamilton; This Is My Street d. Sidney Hayers; Father Came Too d. Peter Graham Scott; Zulu d. Cy Endfield; Carry on Jack d. Gerald Thomas; The Silent Playground d. Stanley Goulder.

BOX-OFFICE BEST

1. From Russia With Love
2. Summer Holiday
3. Tom Jones
4. The Great Escape

and in alphabetical order

Doctor in Distress
The Fast Lady
Girls! Girls! Girls! (US)
Heaven's Above
Jason and the Argonauts
In Search of the Castaways
It Happened at the World's Fair
The Longest Day (US)
On the Beat
Sodom and Gomorrah
The V.I.P.'s
The Wrong Arm of the Law

APPENDIX TWO

SELECT FILMOGRAPHY

Appendix 2 provides credits, plot summaries and selected critical commentary on the films discussed in the text. It also includes some data on films not discussed in the text but which are nonetheless relevant to the argument.

Plot summaries can never be entirely satisfactory. They are included here as a very basic guide to what happens in the films, insofar as this may not always be clear from the text. The Monthly Film Bulletin has been a helpful source of reference.

The selection of critical commentary has been designed to give some impression of how individual films were received at the time and, in some cases, how they have been subsequently assessed. I have tried to give a generally fair picture of the balance of opinions, though the selection is inevitably slanted in favour of those comments most directly relevant to the text. I have also included some commentary of my own where it has been appropriate.

Abbreviations:

Cert. = Certificate
dist. = Distributor
p.c. = Production Company
p. = Producer
d. = Director

sc. = script
ph. = photography
ed. = editor
a.d. = art direction
m. = music

THE BLUE LAMP (1950)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. T.E.B. Clarke, from story by Ted Willis, Jan Read, additional
dialogue by Alexander Mackendrick ph. Gordon Dines ed. Peter Tanner
a.d. Tom Morahan m. Ernest Irving.

With: Jack Warner (P.C. George Dixon), James Hanley (P.C.
Andy Mitchell), Robert Flemyng (Sgt Roberts), Bernard Lee
(Inspector Cherry), Dirk Bogarde (Tom Riley), Patric
Doonan (Spud), Peggy Evans (Diana Lewis), Frederick Piper
(Mr Lewis), Betty Ann Davies (Mrs Lewis), Dora Bryan
(Maisie), Norman Shelley (Jordan), Gladys Henson (Mrs Dixon),
Bruce Seton (P.C. Campbell), Meredith Edwards (P.C. Hughes),
Clive Morton (Sgt Brooks), William Mervyn (Chief Inspector
Hammond), Campbell Singer (Station Sgt), Michael Golden
(Mike Randall), Glyn Houston (barrow boy), Muriel Aked
(Mrs. Waterbourne), Renée Gadd (woman driver), Tessie O'Shea
(herself).

George Dixon, on the verge of retirement, takes young recruit,
Andy Mitchell, under his wing and provides him with a room in his
house. Routine police business is interspersed with the career
of young delinquent, Tom Riley, as he takes part in the robbery
of a jeweller's and then a cinema, where he shoots George Dixon.
He is eventually tracked down and the police and underworld unite
to capture him at a race-track. Young Mitchell carries on with
Dixon's work.

"1950 was the year of The Blue Lamp. Kindly P.C. Dixon is
brutally shot dead by a hysteric teenage thug who wanted
to be tough. Thereafter, the cop-delinquent confrontation
became obsessive." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror For England,
op.cit., p.137).

"The Blue Lamp makes a great advance by centring itself on
an institutional job of work, the first of the post-war
Ealing films to do so. The presentation of the force
corresponds to that of the service organisations in the
war films. Several later films follow this pattern. ...
This provides a strong structure which can accommodate a
composite picture of society and also firmly contain the
threats of sex and violence. These can themselves become
'problems' which the jobs set themselves to cope with, as
in The Blue Lamp, while the protagonists can sublimate
their own energies in their work and their institutional
routine" (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, op.cit., p.91).

CAGE OF GOLD (1950)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing a.p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Jack Whittingham, from story by Whittingham and Paul Stein
ph. Douglas Slocombe ed. Peter Tanner a.d. Jim Morahan m. Georges Auric
83 mins.

With: Jean Simmons (Judith), David Farrar (Bill Brennan), James Donald
(Dr Alan Kearn), Harcourt Williams (Dr Kearn sr), Gladys Henson
(Nanny), Herbert Lom (Rahman), Gregoire Aslan (Duport),
Madeleine Lebeau (Madeleine), Maria Mauban (Antoinette),
Bernard Lee (Inspector Gray), Martin Boddey (Adams), Campbell
Singer (Constable), Arthur Howard (registry office bridegroom).

On the brink of engagement to a conscientious young doctor, Alan, Judith Moray meets ex-pilot, Bill Brennan. In love with him as a schoolgirl, she is unable to resist his advances and they enjoy a whirlwind romance. On discovering her pregnancy, the couple marry, but Bill abandons her on the wedding night, once he finds out there will be no financial support from Judith's father. Bill returns to Paris to live with his French mistress but is presumed dead in an air accident, after hiring his passport to a smuggler. Judith marries Alan but two years later Bill returns. He threatens to blackmail Judith and her husband but is killed. Judith is suspected, but the real culprit is Madeleine, his French mistress.

"Cage of Gold tells very well in its way, a conventional story of an attractive crook, an infatuated girl, an honest lover and the deus (or in this case) dea ex machina who pops in at the end to clear up the mess." (Daily Telegraph, 25/9/50)

"The story is an unmitigated novelette in which Miss Simmons, David Farrar and James Donald struggle vainly with two-dimensional characters and women's magazine dialogue." (Daily Mail, 22/9/50)

"Every reader of women's magazines knows what will happen to any young girl who turns down an honest doctor in Battersea for a romantic cad who has just come from Paris. She will be sorry." (Evening Standard, 21/7/50)

"Who is this grim-looking girl on the film posters with murder in her eye and a pistol in her hand? Bette Davis? Joan Crawford? Or could it be - yes, it is our own little Jean Simmons, playing what the synopsis calls 'her first fully adult role' in Cage of Gold. What a pity it is not a better one. Miss Simmons ... has won filmgoers' hearts with her April youthfulness. Where then is the sense in casting her as a slightly tarnished lady of the kind we usually meet in Hollywood movies." (Unidentified contemporary review, BFI library)

"It is a pity that Cage of Gold should have proved disappointing, because Jean Simmons ... gives the most sensitive and intelligent performance of her whole career." (News of the World, 24/9/50)

"Cage of Gold is virtually the last Ealing film to give a decent part to a woman (old ladies aside) ... Mainly through the actress, there is a real sense of the attractions of the less respectable life and the spiritual limitations of what Judy settles for, but the film loads the dice heavily the other way ... What she settles down to, then, is life in a large, enveloping dark house, with her baby son, her old Nanny ... and her worthy husband. Also, at the top of the house, there is her aged father-in-law, bed-ridden, demanding but lovable, a constant reminder of the right values." (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, pp.150-51)

POOL OF LONDON (1951)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing a.p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Jack Whittingham, John Eldridge ph. Gordon Dines ed. Peter Tanner
a.d. Jim Morahan m. John Addison 85 mins.

With: Bonar Colleano (Dan), Susan Shaw (Pat), Renee Asherson
(Sally), Earl Cameron (Johnny), Moira Lister (Maisie),
Max Adrian (Vernon), Joan Dowling (Pamela), James
Robertson Justice (Trotter), Michael Golden (Andrews),
Alfie Bass (Alf).

The ship the Dunbar docks in the Pool of London and the crew prepare to go ashore. Among them are Dan, who is involved in smuggling, and Johnny, a young Jamaican on his last voyage before going home. Dan meets his friends at a music hall and agrees to carry a package to Amsterdam. He persuades Johnny, who has been pursuing a friendship with the cashier at the music hall, to take the package, which contains diamonds, on board. The boat is delayed from sailing by the police. Dan escapes but returns to intercept Johnny, take back the package and surrender to the police.

"Pool of London is closely modelled on Dearden's earlier picture, The Blue Lamp, telling the same sort of melodramatic crime story in a realistic setting - the river landmarks, the workings of the customs officers and river police. A third element is provided by the abortive love of the coloured sailor for the London girl. ... This is the film's least successful element. The relationship is treated as an interlude which can have no outcome, but is not handled with the feeling or sympathy which would justify its part in the film."
(MFB, February 1951, p.229)..

"Ealing studios are trying very sincerely ... to build up a school of authentic British cinema and are certainly in the attempt taking their cameras out and about. ... But instead of finding the story arising from the drama of a ship's turn-around, they invented a story of smuggling nylons and narcotics, a City safe-blowing involving murder, and a coloured boy's three day romance with a pay-box cashier. ... Like Flaherty, I believe you've got to soak yourself in the place, rub shoulders and become familiar with its inhabitants, get to know the sights and sounds and smells as well as you know your own home-town. And this takes time, patience and a great deal of observation: all expensive factors in commercial production. The writers of Pool of London may, for all I know, have done this, but, if so, it doesn't come through on the screen."
(Paul Rotha, Time and Tide, 2/3/61)

"It's to the credit of Relph and Dearden that, while the English were congratulating themselves on their infinite fair-mindedness, they showed in Pool of London, a coloured seaman who feels victim of race prejudice."
(Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. p.105)

"Although it tries to build up a touch of social significance by involving a Negro in a smuggling deal and then having him badly treated, it is really just another of our own gangster stuff." (John McCarter, New Yorker, 8/12/51)

"If only one film could be preserved for posterity, to illustrate the essence of Ealing ... this would be a good choice, with its clear-cut embodiment of Ealing attitudes to women, violence, social responsibility and cinematic form." (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, op.cit. p.190)

I BELIEVE IN YOU (1952)

Cert. U. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Relph, Dearden and Jack Whittingham, from the memoir 'Court Circular'
by Sewell Stokes ph. Gordon Dines ed. Peter Tanner a.d. Maurice Carter
m. Ernest Irving 95 mins.

With: Cecil Parker (Phipps), Celia Johnson (Matty), Harry Fowler
(Hooker), Joan Collins (Norma), George Relph (Mr Dove),
Godfrey Tearle (Mr Pyke), Ernest Jay (Mr Quayle), Laurence Harvey
(Jordie), Stanley Escane (Buck), Ursula Howells (Hon Ursula),
Sidney James (Sergeant Brodie).

Retired from the Colonial Service, Henry Phipps joins the probation
service. He makes little headway but, under the guidance of Dove and
Mattie, develops a more sympathetic approach, especially towards Hooker.
Prevented from marrying Norma, a fellow probationer, Hooker returns to
his old gang, led by Jordie, and joins in robbing a lorry. Phipps helps
to foil the robbery and the magistrate subsequently accepts his recom-
mendations and does not send Hooker to prison. Dove, driven to
retirement by ill-health, entrusts his job to Phipps.

"It is by no means faultless but has so many good things in
it, gives such an honest picture of a side of life that most
of us take for granted and yet know little or nothing about,
at first hand I found it one of the most interesting and
amusing films shown this year." (Campbell Dixon, Daily
Telegraph, 10/3/52)

"The film is a true story within the limits of the commercial
cinema: that is to say, it keeps with unusual fidelity to
the material of its original, often using incidents without
changing them in any way, but it adds a romantic central
theme and a melodramatic climax." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times,
9/3/52)

"One is never made to feel that this is a 'documentary' with
interruption for fiction; the two elements aid and abet each
other with a deftness better understood by the men of Ealing
than by any other makers of British films." (Unidentified
press review, 8/3/52, BFI Library)

"It is easily the best of their London locality films."
(Unidentified press review, 8/3/52, BFI Library)

"It ain't all working people what goes wrong - them Ealing
gentlemen knows that. There's some of them rich Chelsea
tarts - the Honourable Ursula she's called - what drinks
something terrible ... But mostly it's the poor what goes
to the bad and the comfortably off folk that go to no end of
trouble and inconvenience to keep them on the straight and
narrow ... Looking at the picture, you would think it was
only ladies and gentlemen what ever behaved like grown-
ups ... It ain't so ... It's no more like life than this
fake Cockney. I've been writing ... and in the end it gets
very nearly as tiresome." (The Spectator, 8/3/52)

"The fault of the film lies in the delinquents ... Dearden and Relph have fallen into the old Shakespearian trap of making their lower-class characters either comical or eccentric. There is no fear nor grittiness in their slums. There is no shame in their poverty." (Daily Herald, 2/3/52)

"The scriptwriters ... have not yielded to the temptation of working a genteel romance between Celia Johnson and Cecil Parker. They have been content to confine sex to the lower orders where its presence will not be unduly disturbing to the decorum of the court." (Evening Standard, 6/3/52)

THE GENTLE GUNMAN (1952)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Roger Macdougall, from own play ph. Gordon Dines ed. Peter
Tanner a.d. Jim Morahan m. John Greenwood 86 mins.

With: John Mills (Terence Sullivan), Dirk Bogarde (Matt Sullivan),
Elisabeth Sellars (Maureen Fagan), Barbara Mullen (Molly Fagan),
Robert Beatty (Shinto), Eddie Byrne (Flynn), Joseph Tomelty
(Dr Brannigan), Gilbert Harding (Henry Truethorne),
Liam Redmond (Tom Connolly), Michael Golden (Murphy),
Jack McGowran (Maguire), James Kenney (Johnny Fagan), Patric
Doonan (Sentry).

Set in 1941, a small group of IRA men are planning to plant a bomb in the London underground. Their leader, Terence, deserts and his younger brother, Matt, takes his place. Terence intervenes so that the bomb goes off safely but Flynn and Maguire are subsequently arrested. Terence returns to Ireland to discover that his girlfriend, Maureen, has now transferred her affections to Matt. The gang of IRA men, under the leadership of Shinto, plan to rescue Connolly and Maguire when they are returned to Ireland. It is Terence, however, who executes the rescue successfully and on his return to the gang hide-out he convinces his younger brother to come away with him.

"The film is a drearily safe piece condemning IRA terrorism during the 1940 blitz. The original play, by Roger MacDougall, may have been a serious study of pacifism and the moral ironies of war (for historically it's arguable that the British were quite as brutal to the Irish as the Nazis to occupied Europe). But his script as filmed, becomes a plea to the Irish not to blow up London, a plea so untopical that, despite the IRA's post-war fits, one supposes that Relph and Dearden were trying to persuade boys who thought it tough to use coshes that the really tough boys (who used guns) preferred being gentle ... " (Raymond Durnat, Two on a Tandem, op.cit. p.30)

"A horror of violence ... is particularly noticeable in the three Ealing films of 1952 which tackle political themes: Secret People, His Excellency, The Gentle Gunman. All are seriously weakened, not by the fact of being "against" violence, but by the way the intensity of their recoil throws them off balance ... and leads effectively to an abandonment of the political issues as such in favour of a generalised humanism." (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, op.cit. p.147)

"The treatment of the Irish question is even more outrageous. From Relph and Dearden's The Gentle Gunman (1952) via Michael Anderson's Shake Hands With the Devil (1959) through to Tay Garnett's A Terrible Beauty (1960), Eire's attainment of independence is presented exclusively in terms of the Irish struggling against their own tendency to violence." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for England, op.cit. p.108)

THE WEAK AND THE WICKED (1953)

Cert. A. dist. Associated British-Pathe p.c. ABPC A Marble Arch Production p. Victor Skutezky d. Jack Lee Thompson sc. Thompson and Ann Burnaby in collaboration with Joan Henry, from Henry's original book "Who Lie in Gaol" ph. Gilbert Taylor ed. Richard Best a.d. Robert Jones m. Leighton Lucas 88 mins.

With: Glynis Johns (Jean Raymond), John Gregson (Michael), Diana Dors (Betty), Jane Hylton (Babs), Sidney James (Sid Baden), A.E. Matthews (Harry Wicks), Anthony Nichols (Chaplain), Athene Seyler (Millie), Olive Sloane (Nellie Baden), Sybil Thorndike (Mabel), Ursula Howells (Pam), Rachael Roberts (Pat).

Jean Raymond ignores her fiancé Michael's warnings and continues to gamble. As a result, she is sent to prison for her inability to pay her debts. Here she meets Betty who is 'taking the rap' for her boyfriend, Norman, and old Nellie, a member of a family of shoplifters whose activities have been suddenly curtailed. As a result of an accident, Jean is sent to the prison hospital where she meets Babs, a young mother whose baby died whilst she was out dancing. Jean and Betty are subsequently sent to The Grange, a progressive prison where the regime is less harsh and disciplinarian. Here Jean meets the elderly Millie who has been convicted for blackmail. Jean and Betty are allowed to spend a day in town. Jean returns alone, believing that Betty has run away, but is surprised when Betty returns only a few minutes later. Michael changes his mind about an overseas appointment and is waiting for Jean on her release. Despite being told not to, she leaves her address with Betty.

Jack Lee Thompson's third film as director was an adaptation of Joan Henry's best-selling book about her own experiences in Holloway Prison and Askham Grange. The film takes the contrast between the two types of prison as its focus but dissipates the central theme through a series of flashbacks, recalling how the various inmates came to be in prison. These range from the low comedy of the Baden family and whimsy of Millie to the moral warnings about deserting children, provided by Babs. As with many subsequent films, (cf. The Mark), the issue of imprisonment is partly avoided by making so many of the inmates innocent victims: Jean, herself, is framed, Betty is taking the rap for her boyfriend while Millie has suffered from a mix-up. As a result, many of the offences are moral rather than strictly criminal: Jean's refusal to obey her fiancé, Babs' sacrifice of motherhood to a 'good time', Betty's devotion to a no-good. Once again, the conclusion is liberal with respect to prisons, but morally conservative with respect to sexual behaviour.

"The treatment of this story provides an unfortunate example of the malaise with which so much British script-writing is afflicted nowadays. The basic situation is promising, for we are introduced to two widely differing aspects of the penal system.

The first prison, Blackdown, is stern and bleak and the discipline is strong (there is no sadism, however), and the second, The Grange, is intended to depict the more constructive elements of the system: a "prison without bars" where the prisoners are helped to prepare themselves for a free life once more. But against these backgrounds are paraded a prize collection of familiar feminine character types (alternately comic, sad and hysterical) - two-dimensional creatures, observed without insight or real compassion. The introduction of raucous comedy into several of the flashbacks, which involve shoplifting and the planning of murder, also seems in dubious taste in such a context. ... The facile ending, reuniting Jean and Michael, provides a final glib compromise with reality." (MFB, January 1954, p.22)

"The two prisons ... are as crammed with celebrities as a charity premiere." (Paul Dehn, News Chronicle, 5/2/54)

"The grimmest scene I have watched on the screen for a long time ... shows what happens to a woman when she has a baby in jail." (Paul Holt, Daily Herald, 3/2/54)

"The Weak and the Wicked ... attacks the common English assumption that the criminal has forfeited, as well as his (sic) liberty, any real right to comfort or respect, and that the prime means of penology is the infliction of humiliation, exasperation and pain." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for England, op.cit. p.244)

O DREAMLAND (1953)

A Sequence Film · d. Lindsay Anderson Camera and assistance John Fletcher
12 mins.

"O Dreamland emerged in the context of what Anderson later described as 'the blissful dawn of the New Left'. In that context it could be taken quite simply as a particularly vehement protest against what passes for popular entertainment in the consumer society. The listless trippers are the oppressed, exploited victims of a spiritually nihilistic system ... But like all Anderson's films O Dreamland contains far more of him than of any movement with which he was associated." (Elizabeth Sussex, Lindsay Anderson, Studio Vista, 1969, p.25)

"The film's personal quality arises not from its point of view but out of the disproportion between the feeling generated and the subject that generates the feeling. The intense exasperation revealed isn't easy to justify." (Alan Lovell, Studies in Documentary, op.cit. p.140)

THE SHIP THAT DIED OF SHAME (1955)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Ealing p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. John Whiting, Relph and Dearden, from the novel by Nicholas
Monsarrat ph. Gordon Dines ed. Peter Bezencenet a.d. Bernard Robinson
m. William Alwyn 91 mins.

With: Richard Attenborough (Hoskins), George Baker (Bill), Bill Owen
(Birdie), Virginia McKenna (Helen), Roland Culver (Fordyce),
Bernard Lee (Customs Officer), Ralph Truman (Sir Richard),
John Chandos (Raines), Harold Goodwin (Second Customs Officer),
John Longden (The Detective).

After the death of his young wife, Helen, in an air raid, Bill Randall finds consolation in his work and in his pride in the ship he commands, the motor gunboat 1087. Unable to settle down after the war, Bill is out of work when he is approached by Hoskins, his war-time second in command, with the suggestion that they buy the 1087, refit her and go into business as smugglers. With "Birdie" Dick, a former petty officer, they are soon profitably engaged in running cargoes of nylons and brandy across the Channel. But Hoskins joins forces with Fordyce, the head of a large smuggling ring, and their new cargoes are guns and counterfeit currency. Bill and Birdie rebel, as does the ship, which becomes increasingly hard to handle whenever contraband is aboard. On one trip they carry a man who turns out to be a murderer on the run. This exploit puts the police on their trail, and Fordyce - who has murdered a suspicious customs officer - and Hoskins decide to leave the country. Bill and Birdie are compelled to go with them; but, once at sea, Fordyce is killed in a fight and Hoskins, after a struggle with Bill, falls overboard. The ship's engines fail, and Bill and Birdie are thrown clear just before she crashes to her end on the rocks.

"Nicholas Monsarrat's story, with its background of post-war shortages and servicemen's difficulties in coming to terms with civilian life, already looks a little dated. It somewhat uneasily combines its whimsical theme of the ship with a soul, rebelling against the criminal purposes she is made to serve, with a straightforward and unambitious story of crooks, gangs, smuggling adventures and fights at sea."
(MFB, June 1955, p.85)

"The George Baker character starts his voice-over introduction: 'The beginning, like everything about me, went back to the war! and the film continues to work over characteristic Ealing materials. For the main trio, everything is anti-climax after their intense naval experiences.'" (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, op.cit. p.194)

PRIVATE'S PROGRESS (1956)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion p.c. Charter Films. A Boulting Brothers Production p. Roy Boulting a.p. Ernest Holding d. John Boulting sc. Frank Harvey and John Boulting ph. Eric Cross ed. Anthony Harvey a.d. Alan Harris m. John Addison 102 mins.

With: Richard Attenborough (Cox), Dennis Price (Bertram Tracepurcel), Terry-Thomas (Major Hitchcock), Ian Carmichael (Stanley Windrush), Peter Jones (Egan), William Hartnell (Sgt Sutton), Thorley Walters (Captain Bootle), Jill Adams (Prudence Greenslade), Ian Bannen (Pte Horrocks), Victor Maddern (Pte George Blake), Kenneth Griffith (Pte Dai Jones), John Warren (Sgt-Major Gradwick), George Coulouris (Padre), Miles Malleon (Mr Windrush), John Le Mesurier (Psychiatrist).

Stanley Windrush, a mild undergraduate, is called up for military service during World War II. Hopelessly inefficient, he is taught by fellow privates how to dodge work and being posted overseas; and then, through an uncle at the War Office, gains his commission. This uncle is involved in a scheme for looting German art treasures, from which he and War Office colleagues anticipate considerable profit. Windrush forms part of an expedition, disguised as Nazi officers, dropped behind the German lines. After various misadventures the art treasures are captured and sent to England, but through the over-confidence of Private Cox, chief ally of Windrush's uncle, the police become suspicious. Justice, however, overtakes not only Cox but also the duped, innocent Stanley.

After a series of relatively serious films, the Boultings turned to comedy, apparently goaded by Noel Coward's remark that they were "quite brilliant but absolutely humourless": "We began to wonder if it would be possible to be serious without being solemn. And so our comedy series began" (Daily Express, (14/8/59)). The basic characteristic of the films that followed - Private's Progress, Brothers In Law, Lucky Jim, Carlton-Browne of the F.O., I'm All Right Jack, Heaven's Above - was the plot device of opposing a basically innocent (and often maladroit) character (Ian Carmichael in four of the films) to the cynicism and corruption of the social institution (the army, law, university, foreign office, industry, church) in which he found himself. Although it is this character who usually ends up a victim, by virtue of his inability to adapt, it was, nonetheless, the celebration of the individual which the Boultings defined as their aim: "The meaning of the individual in society should be established. What we need is lots and lots of non-conformists. If we have an obsession, it's an obsession for the human being. It's a plea for the individual and a fascination for the individual in relation to society" (Variety, 4/5/60). Although conventionally dismissed as lightweight institutional farces, Durgat provides a spirited, if characteristically overstated, defence of the films' 'pained idealism' and 'relatively authentic and lively expression of social realities." (see, A Mirror for Britain, pp.236-8)

"At last, a gloriously irreverent picture of service life ... No stiff upper lips, no coal-scuttle jaws, in fact none of the clichés. What the Boultings earlier Desert Victory did for the front line ... this film does for the canteen cowboy and Whitehall warrior." (Today's Cinema, 15/2/56)

"The general irreverence of this film is in itself welcome; it is prepared to tilt at almost any target - the boredom and futility of army routine, the corruption of high-ups at the War Office, class-consciousness, all kinds of incompetence, intrigue and official absurdity. All that one wishes is for the humour to have more edge. There is material here for real satire, but writing and direction choose the less demanding level of affiable farce." (MFB, April 1956)

IT'S GREAT TO BE YOUNG (1956)

Cert. U. dist. A.B.-Pathe p.c. Marble Arch p. Victor Skutezky
d. Cyril Frankel sc. Ted Willis ph. Gilbert Taylor, ed. Max Benedict
a.d. Robert Jones m. Ray Martin, Lester Powell, John Addison 93 mins.

With: John Mills (Dingle), Cecil Parker (Frome), Jeremy Spenser (Nicky),
Dorothy Bromiley (Paulette), Brian Smith (Ginger), Wilfred Downing
(Browning), John Salew (Routledge), Derek Blomfield (Paterson),
Eleanor Summerfield (Barmaid), Bryan Forbes (Salesman), Richard
O'Sullivan (Lawson), Carole Shelley (Peggy), Eddie Byrne (Morris),
Elizabeth Kentish (Mrs Castle), Mona Washbourne (Mrs Merrow),
Mary Merrall (Miss Wyvern), Norman Pierce (Publican).

The pupils of Angel Hill Grammar School and their enthusiastic teacher,
Dingle, fall foul of the new Headmaster, Frome, who disapproves of the
time given to rehearsing for the school orchestra. Refused the money for
new instruments, they buy them on H.P. while Dingle attempts to keep up
the payments by playing jazz piano at a local pub. This is discovered by
Frome who forces Dingle to resign; the pupils revolt, before order is
re-established with the reinstatement of Dingle.

A curious attempt at a British musical, combining diverse
musical elements (classical music, jazz, music-hall,
American song and dance) and various comic influences,
especially that of Ealing (cf. Hue and Cry, Passport to
Pimlico). Although popular at the box-office, the critics
were less than happy. Paul Dehn in the News Chronicle
(1/6/56) described the story as 'flimsy' and complained of
its mix of 'realism' and 'musical farce'. Leonard Mosely
in the Daily Express (2/6/56) suggested it was aimed at
'film fans with an Intelligence Quotient around the ten-
year-old mark'. Time and Tide (9/6/56) argued that John
Mills, as Dingle, had only 'narrowly escaped' from being
a 'Kingsley Amis or John Wain' while Isobel Quigley in
The Spectator (8/6/56) simply found him and the schoolkids
'nauseating'. She did note, however, that the film "had
the large preview audience, usherettes and all, fairly
rolling in the aisles".

MY TEENAGE DAUGHTER (1956)

Cert. A. dist. British Lion p.c. Everest Pictures p./d. Herbert Wilcox
sc. Felicity Douglas from her own story ph. Max Greene ed. Bunny Warren
a.d. Denis Johnson m. Stanley Black 100 mins.

With: Anna Neagle (Valerie Carr), Sylvia Syms (Janet Carr), Kenneth Haigh
(Tony Ward Black), Norman Wooland (Hugh Manning), Wilfrid Hyde
White (Sir Joseph), Julia Lockwood (Poppet Carr), Helen Hays (Aunt
Louisa), Michael Meacham (Mark), Grizelda Hervey (Miss Bennett),
Ballard Berkeley (Magistrate), Edie Martin (Miss Ellis), Avice
Landone (Barbara), Michael Shepley (Sir Henry).

Valerie Carr, a widow with two daughters, 17-year-old Jan and 13-year-old Poppet, is given the job of fiction editor on a magazine for young people. She meets a writer, Hugh Manning, who falls in love with her, but Valerie is preoccupied with Jan's friendship with a young man called Tony, who takes Jan to a jive club and encourages her to disobey her mother. Tony gets into money trouble, and tries to borrow money from his Aunt Louisa, causing her to have a heart attack and die. Tony and Jan are arrested, and she is sent to Holloway Prison. Tony is charged with manslaughter and awaits trial. Jan is discharged and, repentant, is reconciled with her family.

"Now that literature has its novels of the discontented, and the theatre has its Look Back In Anger, it is not too sanguine, I suppose, to hope that British films will get around to recognising the dilemma on their doorstep. My Teenage Daughter is an attempt to describe The Problem. It succeeds only in skinning the grape." (Kenneth Pearson, Sunday Times, 24/6/56)

"This is an interesting attempt to get to grips with youth: the youth of today which is being devoured in espresso bars and jive cellars; a youth perched, apparently happily, between the enjoyment of what it calls 'frustration' and the less graceful fields of juvenile delinquency ... The trouble with My Teenage Daughter is not in its feel and intentions which are real enough. But in the way it is scripted to make each situation as embarrassingly facile, corny and emotionally bogus as possible." (Derek Monsey, Sunday Express, 24/6/56).

"It's the British answer to those American movies about children who go wrong because of the shortcomings of their Mum's and Dads. In a typically British way it takes place in a nice house in London's semi-swish Hampstead Garden Suburb. In a typically British way 'Mum' is a respectable widow with a respectable job in a respectable publishing firm. All ever so nice! Anna refuses to marry again ... But that leaves Sylvia without a Dad to spank her when she's naughty. So Sylvia goes to the bad ... in a typically British respectable way." (F. Jackson, Reynold's News, 24/6/56)

"This is a well-intentioned picture determined to regard teenagers as a problem, while emphasising the fundamental niceness of practically everybody." (Daily Worker, 23/6/56)

"My Teenage Daughter deserves some credit for attempting a topical "problem" subject. It emerges, however, as a very British, somewhat lukewarm Rebel without a Cause, which skirts around its subject without every convincing one that its authors are really anxious about the problem. Jan's delinquency is tritely expressed in her repeated assertion, "I want to lead my own life", and in the fact that she finds jive "madly exciting". About Tony, the script is ambiguous: one never discovers whether he is meant to be really corrupt or merely "mixed up", and the fortuitous manner of the aunt's death makes the climax seem absurdly contrived." (MFB, July 1956, p.86)

"Whereas the millions of ladies for whom it was confectioned will doubtless be driven to the edge of their seats with excitement, I (through sheer embarrassment) was practically driven under mine." (Paul Dehn, News Chronicle, 22/6/56)

YIELD TO THE NIGHT (1956)

Cert. X. dist. A.B.-Pathe p.c. Associated British p. Kenneth Harper
d. Jack Lee Thompson sc. John Cresswell and Joan Henry, based on the
book by Joan Henry ph. Gilbert Taylor ed. Richard Best a.d. Robert
Jones m. Ray Martin 99 mins.

With: Diana Dors (Mary Hilton), Yvonne Mitchell (Macfarlane), Michael
Craig (Jim Lancaster), Marie Ney (Governor), Geoffrey Keen
(Chaplain); Liam Redmond (Doctor), Olga Lindo (Hill), Joan Miller
(Barker), Marjorie Rhodes (Brandon), Molly Urquhart (Mason),
Mary Mackenzie (Maxwell), Harry Locke (Fred), Athene Seyler
(Miss Bligh).

Awaiting execution for murder, Mary Hilton recalls the events that led to her imprisonment: unhappily married, she first meets Jim Lancaster when he calls at the beauty salon where she is employed to buy a present of scent for his socialite girl friend Lucy. Mary sees him again at a night-club where he plays the piano. She falls in love with Jim, and he responds to her devotion. Mary leaves her husband to live with Jim, but they part after a quarrel about his infatuation with Lucy. When Jim is spurned by Lucy he turns to Mary for solace, but later, in a despondent mood, he commits suicide. Mary is heartbroken and, filled with bitterness towards Lucy, she heartlessly kills her. The prison governor tells Mary that her appeal for a stay of execution has been rejected; she prepares herself for death.

Something of a companion-piece to The Weak and the Wicked: the same director, Jack Lee Thompson, the same source of material, a book by Joan Henry, and one of the same stars, Diana Dors. The topicality of the film's theme was assured by the hanging of Ruth Ellis the previous year, on whose story the film can be seen to be loosely based.

"Miss Dors was called upon to act the part of a cold-blooded murderess awaiting execution, and gave a credible, sympathetic performance. It was Lee Thompson's most satisfactory film at that time, with an unusually partisan approach for a British film, firmly siding with the anti-capital punishment lobby." (George Perry, The Great British Picture Show, Paladin, 1974, p.185)

"Assessment of Yield to the Night can only be made on two levels, those of the film itself: the study of a young woman awaiting execution for murder; and the novelettish flashbacks full of rejected and unfaithful lovers, etc. With this latter material we are in familiar screen territory - extensive London location shooting, a flashy camera style, wafer-thin characterisation and improbable motivation. On the film's other level a definite attempt has been made, in the writing and presentation, objectively to penetrate the condemned cell and the doomed psychology of the murderess. As a plea against capital punishment, however, the producers' conception of their drama seems to lack passion, and this makes it difficult to assimilate the film's emotional climate." (MFB, August 1956, p.101)

"The most important thing about Yield to the Night is not so much its quality as a film, as the exceptional nature of its attempt. Here is a British picture which is daring enough to take as its theme the last few days in the life of a murderess condemned to be hanged: and brave enough to suggest that the whole business is not one that reflects the utmost credit on society. Given the treatment it deserves, this subject would be almost intolerable, savage, terrifying and salutary. Yield to the Night is intermittently tense, and makes some good points, but it lapses too often into clichés of characterisation and style, and the final tableau, with Geoffrey Keen as the daddy-knows-best prison padre, beats a painful retreat into conformism. Diana Dors gives an honest, suffering performance as the girl: Yvonne Mitchell is insufferably smug as a wardress with a beautiful soul. Even with such reservations, however, the makers of this film must be saluted for a rare seriousness of intention: this is enough of a departure for one to hope that they achieve commercial success." (Alberta Marlow, Sight and Sound, Vol.26, No.1, Summer 1956, p.35)

"Lee Thompson uses melodrama, not gratuitously, but in determination to ram right into the complacent spectator the full pain and terror of the emotional extremes against which moral principles must assert themselves." (Raymond Durgnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. p.244)

EVERY DAY EXCEPT CHRISTMAS (1957)

dist. Ford of Britain p.c. Graphic p. Leon Clore d./sc. Lindsay Anderson
ph. Walter Lassally ed. Bill Megarry sd. John Fletcher m. Daniel Paris
20 mins.

"The film was trying to revitalise that sense of community that seems to inspire the British people only in time of war. Using many of Jennings' methods, Anderson succeeded in creating symbols of affirmation in the peace-time context ... Every Day Except Christmas is a youthful film: the last of Anderson's Songs of Innocence and the last film he was every to make in quite this optimistic spirit of unqualified delight."
(Elizabeth Sussex, op.cit. p.34)

"Every Day Except Christmas is an extremely soigné, effective, romantic documentary of a rather old-fashioned kind."
(John Russell Taylore, Directors and Directions, Eyre Methuen, 1975, p.80)

THE FLESH IS WEAK (1957)

Cert. X. dist. Eros p.c. Raymond Stross Productions p. Raymond Stross
d. Don Chaffey sc. Lee Vance ph. Stephen Dade a.d. John Stoll
m. Tristram Cary 88 mins.

With: John Derek (Tony Giani), Milly Vitale (Marissa Cooper), William Franklyn (Lloyd Buxton), Martin Benson (Angelo Giani), Freda Jackson (Trixie), Norman Wooland (Insp. Kingcombe), Harold Lang (Henry), Patricia Jessel (Millie), John Paul (Sgt Franks), Denis Shaw (Saradine), Patricia Plunkett (Doris Newman), Vera Day (Edna), Shirley Ann Field (Susan).

Involved in a nightclub brawl, Marissa Cooper is befriended by the rich and charming Tony Gordon, with whom she falls in love. Later, Gordon reveals himself to be Tony Giani, one of two brothers controlling the London vice rackets. Tony forces Marissa to become a prostitute. When a journalist attempts to question Marissa about the Giani gang, Tony has him beaten up. He also deals with Marissa, when she threatens to walk out on him, by having her framed and sent to prison on a bogus assault charge. On leaving prison, Marissa contacts the journalist and tells him that she is ready to give evidence against the Giani gang.

The first film to cash in on the moral panic over prostitution and Wolfendon enquiry. It was also influential in establishing the box-office value of an X certificate. Kine Weekly (22/8/57) reported: "The Flesh is Weak has taken the Cameo-Royal, Charing Cross Road, by storm. The programme starts at 10 a.m. and if the management had its way the film hall would remain open all night, so large and persistent is the demand for seats. And to those who are sceptical of the film's chances in average houses, let me remind them that its been pulling in as many women as men". To prove the point, the film was given an ABC circuit release the following January.

"Sex melodrama giving the lowdown on the men behind the streetwalkers of London's West End. Its script, compounded of fact and fiction, is frank but, although it ruthlessly exposes the white slave traffickers, it does not entirely absolve their victims. The two sides to the problem are fairly faced. Milly Vitale wins sympathy as a girl who allows her desire for creature comforts as well as the dictates of her heart, to lead her from the path of virtue. Its supporting characters ... ring true and the atmosphere is convincing. Despite its subject, or maybe because of it, it's quite a woman's film. Outstanding British X certificate offering."
(Kine Weekly, 25/7/57)

"A crudely melodramatic film dealing with, but not one feels very gravely concerned about, the real life problem of organised prostitution. There is some rather loose and high flown talk regarding a change in the law and licences for the streetwalker but in the main the film has to do with the downfall of a Graham Greene-style boy gangster, played with appropriate menace by John Derek. The direction is brisk and there

are some lively impersonations by Vera Day, Shirley Ann Field and Patricia Jessel among les girls.
(MFB, September 1957, p.114)

"The Flesh is Weak caused consternation in the film industry by proving, not that there was a West End audience for sex, which everyone knew, but that even suburban housewives would flock to a sordid vice movie, that is to say, that the woman's angle on prostitution needn't be as romanticized as it had been in, say, Waterloo Bridge. An au pair girl (Milly Vitale) is lured into vice by loving a seductive ponce (John Derek) not wisely but too well. The film's best quality is exemplified by the girl's encounter with her first client, a sensitive young clerk who only came because his office-mates kept teasing him about his inexperience. He leaves her untouched. The scene's obvious sentimentality is less important than certain positives. It gratifies audience curiosity about the prostitution situation. It begins to bring together the over-moralist and the over-romantic views of vice. It gently urges spectators towards an identification with sinners and scapegoats, and it points out that the respectable middle-classes are guilty of spiritual collusion, not merely by providing most of the clientele but in their everyday sociabilities. The film is directed with a sharply sensual eye, and even if one is disappointed at its eventual subsidence into razor-slashing, and its evocation of the Messina brothers to perpetuate the anachronistic view that even if prostitutes aren't evil, ponces usually are, it's not at all an insensitive film.
(Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. p.195)

LUCKY JIM (1957)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion p.c. Charter. A Boulting Brothers Production
p. Roy Boulting d. John Boulting sc. Patrick Campbell, from the novel by
Kingsley Amis add. scenes and dialogue. Jeffrey Dell ph. Max Greene
ed. Max Benedict a.d. Elliott Scott 95 mins.

With: Ian Carmichael (Jim Dixon), Terry-Thomas (Bertrand Welch), Hugh
Griffith (Professor Welch), Sharon Acker (Christine Callaghan),
Jean Anderson (Mrs Welch), Maureen Connell (Margaret Peel), Clive
Morton (Sir Hector Gore Urquhart), Reginal Beckwith (University
Porter), Kenneth Griffith (Cyril Johns), Jeremy Hawk (Bill
Atkinson), John Welch (The Principal).

Jim Dixon, junior history lecturer at a provincial university, is bored with the frustrations of his job and affronted by the atmosphere of sham culture with which Professor Welch, head of the history department, smugly surrounds himself. Visiting Welch's house for the weekend, Jim quarrels with his son Bertrand, an arrogant pseudo-intellectual; falls in love with Christine, Bertrand's fiancée; escapes with difficulty from Margaret Peel, a neurotic and clinging colleague; and further damages his relations with the Welches by burning large holes in his bedclothes with a cigarette end. Further moderately disastrous incidents follow, including the wrecking of a ceremonial university occasion and culminating in Jim's delivery of a public lecture for which he is instructed to base his text on Welch's book *Merrie England*. Preparing for the ordeal on whiskey and tranquillisers, Jim drunkenly attempts to indicate his real contempt for this theme to the audience, then collapses on the platform. His resignation is immediately demanded. Jim is rescued, however, by Christine's industrialist uncle, who offers him a job in London; and he finally wins Christine herself from Bertrand.

Although the Boultings were the first to cash in on the 'new wave' of writing represented by the Movement and the 'Angry Young Men', their determination to fit Amis's novel into the mould already established with Private's Progress and Brothers in Law resulted in a considerable dilution of the novel's original impact. The casting of Ian Carmichael ('the upper class twit' from the two previous movies), in particular, vitiated against any clear demarcation of a new type of cinema 'hero'.

"Kingsley Amis's novel was a tough, funny and irascible piece of contemporary social comedy. The Boulting brothers' screen version broadens the comedy into farce, introduces a few elements of its own (a final slapstick car chase, a solemn boxer dog), and turns the whole thing into an amiable joke in the line of Private's Progress and Brothers in Law. The characters have lost contact with Redbrick reality (compare, for instance, Jim's relationship with Margaret Peel in the novel and film) and in the process the book's social satire has been jettisoned. Lucky Jim has become broader, milder and softer; from the screen version, with its thoroughly traditional humours, one would never suspect that the novel had become the symbol of a new movement in English fiction."
(MFB, November 1957, p.135)

WOMAN IN A DRESSING GOWN (1957)

Cert. A. dist. A.B.-Pathé p.c. Godwin-Willis-Lee Thompson Production
p. Frank Godwin and J. Lee Thompson d. J. Lee-Thompson sc. Ted Willis
ph. Gilbert Taylor ed. Richard Best a.d. Robert Jones m. Louis Levy
94 mins.

With: Yvonne Mitchell (Amy), Anthony Quayle (Jim), Sylvia Syms (Georgie),
Andrew Ray (Brian), Carole Lesley (Hilda), Michael Ripper
(Pawnbroker), Nora Gordon (Mrs Williams), Marianne Stone (Hairdresser),
Olga Lindo (Manageress), Harry Locke (Wine Merchant).

Married for twenty years, Amy and Jim Preston live with their seventeen-year-old son in the suburbs. Alienated by his wife's slovenliness and bad house-keeping, Jim intends to marry the young and efficient, Georgie. Amy makes an effort to fight back but her efforts come to ruin. Jim leaves with Georgie but decides that he cannot abandon Amy. He says goodbye to Georgie and returns home.

"I have been waiting a long time for a really honest picture about ordinary British people, and yesterday I saw it at last." (Leonard Mosely, Daily Express, 19/7/57)

"They have accomplished one of the rarest of all achievements in the cinema - the true, complete, and wholly convincing portrait of a woman." (The Times, 7/10/57)

"Perhaps, we have seen in Yvonne Mitchell's study - the finest performance on the screen ever given by an English actress." (C.A. Lejeune, The Observer, 6/10/57)

"A British film which attempts to state a serious human problem, setting it in an authentic lower middle-class milieu, must be saluted for its initiative, even if its impact, already endangered by miscasting is diluted by indecisive direction ... The director was presumably aiming at a mood of tragi-comedy; but continual over-emphasis pushes the comedy close to farce; and, consequently, there is difficulty in establishing the pathetic scenes. Yvonne Mitchell's undisciplined performance adds to the general lack of balance ... The facile ending, with its suggestion of 'happy ever after', is in line with the compromising attitude of the film as a whole; and rings entirely false."
(MFB, November 1958, p.137)

"Woman in a Dressing Gown is neo-unrealist: a little suburban story with unsuitable gloss, and a kitchen sink performance by Yvonne Mitchell that reminded me of Hermione Baddely in one of her turns in an Ambassador's revue." (Lindsay Anderson, New Statesman, 12/10/57)

"Sensitivity and sincerity have no place in this film."
(Derek Hill, Tribune, 18/10/57)

VIOLENT PLAYGROUND (1958)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. James Kennaway ph. Reginald Wyer ed. Arthur Stevens
a.d. Maurice Carter m. Philip Green 108 mins.

With: Stanley Baker (Truman), Anne Heywood (Cathie), David McCallum (Johnny Murphy), Peter Cushing (Priest), John Slater (Sgt Walker), Clifford Evans (Heaven), Moultrie Kelsall (Superintendent), George A. Cooper (Chief Inspector), Brona Boland (Mary Murphy), Fergal Boland (Patrick Murphy), Michael Chow (Alexander), Tsai Chin (Primrose).

Detective Sergeant Truman is taken off a series of Liverpool arson cases and transferred to Juvenile Liaison work. This brings him into contact with the young Murphy twins, their elder sister, Cathie and elder brother, Johnny, whom Truman begins to suspect is the fire-raiser. After breaking into the Grand Hotel, Johnny makes a getaway in a laundry van, killing its young Chinese driver, and takes refuge in a schoolroom. After a long siege, Cathie coaxes Johnny into giving himself up.

"A stunning British thriller." (The People 2/3/58)

"A gripping, thought-provoking, sociological melodrama ... which does not preach yet clearly proves that the law must be upheld and that most delinquents are victims of environment." (Kine Weekly, 9/1/58, p.166)

"It is NOT a serious study of juvenile delinquency. It is a gangster film of the "crazy mixed-up kid" variety, and all its psychology and reform business is simply thrown in as a gimmick." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 1/3/58).

"One wishes the author had looked a little deeper instead of seeing only the conventional and the expected." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 2/3/58)

"As the story progresses all attempts to discuss any genuine social problems are abandoned in favour of a melodramatic and improbable climax." (The Times, 3/3/58)

"The most important quality of Violent Playground should have been its sincerity and enthusiasm in showing the methods of Liverpool's juvenile liaison scheme in combating delinquency, intolerance and complacency. Unfortunately the film is at the mercy of its own complacency and settles for a superficial, glib approach and a general reliance on formula. Its virtues are, at best, negative, in that violence is played down, nobody has a father complex and the police stand for a reassuring, composite Father Figure - kindly, helpful, yet stern. Otherwise everything is conformist and predictable, with

an insufferably smug priest, a rather fantastic and fey Welsh headmaster nicknamed Heaven, a suffering heroine torn between her sergeant admirer and delinquent brother, and the brother's prolonged, Scarface-style siege at the end. The screenplay is stiff and lifeless, relying on false banter and stagy recrimination scenes. Above all, there is little documentation of the Liverpool scheme, and no attempt to penetrate the delinquent's personality. Johnny's cravings, his insecurity and aggression are hurriedly diagnosed in between jaded bursts of rock'n'roll. It is very sad that such a wonderful opportunity to make a true to life film on such an important theme has been allowed, once again, to slip away. (MFB, February 1958, p.17)

THE YOUNG AND THE GUILTY (1958)

Cert. A. dist. A.B.-Pathé p.c. Welwyn Films p. Warwick Ward
d. Peter Cotes original story and sc. Ted Willis ed. Seymour Logie
a.d. Terence Verity m. Sydney John Kay 67 mins.

With: Phyllis Calvert (Mrs Connor), Andrew Ray (Eddie Marshall),
Edward Chapman (Mr Connor), Janet Munro (Sue Connor), Campbell
Singer (Mr Marshall), Hilda Fenemore (Mrs Marshall), Jean St.
Clair (Mrs Humbolt), Sonia Rees (Brenda).

Eddie Marshall, the teenage son of working class parents, who is studying for a University scholarship forms a romantic attachment to Sue Connor, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a prosperous middle-class couple. Sue's father finds a 'love letter' to his daughter from Eddie and forbids him to see her again. In despair, Eddie climbs up to Sue's bedroom where he is discovered by an irate Connor. But, once matters are talked over, it is agreed that the couple should be allowed to meet freely and openly.

"I want to make a film about real people experiencing real problems - the type which audiences of all sorts recognise as similar to their own problems ... The star-studded cast and expensive locations featured in some recent 'spectaculars' have merely served to highlight the truth and naturalism to be found in the rival story, the human-problem one, when that appeared on the cinema screen."
(Peter Cotes on his decision to move from television to film direction, Films and Filming, March 1958, pp.9-10)

"The picture's a trifle class-conscious, but nevertheless skilfully dramatises the barriers between generations and clearly illustrates the saying 'The eighth deadly sin is to see evil where none exists'." (Kine Weekly, 13/3/58 p.16)

"It is difficult to imagine exactly what the producers of The Young and the Guilty hoped to achieve in adapting Ted Willis' slight but accomplished television play to the more demanding requirements of the larger screen. Neither as an experiment in low-budget production, nor as a modest entertainment, can the result be regarded as satisfying ... a well-meaning film which has sadly misfired."
(MFB, May 1958, p.60)

"In the old fashioned British cinema, adolescent sex remains innocent or delinquent ... Ted Willis' screenplay for Peter Cotes' The Young and the Guilty has it that the two amorous teenagers are really and innocently in love and unjustly suspected by their elders of precocious activities like heavy necking. Shame on you, you older generation, you." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. p.193)

SHE DIDN'T SAY NO! (1958)

Cert. A. dist. A.B.-Pathé p.c. A Sergei Nolbandov Production
p. Sergei Nolbandov d. Cyril Frankel sc. T.J. Morrison, Una Troy,
from the novel We are Seven by Una Troy ph. Gilbert Taylor
ed. Charles Hasse a.d. William Kellner m. Tristram Carey 97 mins.

With: Eileen Herlie (Bridget Monaghan), Perlita Neilson (Mary Monaghan),
Wilfred Downing (Tommy Monaghan), Ann Dickins (Poppy Monaghan),
Teresa and Leslie Scoble (The Twins), Raymond Manthorpe (Toughy
Monaghan), Niall MacGinnis (Jamesy Casey), Patrick McAlinney
(Matthew Hogan), Jack MacGowran (William Bates), Joan O'Hara
(Mrs Bates), Ian Bannen (Peter Howard), Hilton Edwards (The Film
Director), Liam Redmond (Dr Cassidy), Ray McAnally (Jim Power),
Betty McDowell (Mrs Power).

Bridget Monaghan, a young Irish widow, has six illegitimate children by
five different fathers. Under pressure, the fathers attempt to remove
her from the village: first by taking her to court and then by buying
her a farm away from the district. Bridget eventually agrees, but only
after the futures of the various children are secure and she has married
Jamesy Casey, Tommy's father.

"All the humour to be evoked from the subject of illegitimacy
is here unmercifully bludgeoned, and a jolly musical score
insists what a gay affair it all is. The direction is
heavily unsubtle and the playing coyly emphatic. As an
entertainment, the film is mediocre as well as mildly
offensive." (MFB, July 1958, pp.91-2)

"A sleazy comedy about an Irish widow with five children,
each by a different father." (Robert G. Lowery,
Workers Life, August 1982, p.27)

"Over-fragrant, Blarneyed baloney." (News Chronicle,
3/10/58)

A QUESTION OF ADULTERY (1958)

Cert. A. dist. Eros p.c. Connaught Place p. Raymond Stross
d. Don Chaffey sc. Anne Edwards ph. Stephen Dale ed. Peter Tanner
a.d. John Stoll m. Philip Green 84 mins.

With: Julie London (Mary), Anthony Steel (Mark), Basil Sydney
(Sir John Loring), Donald Houston (Mr Jacobus),
Anton Diffring (Carl Dieter), Andrew Cruikshank (Dr
Cameron), Conrad Philips (Mario), Kynaston Reeves
(Judge), Frank Thring (Mr Stanley).

After a motoring accident Mark Loring discovers that he is sterile and Mary, his wife, suffers a miscarriage. Believing that a child would shore up their tottering marriage Mary suggests artificial insemination rather than an adoption. Whilst attending a special Swiss clinic Mark becomes jealous of Mary's friendship with a writer, Carl Dieter. After a quarrel Mark leaves Mary and returns to London to instigate divorce proceedings. Mary decides to defend the petition and the subsequent hearings create a legal and public controversy over the question "Is artificial insemination a basis for divorce on the grounds of adultery?" The jury is unable to reach a verdict, the judge considers a retrial, but Mark, now full of remorse, asks for the case to be abandoned.

"Artificial Insemination - the burning problem of today" announced the publicity for Raymond Stross and Don Chaffey's follow-up to The Flesh is Weak. "This picture means more to me than anything else I've ever done" claimed Stross. "For 3½ years I've waited. That's a long time". "It is always difficult for a man who wants to start something new", he continued, with more than a touch of opportunism. "There is too much compromise in British films. Making films here is one long fight" (Kine Weekly, 2/1/58 p.20). Kine Weekly thought it avoided any 'clear conclusions' but nonetheless succeeded in "stimulating interest and touching the emotions" (3/7/58 p.16). The Monthly Film Bulletin was more sceptical:

"Dan Sutherland's play Breach of Marriage, itself hardly a well-argued discussion of the problem of artificial insemination, has here been given the full catchpenny treatment by the producer-director team responsible for The Flesh is Weak. As an extertainment the film is unlikely to appeal to anyone other than the emotionally retarded. Its dramatics are cheap, its presentation lurid, and any attempt at balance non-existent. Students of the bizarre, will no doubt find the rape scene intercut with a climactic flamenco dance to their taste." (July 1958, p.90)

CARRY ON SERGEANT (1958)

Cert. U. dist. Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Insignia Productions
p. Peter Rogers d. Gerald Thomas sc. Norma Hudis, from
The Bull Boys by R.F. Delderfield add. material John Antrobus
ph. Peter Hennessy ed. Peter Boita a.d. Alec Vetchinsky
m. Bruce Montgomery 83 mins.

With: William Hartnell (Sgt Grimshawe), Bob Monkhouse (Charlie Sage),
Shirley Eaton (Mary), Eric Barker (Captain Potts), Dora Bryan
(Nora), Bill Owen (Coporal Copping), Kenneth Connor (Horace
Strong), Charles Hawtrey (Peter Golightly), Kenneth Williams
(James Bailey).

Training Sgt. Grimshawe accepts a bet that his last platoon of
National Servicemen before he retires will pass out as Star Squad.
His hopes are dashed when he meets the recruits. As training proceeds
each recruit makes his own contribution to the chaos, but on the eve
of the passing-out parade, impressed by Grimshawe's relatively gentle
methods, they decide to retrieve their reputation. To their own and
the Sergeant's surprise they win the Star Squad award.

Unable to arouse interest from either backers or distributors,
producer Sydney Box sold the rights to R.F. Delderfield's The Bull
Boys, to his brother-in-law Peter Rogers. Rogers brought in
Norman Hudis to revise the script and, after both Muriel Box and
Val Guest had turned him down, Gerald Thomas to direct. The film
was shot in six weeks in March and April of 1958 on a budget of
£74000. The title itself was apparently inspired by Val Guest's
comedy of the previous year, Carry on Admiral (which, rather
ironically, was itself re-issued in 1959 to cash in on the Carry On's
success).

"I now the dangers of predicting a picture's commercial
future while its still on the floor, but today I stick
my neck out and say that Peter Roger's Carry on Sergeant
looks like earning the comedy-of-the-year crown."
(Bill Edwards, Kine Weekly, 24/4/58)

"The fortunes of the Whitehall Theatre are a standing
testimony to the public appetite for barrack-square
farce. Carry on Sergeant is a film in this tradition
that should do as well for the cinema cash registers.
...For this story to succeed it needs script and comic
acting of the highest calibre. Carry on Sergeant
possesses both these assets." (John Waterman, Evening
Standard, 18/9/58)

"Every old sweat and every young sweat doing his service
will revel in it." (News of the World, 21/9/58)

"What audiences on both sides of the Atlantic seem to want
to revel in are films which perform their farcical manoeuvres
on the barrack square, and Carry on Sergeant explains its

simple ideas by its title. The awkward squad bashes away with any amount of goodwill and every now and again a line or situation is genuinely funny." (Times, 22/9/58)

"Carry on Sergeant provides for any appetites not yet sated with army farce, in a film commendably brisk and played with great determination." (Penelope Houston, Observer, 21/9/58)

"Director Gerald Thomas and players William Hartnell, Eric Barker, Bill Owen and Kenneth Williams drag more fun than you might expect out of a British farce about the awkward squad." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 21/9/58)

"Carry on Sergeant is a traditionally English mixture of old farcical situations, well-worn jokes, and comic postcard characters. Charles Hawtrey, as a weedy incompetent, and Kenneth Williams, as a condescending intellectual, provide some genuine laughs. The rest of the humour is either overdone or half baked." (MFB, September 1958, p.112)

"A cheerful and unpretentious romp." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 20/9/58)

"From the moment of its launch, the public took to Carry on Sergeant as though it belonged to them. It was not peddling luxury or magic or stars and made no pretence at superiority. They saw Carry on Sergeant ...as being part of themselves, a mate who showed them how to laugh at the problems and the people who pestered...and bossed them. The humour was the sort of humour they used themselves in pubs and clubs. Critics may call it corny, and lots of it was, but it was legitimate and true working-class humour." (Kenneth Eastaugh, The Carry-On Book, op.cit. p.30)

ROOM AT THE TOP (1959)

Cert. X. dist. Independent/British Lion p.c. Remus p. John and James Woolf assoc. p. Raymond Anzarut d. Jack Clayton sc. Neil Paterson, from the novel by John Braine ph. Freddie Francis ed. Ralph Kemplen a.d. Ralph Brinton m. Mario Nascimbene 117 mins.

With: Laurence Harvey (Joe Lampton), Simone Signoret (Alice Aisgill), Heather Sears (Susan Brown), Donald Wolfitt (Mr Brown), Ambrosine Phillpotts (Mrs Brown), Donald Houston (Charles Soames), Raymond Huntley (Mr Hoylake), John Westbrook (Jack Wales), Allan Cuthbertson (George Aisgill), Mary Peach (June Samson), Hermione Baddeley (Elspeth), Richard Pasco (Teddy), Beatrice Varley (Aunt), Delena Kidd (Eva), Ian Hendry (Cyril), Miriam Karlin (Gertrude), Wilfrid Lawson (Uncle Nat).

John Braine's story of Joe Lampton, who arrives in Warnley to take up a post in the Borough Treasurer's Department. Through the local drama society, he meets and takes up with Susan Brown, the daughter of the local industrial magnate. Brown responds by sending his daughter away; Joe, meanwhile, becomes involved with Alice Aisgill. Susan returns home shortly after Joe and Alice fall out. She is seduced by Joe who then decides to return to Alice. Discovering Susan's pregnancy, Brown attempts to buy Joe off, but failing, forces Joe to give up Alice and marry Susan. Alice launches on a drinking-bout and kills herself in a car accident. Joe disappears and is beaten unconscious while drunk. He is found in time for the wedding with Susan.

"It is a solid fact that many films in Britain fail to mirror the day-to-day problems of our time. Worse, some set out to give an Alice-in-Wonderland view of life. Romulus has always been a realistic company ... Among other things, Room at the Top will provide sincere realism of a kind seldom seen ... "With Room at the Top, British films come of age", opines John Braine ... It's a box-office thought worth bearing in mind." (Publicity material)

"At last, at long, long last, a British film that talks about life here today - not during the war, not in the jungle or the desert, not in some unimaginable script-writer's suburbia or stately home, but slap in the middle of the dissolving and reforming social patterns of our time and place." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 30/1/59)

"The notorious reluctance of the British cinema to consider the contemporary scene seems to be waning. Room at the Top is ... the first of a series of adaptations from works all vigourously concerned with aspects of life here and now which may well reverse the escapist philosophies which have deadened our film industry." (Financial Times, 26/1/59)

"One feels that a whole new chapter is about to be written in motion picture history ... I can say for myself that the only shock I felt was the shock of recognition, the

shock of recognising ordinary, tawdry people on the screen in an extraordinarily bitter, adult drama, and the shock of realizing how rarely this has happened before."

(Arthur Knight, Saturday Review, 11/4/59)

"Room at the Top was the real eye-opener for me - the real proof that something had happened in the cinema. For here was a British film which at long last, got its teeth into those subjects which have always been part and parcel of our lives, but have hitherto been taboo subjects on the prissy British screen - male ambition in all its ruthlessness, and sex in all its earthly compulsion. It is savagely frank and brutally truthful." (Leonard Mosley, Daily Express, 3/4/59)

"The film is much better than the novel ... But, more than that, it is one of the bravest and best British films in years ... The way it tells the story of how Joe Lampton ... made good has earned it an X certificate. Not for meretricious horror or peek-hole sex: but for sheer, blatant honesty ... The sex is there, in torrents. The horror is there, and of course, the down-to-common-earth words. This is in no sense a U story. But it is real and straightforward, and rings true. In this case at least, and at last, the X certificate looks like a badge of honour." (Derek Monsey, Sunday Express, 25/1/59)

"Never before has the censor's X certificate ... been so justified by results. It has allowed John Braine's provocative, best seller novel to reach the screen with brutal honesty. It makes possible some of the most realistic sex episodes, the most unminced dialogue yet seen and heard in a cinema ... Sordid and cynical if you will. But with the ring of truth." (Harold Conway, Daily Sketch, 23/1/59)

"The film is largely concerned with love and lust among a generally seedy and unpleasant bunch of people ... but it is also ... brilliantly courageous and startlingly outspoken ... Here is a British film that concerns itself with people not in a mealy-mouthed or prissy manner, but with something of the briskness of the better Hollywood films and something of the skill of the better Continentals." (Ivor Adams, Star, 22/1/59)

"Room at the Top arrives brandishing a well-merited X certificate as proof that British studios can produce something as sexy as the offerings of the craftiest Continental sin-pedlars ... Its immoral moral is that the way to the top is through the bedroom door of the boss' daughter, and it could be truthfully retitled "Bedroom at the Top." (Anthony Carthew, Daily Herald, 23/1/59)

"In my old-fashioned way I find irritating the picture's youthful ardour in substituting candour for artistic restraint in matters which are not usually detailed on the screen. Big bold words are used. Bedroom scenes leave little to the imagination - which is what good art never does." (Jympson Harman, Evening News, 22/1/59)

"Room at the Top is certainly a bold film. I respect it because I'm not satisfied it's got the indigenous material right. To anyone who's grown up in the north, the thing is full of small but niggling false touches. The authentic Yorkshire backgrounds are too often at odds with the characters appearing in the foreground." (Time and Tide, 31/1/59)

"Working-class audiences will recognise British Lion's Room at the Top ... as unsatisfactory. They will be quick to spot the false characterisation of its 'hero', especially as everything else about it is remarkably true to life ... The main character isn't typical at all ... Joe Lampton is a working-class cad ... Now, its unhappily true that some working people have corrupt social ambitions. But in a film that sets out to explore class relations and sex relations between classes, it is a trick to select an immature, over-sexed, unprincipled climber as the main representative of the working class." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 26/1/59)

"Joe, indeed, is more of a cad than a card ... Joe's private class war is, to a certain extent, justified by the behaviour of his natural enemies. Still, perhaps such people exist ... " (The Times, 26/1/59)

"What I prefer is a film about real people. Whether they are nice or nasty seems to me immaterial, so long as they are real: though nice is nicer ... The fault I have to find with Room at the Top is that class distinctions are emphasized but not substantiated. Joe Lampton, in the dialogue and action ascribed to him, betrays not class pride but class inferiority. In other words, he is neither fair to his class nor honest with himself, and therefore to me he becomes an artificial character." (C.A. Lejeune, The Observer, 1/2/59)

"What I object to is her extraordinary statement that anyone who is neither fair to his class nor honest with himself is an artificial character ... Because we can't live up to Miss Lejeune's standards, it doesn't follow that we're non-existent." (John Braine, letter to The Observer, 8/2/59)

"Room at the Top is a film of real strength ... For this reason alone it deserves all the support it can be honestly given. In view of that, it is disheartening to find that - with some notable exceptions - the critics failed to discover for themselves or for their readers the genuine strengths of the film ... The overall impression is that few critics would know a revival if they saw one." (Paddy Whannel, Universities and Left Review, No.6, Spring 1959, pp.22-4)

"Room at the Top, an archetypal study of the young man from a working-class background who makes it in the affluent society, has dated badly, but at the time its faithful capturing of the emotional crudities and over-simplifications of John Braine's novel seemed genuinely new." (Ray Armes, A Critical History of the British Cinema, op.cit. p.244)

PASSPORT TO SHAME (1959)

Cert. X. dist. British Lion p.c. United Co-Productions, A John Clein Production p. John Clein d. Alvin Rakoff sc. Patrick Alexander ph. Jack Asher ed. Lee Doig a.d. George Beech m. Ken Jones 91 mins.

With: Diana Dors (Vicki), Eddie Constantine (Johnny), Herbert Lom (Nick), Odile Versois (Malou), Brenda de Banzie (Aggie), Robert Brown (Mike), Elwyn Brook-Jones (Heath), Cyril Shaps (Willie), Denis Shaw (Mac), Joan Sims (Miriam).

Malou, a young French girl, is tricked by Aggie, an English brothel-keeper, into coming to London where she believes she will be employed as Aggie's companion. To get a British passport she goes through a one-day marriage with Johnny, a cab-driver who has been bribed by Nick, the gang boss behind the brothel. Johnny realises the life Malou will be expected to lead and after several battles with the gang succeeds in rescuing her, aided by a score of cab-drivers. Nick is trapped in a blazing room by a prostitute whose sister's face he had so disfigured with acid that she killed herself; and he falls to his death from a window despite Johnny's efforts to save him.

"Is there a demand for this type of screenplay?" asked Kine Weekly (5/2/59, p.21). "The success of The Flesh is Weak is surely the answer." Passport to Shame continued the 'exploitation' of the prostitution theme. Diana Dors follows up her previous year's role as the club hostess, Callico, who encourages a gullible Terence Morgan to robbery and murder in Tread Softly Stranger (d. Gordon Parry) with her well-known performance as Vicki.

"The plot is naturally far from pretty, but nevertheless vividly reveals the tricks of London's white slave traffic. Its principal characters ring true, yet artfully cushions the sensational with romance, and the climax is salutary as well as thrilling. The title and subject, plus 'heaven-sent' publicity provided by the Wolfendon Report, should procure it considerable audiences." (Kine Weekly ibid)

"This wildly incredible story, introduced as a social document by Fabian of the Yard, must be the most wholeheartedly absurd prostitute drama yet. Motivations are mysterious and characterisations grotesque. Connoisseurs of the bizarre may relish some of the production's most ambitious moments, notably the conclusion, which features Herbert Lom scattering hundreds of bank notes from a blazing brothel in an endeavour to hasten the approaching firemen." (MFB, March 1959, p.35)

CARRY ON NURSE (1959)

Cert. U. dist. Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Nat Cohen and Stuart Levy
p. Peter Rogers d. Gerald Thomas sc. Norman Hudis ph. Reg Wyer
ed. John Shirley a.d. Alex Vetchinsky m. Bruce Montgomery 86 mins.

With: Shirley Eaton (Dorothy Denton), Terence Longdon (Ted York),
Wilfrid Hyde White (Colonel), Kenneth Connor (Bernie Bishop),
Charles Hawtrey (Hinton), Hattie Jacques (Matron), Bill Owen
(Percy Hickson), Leslie Phillips (Jack Bell), Joan Sims (Stella
Dawson), Susan Stephen (Georgie Axwell), Kenneth Williams
(Oliver Reckitt), Michael Medwin (Ginger), Susan Shaw (Mrs Bishop),
Susan Beaumont (Frances James), Jill Ireland (Jill Thompson).

A loosely-structured series of events in the men's surgical ward at the Haven Hospital, culminating in a do-it-yourself operation by the patients to help Jack Bell gain an early discharge.

The run-away success of Carry on Sergeant quickly spawned a series of successors, with both Carry on Nurse and Carry on Teacher appearing the following year. Although Sergeant had introduced many of the Carry On regulars, it was Nurse which was the most influential in determining the future direction of the series, with its introduction of a more persistently 'vulgar' form of comedy, through an emphasis on sexual innuendo and lavatorial jokes. It was also this emphasis which brought the series into their first clash with the censor.

"I predict a big success for Carry on Nurse, a very funny sequel to Carry on Sergeant ... It has the same cast ... and even more blue jokes. Strangely enough, it also has the ring of truth. Of course, it is a caricature - but one drawn from real life." (Daily Herald, 6/3/59)

"Carry on Nurse ... makes the jokes you might expect - and a lot more you have, judging by previous experience of British comedy, no business to expect ... It brings with it a welcome breath of good, vulgar music-hall fun." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 8/3/59)

"The censor is making progress. Already this year we have seen the fiercest dialogue and most realistic love-scenes ever to be made in a British film: in Room at the Top. Now the censor takes another step - towards the kind of gag that can be heard any night of the week when Max Miller is performing in music-hall but not up to now in the cinema." (John Waterman, Evening Standard, 5/3/59)

"Now I refuse to be told that this film's success proves that cinemagoers are just a bunch of morons. Room at the Top which is equally packing houses in the West End could never be described as a meal for morons. I believe rather that Nat Cohen who is making a fortune from the Carry On series and John Woolf who produced Room at the Top are giving the industry a lesson." (News of the World, 4/4/59)

"Latest in a new and welcome trend towards unpretentious, down to earth comedy, it is the funniest (and corniest) I've seen for a long time ... The patients are not the usual stock types or caricatures but men you might know, with jobs and wives and outside interests - only a shade larger than life ... Unfortunately the pretty nurses don't come off so well. They remain little studio fillies, all, apparently, reared at the same stable ... But give me this broad, fundamentally decent approach every time, instead of highly finished drawing-room products that we stopped laughing at years ago."
(Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 8/3/59)

"Carry on Nurse is 'significant' only as a signpost (or if you like, tombstone) to popular taste. This hospital farce is a fantasy on sex ... A nurse is shown climbing on a table so that patients may study her legs; a young man who has had an operation grabs a nurse and embraces her on the bed; script and director rely for laughs on nurses endeavours to undress men and supervise their baths; the final gag plumbs a new low in vulgarity." (Campbell Dixon, The Guardian, 9/3/59)

"One can only suppose that the Censor has given Carry on Nurse a U Certificate because its non-U smut is of a sort which appeals chiefly to children. Doubtless the 8-12's will flock to see this hospital-farce ... in order to scream with happy laughter at lavatory jokes about bed-bottles, bowel-movement, belches, bottoms, toilet-rolls, flatulence and vomiting ... There is, of course, nothing wrong about a film company having a bash at sexual innuendo for adults only, if they think it will pay off ... but there is surely something very wrong with a Board of Censors who will permit such stuff to be passed as fit entertainment for an uninstructed child. ... I found its unsmutty sketches so tedious and its final joke so hoary that I would sooner be certified than see it again myself." (Paul Dehn, News Chronicle, 6/3/59)

"The picture begins with a public shave, continues with a ceremony involving a suppository, settles down to some steady vomiting, wakes up with a scene full of toilet-paper streamers...The humour of these situations may largely be lost on people who have successfully completed their toilet training, but the phenomenal popularity of Carry On Nurse would suggest that they are not in the majority. Produced for less than \$250,000, the film last year made more money (\$1,400,000) than any other picture exhibited in England, and in international distribution it smashed house records from Stockholm to Singapore. Offered to Manhattan's picky midtown exhibitors, Carry On Nurse was thumbsed down as "one of those British jokes that nobody here will get". So it opened in Los Angeles without benefit of New York reviews, and there, after 27 weeks in the same theater, it is still going strong. It is still going strong

in Denver and St. Louis (17 weeks), in Boston (16 weeks), in Chicago (16 weeks), in Dallas (15 weeks), in Milwaukee (12 weeks). Across the U.S., in fact, it has already netted its distributors more than \$1,000,000 in film rentals alone, and will probably triple that total. Gross earnings, cash across the counter, are expected to approach \$10 million." (Time, 26/9/60)

"My chronic Anglophobia took a terrible beating in the case of Carry on Nurse which has just come to us from over the water and is distinguished by a vivid lack of those qualities of wit and understatement for which British comedy is famous." (Brendan Gill, New Yorker, 24/9/60)

"In 1969 Roger Manvell contrived to write a survey of 'New Cinema in Britain' - in effect the whole of post-war British cinema - without making any reference at all to the Carry On series and granting the horror cycle a single, disdainful footnote. Whatever one's estimate of the achievement of these series, I don't think that such a selective perception of the field, selecting for respectability, is critically defensible. The popular impact of these series indicates that they offered satisfactions which other British films had ceased to: at their strongest, in the late 'fifties', they were outlets for forces which mainstream British cinema had increasingly rejected as vulgar or shocking. (One can see the new 'adult' cinema of around 1960 as a more conventional attempt to achieve an integration.)." (Charles Barr, Ealing Studios, op.cit. p.58)

TIGER BAY (1959)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. A Julian Wintle/Leslie Parkyn Production
p. John Hawkesworth d. J. Lee Thompson sc. John Hawkesworth,
Shelley Smith ph. Eric Cross ed. Sidney Hayers a.d. Edward Carrick
m. Laurie Johnson 105 mins.

With: Horst Buchholz (Korchinsky), Hayley Mills (Gillie),
John Mills (Graham), Megs Jenkins (Mrs Philips),
Anthony Dawson (Barclay), Yvonne Mitchell (Anya),
George Selway (Harvey), Shari (Christine), George Pastell
(Captain), Kenneth Griffith (Choirmaster), Marne Maitland
(Dr Das), Meredith Edwards (P.C. Williams).

A young Polish seaman, Korchinsky, returns to Tiger Bay to find that his girl, Anya, is no longer interested in him. Their violent quarrel, ending in Anya's death, is watched by Gillie, a lonely little girl. She steals Korchinsky's gun, lies to Police Superintendent Graham about the murder, and shows off her new gun to an impressed choirboy. By the time Graham has heard the choirboy's story, Gillie has disappeared. Although Korchinsky's motive in kidnapping the child is one of self-preservation, a warm rapport springs up between the two, and when Korchinsky leaves Gillie in hiding, she promises to stay there until evening, by which time he will be aboard his ship. Gillie is found, however, and trapped by Graham into incriminating Korchinsky, and the police take her aboard his ship while it is still within the three-mile limit. Gillie steadfastly refuses to identify Korchinsky, and it seems as though he will go free when Gillie suddenly falls overboard. Korchinsky dives in and saves her at the cost of his own liberty.

Cited by Raymond Durnat as evidence of Rank's increasing sense that 'a proletarian wind was blowing' (A Mirror for England, op.cit. p.56), Jack Lee Thompson's successor to No Trees in the Street interweaves a dash of location shooting and local Cardiff colour (dockland lowlife, a black wedding) with a fairly standard plot, taken from Charles Crichton's Hunted (1952). The film's contrast between urban enclosure and rural escape is remarkably similar to that of the 'new wave' films (although here the romantic interlude is with a young Hayley Mills) while there is an uncomfortable zeal about its punishment of sexual excess. Yvonne Mitchell as Amy delivers a striking and impassioned speech in defence of her independence: "I'm not an animal for a little boy to keep in a cage. I'm a woman. A woman with a heart and a body which is my own to give how I like when I like". Needless to say, she finds herself dead on the floor in little more than a minute.

"All in all, this is the most entertaining Rank release in quite a while." (MFB, May 1959, p.57)

"Another film which was placed high among the critics' selection for 1959 was Tiger Bay. ... The atmosphere of the Cardiff dockside was vividly represented and the piece was quite brilliantly constructed." (Charles Oakley, Where We Came In, op.cit. p.213)

CARLTON-BROWNE OF THE F.O. (1959)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion p.c. Charter films. A Boulting Brothers Production p. John Boulting d/sc. Jeffrey Dell, Roy Boulting ph. Max Greene ed. Anthony Harvey a.d. Albert Witherick m. John Addison 88 mins.

With: Terry-Thomas (Carlton-Browne), Peter Sellers (Amphibulos), Ian Bannen (Young King), Thorley Walters (Bellingham), Raymond Huntley (F.O. Minister), John Le Mesurier (Grand Duke), Luciana Paoluzzi (Princess Ilyena), Miles Malleon (British Resident), Kynaston Reeves (Sir Arthur), Marie Löhr (Lady Carlton-Browne).

When rich mineral deposits are found in Gaillardia, a long forgotten ex-colony, the British Foreign Office sends Carlton-Browne to strengthen the bond of friendship between the two countries. Unfortunately, his feeble handling of the situation antagonises the liberal-minded young king and plays into the hands of Amphibulos, the unscrupulous Prime Minister. Unrest in the island leads to a UNO partition agreement, but Carlton-Browne is again blamed when Britain becomes allied with the North, while the mineral deposits remain in the South. Eventually revolution breaks out and Carlton-Browne is sent to quell it, only to be captured by the King. Peace is now restored, Amphibulos is exiled, and Carlton-Browne is decorated for his services to international peace and security.

After the pattern of Private's Progress, Brothers-In-Law and Lucky Jim, the Boultings turned their attention to the foreign service and lightly lampooned its incompetence and inefficiency in the face of an international incident. As with so many of their films, the targets are so broad and indiscriminating that any genuine indignation collapses under the weight of facetiousness (the unfortunate running-joke about the hydrogen bomb provides a good example). The final relapse into love-conquers-all sentimentality ensures the lack of political bite.

"For once, the familiar Boulting Brothers' formula of uninhibited contemporary satire has placed itself in an extremely invidious position. Jokes about colonial administration, U.N. efforts to quell local revolutions, and American and Russian spheres of influence, have uncomfortable topical parallels; even if the satire were a good deal sharper than it is, these subjects cannot easily be dismissed with a lavatory joke and some facile caricature." (MFB, April 1959, p.42)

NO TREES IN THE STREET (1959)

Cert. X. dist. A.B.-Pathé p.c. Allegro A Lee Thompson/Godwin/
Willis Production p. Frank Godwin d. J. Lee Thompson
sc. Ted Willis, from his own play ph. Gilbert Taylor ed. Richard Best
a.d. Robert Jones m. Laurie Johnson 96 mins.

With: Sylvia Syms (Hetty), Herbert Lom (Wilkie), Joan Miller
(Jess), Melvyn Hayes (Tommy), Stanley Holloway (Kipper),
Liam Redmond (Bill), Ronald Howard (Frank), Carole Lesley
(Lova), Lana Morris (Marge), Lilly Kann (Mrs Jacobson),
Marianne Stone (Mrs Jokel), Edwin Richfield (Jackie),
Campbell Singer (Inspector), David Hemmings (Kenny).

Jess encourages her impatient young son Tommy to earn money the easy way by working for Wilkie, a crooked turf accountant, while trying to force her daughter Hetty to marry Wilkie. When Hetty is on the point of leaving home, unable to bear her squalid existence any longer, Jess makes her drunk and leaves her alone with Wilkie. But once he has seduced her, he begins to humiliate her in front of his previous mistress, and she refuses to go away with him. Meanwhile Tommy's career of petty crime has led to murder. On the run, he soon ends up trapped where he started, in his hated home. Hetty is forced to shoot him. As the ambulance drives off, Hetty rounds on Wilkie accusingly, and Jess collapses screaming in the street.

"The story maintains that, though perhaps small, social progress has been made in the past twenty years. ... It is not about youngsters going wrong because of poor social conditions. We aren't making excuses for the Teddy Boys. We've had enough of these films. We are saying, in effect, stop your silly whining, look at what it used to be like." (Jack Lee Thompson, quoted, Kine Weekly, 10/4/58, p.29) ..

"Gingerly adapted by Ted Willis from his own play, and enclosed in a flash-back to twenty years ago, this problem picture about London slum life suffers from all the faults of the original and has none of its virtues. The play's vital structural power has been lost, possibly because of censorship difficulties, and with it all honesty and credibility of characterisation. Nothing remains but crude sensationalism and several moments of unconscious humour. Lee Thompson's direction is hysterical, the playing is pitched throughout on a level of pathetic desperation, and Gilbert Taylor's photography conveys an unrelieved drabness which is the film's only concession to reality. (MFB, March 1959, p.35)

"It is, I suppose, a worthy work; dealing, however perfunctorily, with a serious subject. But I can't help feeling it was perhaps unwise of the producers to make it both sordid and old-fashioned ... out-of-date and generally dowdy. After all, people get so much instruction on the telly, that when they go out to the pictures they do

like a spot of charm and cheer." (Chas Maclaren, Time and Tide, 14/3/59)

"Intended as a piece of social realism, it emerges as a heavy-handed thick-eared melodrama. There are all sorts of moral remarks about the bad old days and about environment creating criminals, but author Ted Willis seems to be merely using these to cloak a spot of sex and violence." (Anthony Carthew, Daily Herald, 6/3/59)

"What do these proud friends of the left imagine they're doing with a production which tells a story of a pre-war East End environment corrupting its inhabitants 'lives' and then ends with a complacent glance at today's living standards and a sharp word to the young that they've never had it so good? Flat, empty characterisations, meaningless plot twists, and treatment which thumps home every point with gross insensitivity do little to suggest that either writer or director has any confidence in the inherent dramatic values of the subject. Anyone really concerned with putting a true picture of working class life on the screen would hardly be so desperate to pack in the clichés." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 13/3/59)

"I am bored by the endless stream of motion pictures designed to explain to me how and why juveniles become delinquent." (Majdelany, Daily Mail, 6/3/59)

SERIOUS CHARGE (1959)

Cert. X. dist. Eros p.c. Alva p. Micky Delmar d. Terency Young
sc. Mickey Delamar, Guy Elmes, from play by Philip King ph. Georges
Perinal ed. Reginald Beck a.d. Allan Harris m. Leighton Lucas
99 mins.

With: Anthony Quayle (Howard Phillips), Sarah Churchill (Hester Peters),
Andrew Ray (Larry Thompson), Cliff Richard (Curly Thompson),
Liliane Brousse (Michele), Irene Brown (Mrs Phillips), Percy
Herbert (Mr Thompson), Noel Howlett (Mr Peters), Wilfred Pickles
(Magistrate), Olive Sloane (Mrs Browning).

Howard Phillips, an ex-Army padre and the new vicar of Bellington, a growing town with juvenile delinquency problems, rejects the advances of Hester Peters, frustrated daughter of his predecessor. Howard's prowess at football and his progressive Youth Club have a good effect on the Bellington adolescents, but Larry Thompson, a local Teddy boy, remains hostile to him. When Howard accuses Larry of being morally responsible for the death of his pregnant girl friend, Larry retaliates by accusing the vicar of criminally assaulting him. Hester's hurt pride induces her to confirm Larry's wild story, and Howard, now a social outcast, decides to resign. Eventually, however, Howard's mother persuades Hester to see reason, the tables are turned on Larry, and Howard is cleared.

Another in the line of teenage problem movies, combining the usual fears of teenage sex and violence with the new theme of homosexual assault. Also of note for the film debut of Cliff Richard and his performance of 'Living Doll'.

"The story in outline seems melodramatic and contrived, but an imaginative script, sensitive and crisp direction, and the authoritative performance of Anthony Quayle make this an absorbing film. If some of the background detail seems unconvincing (the juvenile delinquents are seen from the conventional middle-class viewpoint)..the personal conflicts that occupy the foreground are authentic and well observed." (MFB, 1959, p.62)

SAPPHIRE (1959)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Artna p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Janet Green add. dialogue Lukas Heller ph. Harry Waxman
ed. John Guthridge a.d. Carmen Dillon m. Philip Green 92 mins.

With: Nigel Patrick (Hazard), Michael Craig (Learoyd), Yvonne Mitchell
(Mildred), Paul Massie (David), Bernard Miles (Harris), Olga Lindo
(Mrs Harris), Earl Cameron (Dr Robbins), Gordon Heath (Paul Slade),
Harry Baird (Johnnie Fiddle), Orlando Martins (Barman),
Robert Adams (Horace Big Cigar).

An investigation into the murder of a music student, Sapphire Robbins, leads Detective Superintendent Hazard and Detective Inspector Learoyd among London's black population. Although Sapphire 'passed for white' she is revealed as half-black, with a black brother, Dr. Robbins. Amongst the suspects are the father of Sapphire's unborn child and fellow student, David Harris, and two of Sapphire's black boyfriends: Paul Slade, an arrogant lawyer, and Johnnie Fiddle, a petty criminal. The culprit is finally revealed as David's sister, an unhappily married housewife and mother of small twins, with an 'irrational' hatred of blacks.

"We always wanted to make a film about the growing colour problem in London. And during the riots we spent a lot of time going around the Notting Hill trouble spots ... Janet Green is working on a script and we begin filming next month." (Michael Relph, quoted Daily Express, 10/10/58)

"Without fear of trespass I can say ... that the film takes the colour problem very seriously, and if it arrives at no hard conclusion, at least has fair arguments to advance on both sides ... It catches the real feel of London, and is acted ... with a distinction not customarily found in thrillers. It is a thriller, though ... and a very good one indeed." (C.A. Lejeune, The Observer, 10/5/59)

"Sapphire gets nearer than any film I can think of (and I am not forgetting The Defiant Ones) to what I will call acceptance. It doesn't patronise; it doesn't congratulate itself on being liberal; and it doesn't toady either." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 10/5/59)

"I'm afraid ... Sapphire has weighed its box-office appeal so carefully that the words 'decent', 'sincere', 'a difficult-subject honestly treated' will come tumbling out. But in fact this film doesn't help us make up our minds about anything, especially about race prejudice which is dragged into an orthodox whodunnit. Notting Hill, we may feel, deserves serious handling or none. As it is, Colour provides the red herring to keep us from spotting the murderer too soon, and this is a pity because otherwise this thriller is well above average." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 16/5/59)

"This is Rank's comment on the colour problem. Surely they must be asking at Pinewood, this will satisfy those malcontent critics who are always complaining that we don't make films about contemporary issues, the problems of here and now? Frankly, it will not." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 11/5/59)

"The traditional 'quality' cinema has given us a series of problem pictures dealing with, for example, race prejudice (Sapphire), homosexuality (Victim), and education (Spare the Rod). Their method is to devise a number of stereotypes to represent every possible attitude to the matter in hand; they have no success in their attempts to pass these stereotypes off as human beings. These pictures are particularly offensive in assuming that their holy platitudes are too loftily intellectual to be accepted by audiences unless the pill of wisdom is sweetened with spurious excitement. Thus in Sapphire and Victim, Basil Dearden and his scriptwriter Janet Green have produced thriller-problem films which work neither as thrillers nor as examinations of a problem, and particularly not as films." (V.F. Perkins, 'The British Cinema', op.cit. p.9)

"We are given no hint of negro family life whatsoever; when we see negroes together, they are drinking, dancing and gambling ... The chief Negro suspect is drawn as a lying, murdering, amoral savage, and his friends are made to seem no better. As a result, what was intended as a strong preachment against racism repeatedly backfires." (Arthur Knight, Saturday Review, 22/8/59)

"Here 'coloured' = tomtoms, slums, rackets, zootsuits, taffeta petticoats. Everyone, whatever his background or education, must fit in with that." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 15/5/59)

"Nobody wastes any tears over high-yellow Sapphire - she was trying to pass, so, presumably, she earned her fate as a corpse." (Pauline Kael, I Lost it at the Movies, Jonathan Cape, 1966, p.66)

"The tragedy is set in motion by David's decision to marry her (and give up his scholarship in Rome) because she is pregnant; and her pregnancy is, of course, the result of her (not his) unashamed sexual licence ... She is punished both by her violent death and by her suppression from the narrative ... She is a sexually attractive and independent young woman who gets her come-uppance just at the moment when she seems poised to achieve her ambition. Her racial origins, foregrounded by the deceptive appearance of her body, seem to be a particularly insidious and racist metaphor for yet another elaboration of the patriarchal myth of female duplicity." (Carrie Tarr, "'Sapphire', 'Darling', and the Boundaries of Permitted Pleasure", Screen, Vol.26, No.1, Jan/Feb 1985, pp.55-6)

LOOK BACK IN ANGER (1959)

Cert. X dist. Associated British-Pathe p.c. Woodfall exec. p. Harry Saltzman p. Gordon L.T. Scott d. Tony Richardson sc. Nigel Kneale, from the play by John Osborne add. dialogue John Osborne ph. Oswald Morris ed. Richard Best a.d. Peter Glazier m. Chris Barber and his Band m.sup John Addison music hall song Tom Eastwood 101 mins.

With: Richard Burton (Jimmy Porter), Claire Bloom (Helena Charles), Mary Ure (Alison Porter), Dame Edith Evans (Mrs Tanner) Gary Raymond (Cliff), Glen Byam Shaw (Colonel Redfern), Phyllis Neilson-Terry (Mrs Redfern), Donald Pleasence (Hurst), Jordan Lawrence (Producer), George Devine (Doctor), Benice Swanson (Sally).

The film of John Osborne's famous play. Jimmy lives in an upstairs flat with his wife, Alison, and friend, Cliff, venting his anger at the hypocrisies of society and his wife, and her family, in particular. Alison's friend, Helena, arrives and is appalled by Jimmy's hostility to his wife; learning that Alison is pregnant, she persuades her to return to her parents. Jimmy returns from visiting Ma Tanner in hospital to find her gone. He and Helena become lovers, while Cliff moves out. Alison returns, having lost her child, and she and Jimmy reach a tentative conciliation.

"A bare plot outline is incapable of indicating the qualities of Look Back in Anger: they derive from the impetus of Jimmy's anger, the power of its expression, the honesty with which the writing hacks its way through an emotional jungle. Nigel Kneale's adaptation, technically an extraordinarily clever one, sacrifices the claustrophobic tensions of the play, the long speeches in which Jimmy Porter defines his aggressions, but gives more weight to the personal drama. As an expression of an attitude the film is significantly weaker than the play; as an exploration of a situation between people possibly stronger; and, in any case, it amounts rather to translation than adaptation. Some interpolations (such as the introduction of Ma Tanner, beautifully played by Edith Evans) succeed entirely; others (Jimmy Porter's defence of an Indian street trader, for instance) seem gratuitous. Yet the film emerges as strong and unified. Tony Richardson, directing his first feature, has given it a tough, vital style which represents something new in British cinema. His cameraman, Oswald Morris, has responded to the challenge of the 'intimate' subject with harsh, realistically lit exteriors and extensive and imaginative use of close-up. Of the four main players, Mary Ure, the only survivor from the original cast, is in fact the least distinctive. Richard Burton's playing is forcefully intelligent, Claire Bloom's unexpectedly sharp-edged, and Gary Raymond's easily relaxed. All in all, from "the best young play of its generation" has invigoratingly come the best young (British) film of our generation."
(MFB, June 1959, p.68)

"The best British film - not forgetting Room at the Top - for years and years." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 5/6/59)

"This is, beyond doubt, a brilliant film." (Margaret Hinxman, Daily Herald, 27/5/59)

"How long does it take a sensational, shocking, and timely play to become easily digestible and mildly dated? Answer: the time it takes to transfer it from the stage to the screen." (Leonard Mosley, Daily Express)

"Look Back in Anger is a play about the young by a young man seething with rage at social inequalities and life's injustices. Take out the frenzied hate, which suggests at times that Jimmy Porter is a schizoid or a paranoic, and what would be left? Not much more than boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-gets-girl, with a romp in the hay in between." (Campbell Dixon, Daily Telegraph, 27/5/59)

"I found the subject very interesting, not least for the points in which it went amiss. In discussing a problem of unequal privilege, anger, in itself, is not enough. Both sides should have a fair say in the argument before a fair conclusion can be drawn. Look Back in Anger fails entirely to suggest that the upper and middle-classes have their problems too, one of which is the incidence of chaps like Jimmy Porter." (Chas Maclaren, Time and Tide, 5/6/59)

LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTRE (1959)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion p.c. Launder and Gilliat p. Frank Launder, Sidney Gilliat assoc. p. Leslie Gilliat d. Sidney Gilliat sc. Sidney Gilliat, Val Valentine ph. Gerald Gibbs ed. Geoffrey Foot, Gerry Hambling a.d. John Box m. Humphrey Searle 95 mins.

With: Ian Carmichael (Robert Wilcot), Alastair Sim (Lord Wilcot), Patricia Bredin (Stella Stoker), Richard Wattis (Harding-Pratt), Eric Barker (Bert Glimmer), Gordon Harker (Hardy), Moyra Fraser (Annabel), William Kendall (Pottle), Jack Hedley (Bill Hemingway), Leslie Dwyer (Alf Stoker), George Benson (Egerton), Frederick Leister (Dr Rushall), John Salew (Mayor), Irene Handl (Mrs Maggs), Jeremy Hawke (TV Interviewer), Eamonn Andrews, Gilbert Harding, Carole Carr, Josephine Douglas (TV Panel).

TV personality Robert Wilcot is adopted as Tory candidate in a by-election at Earndale, the constituency where he is heir to his uncle, Lord Wilcot, owner of a highly commercialised 'stately home' and keen to exploit the election publicity. Labour candidate is Stella Stoker, a graduate of the LSE, and after a chance encounter on the train to Earndale they find themselves attracted to each other. The two election agents conspire to keep the contest going and import their respective fiancés to provide a distraction (although these two, in turn, fall in love). Robert is elected after three counts but news that his uncle has just died prevents him from taking his seat. Stella now feels able to marry Robert and the agents prepare for the new campaign.

"There hasn't been a funnier British film since. ... I hardly even remember." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 25/7/59)

"One-and-a-half hours of exuberant, topical fun."
(Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 18/7/59)

"This is a political comedy entirely, and carefully, devoid of political references. The most daring of its conclusions is that the platitudes of one side are undistinguishable from those of the other, and it finds it more profitably amusing to turn to Alistair Sim."
(Penelope Houston, Sight and Sound, Summer/Autumn 1959, p.162)

"Left, Right and Centre is a political romp that fairly bristles with possibilities ... it is bright and up-to-the minute and it has its moments ... but ... it fails ... because it is never basically serious, because you can't make effective satire without caring a hoot what you satirise." (Isobel Quigly, The Spectator, 31/7/59).

"Launder and Gilliat's political comedy is less a satire on the British electoral system than an attempt to find humour in the influence of television on politics. The

script, eschewing parody and caricature, extracts its mild quota of laughs from the periphery of apathetic voters, inadequate supporters and commercialised stately homes." (MFB, August 1959, p.109)

"Here is no pretence of serious purpose: as in the Boulting brothers' films ... a hallowed institution is merely used as the backcloth for some fairly conventional gag comedy." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 20/7/59)

"Left, Right and Centre opens with a series of cheap sneers at the British electorate for failing to take a serious interest in politics ... (and) never stops pointing a scornful finger at working class characters who express a similar apathy or cynicism. The Socialists are represented as being coarse, ignorant in matters of manner and accent, considerably more violent than their opponents and fighting a largely meaningless battle." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 24/7/59)

"Miss Bredin looks much too pretty ever to have got through the London School of Economics unmarried." (Iain Crawford, Evening Standard, 16/7/59)

OPERATION BULLSHINE (1959)

Cert. U. dist. A.B.-Pathé p.c. Associated British/Frank Godwin
p. Frank Godwin d. Gilbert Gunn sc. Anne Burnaby, Rupert Lang,
Gilbert Gunn ph. Gilbert Taylor ed. E.B. Jarvis a.d. Robert Jones
m. Laurie Johnson 84 mins.

With: Donald Sinden (Lieutenant Gordon Brown), Barbara Murray (Private Betty Brown), Carole Lesley (Marge White), Ronald Shiner (Gunner Slocum), Naunton Wayne (Pym), Dora Bryan (Private Cox), John Cairney (Willie Ross), Fabia Drake (Junior Commander Maddox), Joan Rice (Private Finch), Daniel Massey (Palmer), Peter Jones (Perkins), John Welsh (Brigadier).

Betty Brown, a Private in the A.T.S., is sent during 1942 to an Ack-Ack unit where the women are in the majority. On arrival she finds great competition among the A.T.S. to ensnare the unit Casanova, Lieutenant 'Killer' Brown, who is her husband, with Private Marge Pym winning in the fight for his affections. Major Pym suspects Brown and Marge of having an affair, and suggests to Brown that he spend a short leave with his wife in London. Brown, unable to reveal that his wife is stationed at the post, goes on leave followed by Marge and an extremely suspicious Betty. On a visit to London, Pym discovers all three at the Brown's flat, and they return ignominiously to camp, only to discover that the Brigadier is making a spot inspection. Chaos ensues, but all ends well when the A.T.S. shoot down an enemy 'plane and capture the pilot.

ABPC picked up on the vogue for service comedies, established by Private's Progress and accelerated by Carry on Sergeant, with Girls at Sea (d. Gilbert Gunn 1958), dealing with the effects of three women being stranded on a battleship, and then Operation Bullshine the following year. This carried on the celebration of British incompetence in the face of the demands of war but added the novel ingredient of voyeuristic titillation by setting its story in a predominantly female training camp. Its box-office success inspired further ABPC forays into the genre, such as Petticoat Pirates.

"Made in the now very familiar pattern of army farce, Operation Bullshine is a stereotype of such service comedies with the addition of large numbers of underclad starlets. Only Dora Bryan and Peter Jones are genuinely funny, whilst Gilbert Taylor's colour photography gives some zest to the stumbling production, which never successfully resolves the problem of whether to be a comedy of errors or a barrack-room farce."
(MFB, August 1959, p.110)

"Operation Bullshine is one more in the latest series of comedies devoted to explaining life in the services. This one takes a rather inexperienced and only mildly lascivious look at a group of A.T.S. stationed on an ack-ack site during the war. All (except the inimitable Dora Bryan) are pretty. All are seen dressing and undressing and doing PT." (Sunday Express, 5/7/59)

CARRY ON TEACHER (1959)

Cert. U. dist. Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Nat Cohen and Stuart Levy
A Peter Rogers Production p. Peter Rogers d. Gerald Thomas
sc. Norman Hudis ph. Reginald Wyer ed. John Shirley a.d. Alex
Vetchinsky m. Bruce Montgomery 86 mins.

With: Ted Ray (William Wakefield), Kenneth Connor (Gregory Adams),
Leslie Phillips (Alistair Grigg), Charles Hawtrey (Michael
Bean), Joan Sims (Sarah Allcock), Kenneth Williams (Edwin
Milton), Hattie Jacques (Grace Short), Rosalind Knight
(Felicity Wheeler), Cyril Chamberlain (Alf), Richard
O'Sullivan (Robin Stevens).

When Felicity Wheeler, A Ministry of Education Inspector, and
Alistair Grigg, a child psychiatrist, visit Maudlin Street Secondary
School, the pupils put up the most intolerable behaviour, sabotaging
all attempts at normal procedure. William Wakefield, the popular
headmaster, eventually discovers that his pupils have overheard his
plans to apply for another post. Touched by their efforts to keep
him, he agrees to return next term.

The third in the Carry On series. What is, perhaps, notable about
the film, particularly in contrast to the sternness of the social
problem film, is the relish with which the youngsters' sabotage of
school discipline is enjoyed and the acceptance, as opposed to
suppression, of their attitudes and energy in the film's final
reconciliation. School comedies had been generally popular through-
out the fifties, particularly the St. Trinian's series. Jimmy Edwards'
television series, Whacko!, was transferred to the big screen, as
Bottoms Up! in 1960 and provided an amusing riposte to Spare the Rod -
type liberalism with Edwards' relentless determination to establish
that 'the rod is mightier than the pen'.

"Another slapstick farce in the Carry On series which,
although predictable and occasionally pressed too hard,
still manages to register some adroitly timed humour.
The cast attacks its material ... with verve ... but is
sorely limited by stock characterisation and a television
style of presentation." (MFB, October 1959, p.136)

"The comedy's real virtue - is that its jinks are high."
(Paul Dehn, News Chronicle, 4/9/59)

"It has a Buntesque script full of wheezes with ink
and itching powder and alcohol in the tea; it has the
robust daftness and shameless sentiment of an old music
hall sketch; and it has a moment or two of real visual
comedy." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 7/9/59)

"Although it isn't as funny as its predecessor, it has the
same good strong basic humour and working class values."
(Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 5/9/59)

I'M ALL RIGHT JACK (1959)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion p.c. Charter. A Boulting Brothers Production p. Roy Boulting
d. John Boulting sc. Frank Harvey, John Boulting, Alan Hackney
From the novel Private Life by Alan Hackney ph. Max Greene
ed. Anthony Harvey a.d. Bill Andrews m. Ken Hare title song:
sung by Al Saxon 105 mins.

With: Ian Carmichael (Stanley Windrush), Peter Sellers (Fred Kite),
Dennis Price (Bertram Tracepurcel), Margaret Rutherford
(Aunt Dolly), Richard Attenborough (Cox), Terry-Thomas
(Major Hitchcock), Irene Handl (Mrs Kite), Liz Frazer
(Cynthia Kite), John Le Mesurier (Waters), Marne Maitland
(Mohammed), Miles Malleon (Windrush, Snr), Victor Maddern
(Knowles), Kenneth Griffith (Dai), Brian Oulton (Appointments
Board Examiner), Malcolm Muggeridge (TV Panel Chairman).

University graduate, Stanley Windrush, aspires to a career in industry. After a series of fiascos, he is offered a job on the shopfloor by his uncle, Bertram Tracepurcel. Unknown to Stanley, Bertram is hoping for a strike in order that he can pass on an arms contract from an Arab buyer to his business partner, Cox. A strike is precipitated by Stanley's eager performance for an undercover time-and-motion expert but gets out of hand when Cox's own workers come out in sympathy and Stanley is turned into a national hero by the media. Asked to appear on television, Stanley reveals how he was duped. However, he is still brought to court and made the scape goat. Refuge is found with his father in the untroubled world of the nudist colony.

"This is brilliant satire done with quite audacious audacity." (Ivor Adams, Star, 13/8/59)

"A sharp, cynical look at the contemporary scene, its sloth and hypocrisy, its dishonesty and greed."
(Campbell Dixon, Daily Telegraph, 15/8/59)

"The Boultings tell us we are a shower ... Our only interest is in grabbing as much money as possible for as little work as possible ... I ask you to remember that when you hear this film described as an attack on trade unionism, don't be taken in by the knockers. What the Boultings are attacking is the abuse of trade unionism, just as they are attacking the abuse of management, the selfish use of power for whatever reason ... With the anger that makes a true satirist, they go for the false values that have stained the fifties."
(Anthony Carthew, Daily Herald, 14/8/59)

"I'm All Right Jack merely represents the editorial policies of nine-tenths of our newspapers. A Daily Express serialisation was inevitable. And now the Daily Herald, so help me, have lapped it up ... It is never suggested that the factory owners are meant to be more than individual, unrepresentative, farcical villains ... while ... all the rest of the capitalist

press exposures are presented as normal, everyday situations encouraged by every union." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 21/8/59)

"Peter Sellers is cast as the kind of man we are always reading about in stories about strike actions." (Leonard Moseley, Daily Express, 12/8/59)

"I asked some of the actors how they felt, as trade unionists, about making an anti-trade union film. "It's not really that at all", they said. "It's good fun, and it guys everything - bosses as well." The Boulting brothers were very enthusiastic. "It's a really contemporary theme", said Roy. "We enjoy making fun of the Establishment: the trade unions are part of the Establishment." He claimed to be deeply in touch with working-class tastes ... In touch with the working class? I asked a technician on what he thought. "It's making working people out to be fools", he said." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 28/2/59)

"How long does it take for liberal film journals to catch up with what, as Stanley Kaufman pointed out, Shaw indicated long ago, that trade unionism would be the capitalism of the working class?" (Pauline Kael, I Lost It At The Movies, op.cit. p.65)

"The Boulting Brothers have long been developing their popular line of ambivalent satire, latching on to the fashionable mood in films about innocents at large in a world of organised chaos. With I'm All Right, Jack, the cycle reaches its over-confident, irresponsible climax, extracting feverishly bright humour from strikes and trade unions, TV discussion panels and nudist films, advertising and the press, personnel management and class hostility, many of them targets still worth the hitting, all of them given ominously equal weight. It seems, at the outset, to be the treatment of this swiftly paced material that is so lamentable: the writing is facetious, the acting often self-conscious, and the direction, over-emphasising reactions, playing every vulgar joke and stutterer's hinted obscenity for ten times its worth, is so laborious as to be totally without spontaneity or wit. Eventually, however, one traces the fundamental wrongness of the entertainment to its tone. It manages, indeed, to offend every level of society. The workshy, gormless employees are ridiculed from a superior, bourgeois point of view; and, to balance the ugliness of the caricature, the employers are shown as double-dealing, the sub-aristocracy (Margaret Rutherford) as impregnably smug and reactionary. Successful comedy is based on love of life, successful satire on indignation: the Baultings succeed in revealing neither, and their equivocal air of detachment can only produce the impression of a supercilious disinclination to come out into the open." (MFB, October, 1959, p.133.)

"This is a picture made from no standpoint, other than the shoulder-shrugging confidence that everything is fair game ... They take no risks, because they face no issues squarely: they hurt no one, because one jibe cancels out another." (Penelope Houston, Sight and Sound, Summer/Autumn 1959, p.163)

"It is typical of I'm All Right Jack that that splendid actor, Miles Malleon, should be employed here momentarily shelling peas in the nude." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 22/8/59)

"I'm All Right Jack was the industrial relations film par excellence." (Anthony Aldgate, Best of British, op.cit. p.120)

EXPRESSO BONGO (1959)

Cert. A. dist. British Lion/Britannia p.c. Conquest p./d. Val Guest
assoc.p. Jon Penington sc. Wolf Mankowitz, from his play ph. John
Wilcox ed. Bill Lenny a.d. Tony Masters m/lyrics Robert
Farnon, Val Guest, Norrie Paramor, Bunny Lewis, Paddy Roberts.
numbers from original show Julian More, Monty Norman, David Henneker
choreo. Kenneth Macmillan, 111 mins.

With: Laurence Harvey (Johnny Jackson), Sylvia Syms (Maisie King),
Yolande Donlan (Dixie Collins), Cliff Richard (Bongo Herbert),
Meier Tzelniker (Mayer), Gilbert Harding (Himself), Ambrosine
Phillpotts (Lady Rosemary), Eric Pohlmann (Leon), Martin Miller
(Kakky), Avis Bunnage (Mrs Rudge), Wilfrid Lawson (Mr Rudge),
Hermione Baddeley (Penelope), Kenneth Griffith (Charlie),
Barry Lowe (Beast Burns), Reginald Beckwith (Rev Tobias Craven),
Wolf Mankowitz (Sandwich man).

Johnny Jackson, a dance band drummer, dreams of getting into the big money as an agent. He and his girl friend Maisie, a striptease soubrette, witness the hysteria induced by a young beat singer in a teenagers' coffee bar. Convinced that this boy, Bert Rudge, has great possibilities, Johnny talks him into signing away half his earnings. Johnny's unscrupulous methods soon make Bert, now re-christened Bongo Herbert, a big success and Johnny is in clover. But Bongo meets a fading American musical star, Dixie Collins, who is attracted by his innocence and enraged by the way Johnny has been exploiting him. When she learns that Bongo is under twenty-one, she succeeds in having Johnny's illegal contract nullified. Johnny takes this setback philosophically and starts looking round for a new client.

A cheerful attack on the rampant commercialism and self-interest of the contemporary cultural scene. Bongo himself loosely conforms to the prototype of the new working-class hero, brought up on a bomb site, and exploiting his sexuality (he's got 'more sex than age' observes Maisie) to material advantage. The real emphasis of the film, though, is on the hype and dubious intrigue whereby he is transformed into a 'star'. Television takes a good deal of the battering and Gilbert Harding is, once again, at hand to do the honours with his BBC documentary on 'gay delinquency' and publicity-boosting discussion on the problem of youth with a clergyman and a psychiatrist. The film's combination of coffee bars and tatty Soho strip-joints paved the way for more than one exploitation film which followed (cf. Beat Girl) though its affecting cynicism for the pieties of family life (and mother-love, in particular) avoided any temptation of a glibly moralistic conclusion. Despite its tongue-in-cheek quality, the film represents a fairly standard critique of mass culture and debilitating commercialism.

"The recent history of British musicals is so disheartening that it would be easy to over-estimate any film which breaks out of the rut of wishy-washy gentility. Certainly there is nothing genteel about Expresso Bongo. It is loud, brash and vulgar. Its vitality is its most endearing quality, but even this cannot hide a split in the film's personality. In broadening the humour of his original play and watering down some of its more savage satire, presumably in the hope of appealing to a mass audience, Wolf Mankowitz has fallen between two stools. The satire is still sharp enough to alienate a "pop" audience, but the sentiment will blunt its edge for the sophisticated. Val Guest's direction has blurred the issue even further. Several small part players are encouraged to overplay in a style more suited to farce, and the first musical number is delayed so long that even the genre is in doubt for nearly half the film...The censor seems to have viewed the film with an indulgent eye (and ear). Parents who take children should be warned to expect some embarrassment." (MFB, January 1960, p.3)

BATTLE OF THE SEXES (1959)

Cert. U. dist. British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Prometheus p./sc. Monja Danischewsky d. Charles Crichton, based on James Thurber's short story The Catbird Seat ph. Freddie Francis ed. Seth Holt a.d. Edward Carrick m. Stanley Black 84 mins.

With: Peter Sellers (Mr Martin), Constance Cummings (Angela Barrows), Robert Morley (Robert MacPherson), Jameson Clark (Andrew Darling), Moultrie Kelsall (Graham), Alex Mackenzie (Robertson), Roddy McMillan (Macleod), Donald Pleasence (Irwin Hoffman), Ernest Thesiger (Old MacPherson), Michael Goodliffe (Detective), William Mervyn (Detective's Friend), Norman Macowan (Jock Munro), Patricia Hayes (Jeannie Macdougall), Noel Howlett (Mr White), Abe Barker (Mr Meekie), Gordon Phillott (Mr Munson), James Gibson (Nightwatchman).

The dignified Edinburgh House of MacPherson, old established manufacturers of hand-woven tweeds, is invaded by Angela Barrows, an American efficiency expert. Her brisk new methods impress Robert, mature son of the recently deceased founder, but upset the elderly retainers and Mr Martin, the abstemious chief accountant. At first, Martin confines himself to sabotaging Angela's system, but when she retaliates by inducing Robert to dismiss his staff and adopt the manufacture of synthetic fibre, he grows desperate and plots to murder her. Inspired by a film about a perfect crime, he poses as a man of secret vices and talks his way into Angela's flat. His murder attempt is a complete fiasco, yet at the same time provides him with a second, ultimately more successful, plan: to have Angela certified insane. When Robert looks like accepting Martin's allegations, Angela really goes berserk. Eventually, however, she recognizes defeat, and the House of MacPherson returns to normal.

"In the lightest and happiest way possible, it states an important truth." (John Byrne, Daily Express, 26/2/60)

"The first independent production to appear under the Bryanston banner, The Battle of the Sexes will come as something of a disappointment to anybody looking for genuine native material, originally conceived and executed. Though traces of Thurber remain visible, Monja Danischewsky's script concentrates on obvious humour - stock Scottish types, routine tradition-versus-automation skirmishes - and eschews the rigorous discipline of satire for easy-going, Ealing-inherited burlesque." (MFB, February 1960, p.18)

"Most of the early Bryanston films were modest in proportion and intention. Comedies about keeping American progress at bay by pinning your faith to old-established English (sic) eccentricity (The Battle of the Sexes, 1960), about whimsical kidnapping (The Boy Who Stole A Million, 1960), about the wartime humours of a search-light battery (Light Up the Sky, 1960), showed the depressing gravitational pull of traditional cosiness, understatement and easy sentiment: they were all acquiescent films, not anxious to assert an alternative

to contemporary behaviour or to affront the comfortable prejudices of their likely audiences." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.74)

"Masquerading as a comedy, the film was an unconsciously depressing account of the deep-rooted British unwillingness to contemplate change." (Robin Cross, The Big Book of British Films, Charles Herridge, 1984, p.96)

"Scotland - always good for a laugh in the outside world." (Tom Baistow, News Chronicle, 26/2/60)

"It's not basically about sex. It is about tweed." (Max Walker, Evening Standard, 25/2/60)

THE SHAKEDOWN (1960)

Cert. X. dist. Rank/Alliance p.c. Ethiro p. Norman Williams
d. John Lemont sc. Leigh Vance, John Lemont ph. Brendan J. Stafford
ed. Bernard Gribble a.d. Anthony Inglis m. Philip Green 92 mins.

With: Terence Morgan (Augie Cortona), Hazel Court (Mildred Eyde),
Donald Pleasence (Jessel), Bill Owen (Spettigue), Robert Beatty
(Jarvis), Harry H. Corbett (Gollar), Gene Anderson (Zena),
Eddie Byrne (George), John Salew (Arnold), Georgina Cookson
(Miss Firbank), Joan Haythorne (Miss Ogilvie), Sheila Buxton
(Nadia), Dorinda Stevens (Grace), Jack Lambert (Sgt. Kershaw).

Released from gaol, Augie Cortona finds his vice ring taken over by Gollar's gang and open soliciting now prevented by the Street Offences Act. He robs Gollar of £3,000 and, helped by Jessel, a seedy photographer, sets up an imposing West End portrait studio and training school for models. After dark, the establishment becomes a venue for amateurs interested in photographing nudes - actually prostitutes. The dupes succumb to the nudes' blandishments, films are secretly made and blackmail - "The Shakedown" - follows. Augie falls for Mildred Eyde, apparently a student model, in fact a glamorous policewoman. On over-hearing a conversation between Augie and one of his victims, Arnold, a bank manager, Mildred realises his racket is blackmail. Arnold refuses to help Inspector Jarvis and the Vice Squad, and soon Mildred's identity is discovered by Spettigue, Augie's henchman. Though things look bad for Mildred, Jarvis rescues her before Augie can do her any harm. Arnold, desperate, shoots Augie as he tries to escape.

A further film in the line of exploitation dramas dealing with prostitution and, in this case, the effects of the 1959 Street Offences Act. Augie's career as a pimp is upset by these 'new laws' and he organises a 'model agency' and blackmail racket as an alternative. Some moral complexity is provided by the use of an undercover policewoman as one of these 'models' (cf. Victim) and the occasional criticism of the 'double standard' of the new legal reforms. As one character, a policeman, puts it: "It never ceases to amaze me how we keep on bringing in new laws that don't really take care of the situation ... The law says that a fence is as guilty as a thief. In the same way - the man who buys from a prostitute is as guilty as she is. Without him she wouldn't exist."

"This tentative and equivocal effort to cash in on the Wolfenden Report remains undistinguished for good or ill. There is enough nudity for an X Certificate, but it is all very prim; enough action to maintain interest, but no tension; routine coshings, but no sadism; cheap settings, but not shoddiness. Except for the error, or possibly box-office stratagem, of giving someone as good-natured and refined of speech as Terence Morgan a vice spiv's role, everything is fairly competently done."
(MFB, February 1960, p.26)

"Of no interest or entertainment value." (Leslie Halliwell,
Film Guide, Granada, 1979, p.678)

THE ANGRY SILENCE (1960)

Cert. A. dist. British Lion p.c. Beaver p. Richard Attenborough,
Bryan Forbes assoc.p. Jack Rix d. Guy Green sc. Bryan Forbes,
based on the story by Michael Craig and Richard Gregson
ph. Arthur Ibbetson ed. Anthony Harvey a.d. Ray Sim m. Malcolm
Arnold 95 mins.

With: Richard Attenborough (Tom), Pier Angeli (Anna), Michael Craig
(Joe), Bernard Lee (Connolly), Alfred Burke (Travers),
Geoffrey Keen (Davis), Laurence Naismith (Martindale),
Penelope Horner (Pat), Michael Wynne (Green), Norman Bird
(Roberts), Gerald Sim (Masters), Brian Bedford (Eddie),
Brian Murray (Gladys), David Jarrett (Chuck), Oliver Reed
(Mick), Beckett Bould (Arkwright), Daniel Farson, Alan Whicker
(Themselves).

A 'political agitator' Travers arrives at Martindale's, a factory in
Melsham, where he contrives, with the help of union official, Connolly,
to precipitate a strike. A group of workers, including Tom Curtis,
refuse to stop work but intimidatory violence succeeds in bringing most
of them out. When the strike ends, Tom is sent to Coventry and even
his best friend and lodger, Joe, ignores him. Tom's small son is also
tarred and feathered. When Travers instigates another strike, Tom
stands firm. This time he is worked over himself and ends up in
hospital. On learning that Tom has lost an eye, Joe tracks down the
culprit, a Teddy boy, beats him up and drags him back to a works meeting
where he succeeds in shaming the strikers. Travers quietly leaves town.

Beaver Films was a new production company set up by Richard Attenborough
and Bryan Forbes within the Allied Film Makers framework. The Angry
Silence was chosen as their first project. The idea was initially
turned down by British Lion and it was only after cuts in the budget -
except for a fee of £1,000 for the screenplay, Forbes settled for a
percentage of the profits, as did Attenborough - that British Lion
agreed to meet 70% of the cost (the rest came from the NFFC). The
film's treatment of a strike immediately provoked controversy,
especially in the labour movement. The Trades Council in Ipswich,
where some of the film had been shot, for example, passed a motion of
boycott against the film. The Miners Union in South Wales called on
cinemas and miners' welfare institutes not to show the film. "This
sort of Fascist behaviour is just what the film is about", responded
Attenborough. "Mob rule by a few scheming Communists" (Sunday
Despatch, 17/4/60)

"Here is another and most welcome addition to the short
list of recent British films which have dared to ignore
the cosy, moronic ... values of the British box-office
in order to say something worthwhile." (The Guardian,
12/3/60)

"Humbly and most sincerely I salute ... the courage and,
yes, the genius of Richard Attenborough and a brilliant
new team of British film-makers who have produced a
story that will shock you and shame you, make you laugh
but more often bring you to tears - a topical, controver-
sial, vitriolic masterpiece." (Donald Gomery, Daily
Express, 11/3/60)

"A film of rare quality and impressive realism ... The Angry Silence is not a biased film. It tells its story with honesty and with understanding. It has about it the clearing of truth." (The Times, 14/3/60)

"The Angry Silence bears witness to the effect Room at the Top has had on British cinema. One notes its forthright dialogue, contemporary awareness and air of controversy, its energy and its ambition ... But as the film proceeds, the hollow schematism of the script grows more apparent ... Tom's opponents ... remain virtually unidentifiable ... and ... having already discouraged any attempt to reflect along the way, director Guy Green switches to ... arrant emotionalism ... A last minute act of double violence cannot compensate for a tangible build-up of cumulative strain, just as the dramatic emergence of four conveniently placed Teddy boys can be no substitute for an investigation into mob psychology." (MFB, April 1960, p.47)

"Where The Angry Silence fails is in naming its true enemies, in showing what the strike is all about. The agitator is too shadowy, too implausible a figure to be taken seriously; he is merely a melodramatic plot appendage, diminishing the quality of the film from genuine involvement in a major contemporary situation to sensational titillation." (George Perry, The Great British Picture Show, Paladin, 1975, p.197)

"You will not recognise this brand of trade unionist because it does not exist in Britain. It was invented by the film-makers. It is a lying travesty of the way British working men and women behave." (Daily Worker, 12/3/60)

"The film purports to be an attack on conformity. But it is entirely conformist itself. It accepts the conformist image of Communists, shop-stewards, wildcat strikes and sheep-like workers, and ends by gloating over the violence it sets out to condemn. Above all, The Angry Silence sees people in terms of a mob to be manipulated - and in this it is a direct reflection of the way the makers of the film see their audience. For although the film ostensibly condemns those who manipulate, it is, in itself, a thorough-going exercise in manipulation. There is no attempt to work honestly at communicating the truth of human experience. One eye is always on the shock effect to be produced on the back stalls." (Albert Hunt in Denys Thompson (ed.), Discrimination and Popular Culture, Penguin, 1964, p.111)

"The strikers are apathetic, ignorant, irresponsible, easily driven, infested with thugs and on the point of degenerating into a yelling mob ... we do seem to be in the presence of a right-wing denunciation of the collective spirit as equivalent to sheep-like acquiescence in mob violence." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. pp.72-3)

"We wanted to make a film of which we were not ashamed, which had something to say about real people in real situations." (Attenborough and Forbes, quoted Daily Mail, 5/11/59)

THE LEAGUE OF GENTLEMEN (1960)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Allied Film Makers p. Michael Relph
d. Basil Dearden sc. Bryan Forbes, from the novel by John Boland
ph. Arthur Ibbetson ed. John Guthridge a.d. Peter Proud
m. Philip Green 113 mins.

With: Jack Hawkins (Hyde), Nigel Patrick (Race), Roger Livesey
(Mycroft), Richard Attenborough (Lexy), Bryan Forbes
(Porthill), Kieron Moore (Stevens), Terence Alexander
(Rupert), Norman Bird (Weaver), Robert Coote (Bunny Warren),
Melissa Stribling (Peggy), Nanette Newman (Elizabeth),
Lydia Sherwood (Hilda), Doris Hare (Molly Weaver),
Gerald Harper (Capt Saunders), David Lodge (C.S.M.),
Patrick Wymark (Wylie).

Embittered by his enforced retirement after 25 years Army service, ex-Lieut. Col. Hyde conceives a daring plan to rob a bank of one million pounds. After consulting Army records, he contacts seven more ex-officers - Race, Mycroft, Lexy, Porthill, Stevens, Rupert and Weaver - whose post-war careers have become as shady as their service records. But Hyde knows that they are all experts in their various crafts and, after agreeing to plan the raid as if it were a military operation, they repair to Hyde's house for intensive preparation and rehearsals. Phase one consists of raiding an army supply depot for arms and ammunition; Phase two includes the making of smoke bombs and the renovation of several vehicles. At last, all is ready and the League of Gentlemen assault the unsuspecting bank and make off with their booty. Returning to Hyde's home, their triumphant celebrations are interrupted by an old Army colleague of Hyde's and a 'phone call from a police inspector. A youthful collector of car-numbers has brought about their downfall.

"Given a slightly different approach, this film might have developed into an ironic study of the decline of the officer class in peacetime. ... Instead, the film concentrates on suspense rather than character investigation. ... As a study of a certain strata of society, then, the film lacks a strong centre and a firm point of view - one is never quite sure how seriously the parody of the officer code is intended, especially in the ambiguous, obligatorily moral ending." (MFB, May 1960, p.65)

"By 1960, ten years after Ted Riley's capture at the greyhound track, Basil Dearden can only recall the old certainties of The Blue Lamp as a nervous tic on Terence Alexander's face in The League of Gentlemen, as his bitchy wife Nanette Newman lolls in a bubble bath and tells him, "The war's been over a long time - nothings rationed anymore. There's plenty to go round." (Robin Cross, The Big Book of British Films, Charles Herridge, 1984, p.97)

"It was a more wry, disenchanted kind of comedy than Ealing would have made... It maintained Ealing's unflagging belief that the amateurs could outwit the experts, the irregulars could defeat the authorities; and the aggressive band of shady

customers, all keeping up a pretence of respectability under Supremo Jack Hawkins, appeared in retrospect to be mirroring Britain's buoyant acquisitive society in the 1960s... The League of Gentlemen, with its target of quick capital gains, was the ideal comedy for a boom-time economy." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood, England, op.cit. pp.103-4)

SONS AND LOVERS (1960)

Cert. A. dist. 20th Century-Fox p.c. Company of Artists p. Jerry Wald
assoc.p. Tom Morahan d. Jack Cardiff sc. Gavin Lambert, T.E.B. Clarke,
based on D.H. Lawrence's novel ph. Freddie Francis ed. Gordon
Pilkington a.d. Tom Morahan, Lionel Couch
m. Lambert Williamson 100 mins.

With: Dean Stockwell (Paul Morel), Trevor Howard (Morel), Wendy Hiller
(Gertrude Morel), Mary Ure (Clara Dawes), Heather Sears (Miriam
Leivers), William Lucas (William), Donald Pleasence (Pappleworth),
Ernest Thesiger (Henry Hadlock), Conrad Phillips (Baxter Dawes),
Rosalie Crutchley (Mrs Leivers), Elizabeth Begley (Mrs Radford),
Sean Barrett (Arthur), Rosalie Ashley (Louisa), Edna Morris
(Mrs Anthony), Ruth Kettlewell (Mrs Bonner), Anne Sheppard (Rose),
Susan Travers (Betty), Dorothy Gordon (Fanny).

Against the wishes of his wife Gertrude, Morel, an illiterate, hard-
drinking Nottinghamshire miner, tries to send his three sons down the
pits. He succeeds with Arthur; of the others, William has escaped to a
job in London, and Paul, Gertrude's favourite, has developed a talent
for painting. Paul is in love with Miriam, pretty daughter of
Mrs Leivers, a working woman, but although Miriam wishes to reciprocate,
her mother's disgust for the physical implications of marriage inhibits
her. Following Arthur's death in a pit disaster, Paul goes to work in a
corset factory. There he meets Clara, supervisor of the girl workers,
who has separated from her husband and supports the Suffragette movement.
Eventually Paul and Clara spend a holiday by the sea, but although they
find physical satisfaction in each other Clara realises that she can
never be close to the artist and dreamer in Paul. He returns home to
find his mother seriously ill, and no longer able to bear Morel being
near her. Heartbroken, Paul tries to nurse his mother, who soon dies,
thinking "of the nice times". Paul sees Miriam once more, but turns
down her offer to marry him. Determined he will never again belong to
anybody, he heads for London, intent upon studying art.

"It is - an exceptionally worthwhile production, and deserves
its place in the slow, steady movement towards the emancipa-
tion of the British screen." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 24/6/60)

"Sons and Lovers is not merely pictorially beautiful but an
all-round triumph ... The picture has beauty, meaning and
humanity. Do see it." (Peter Burnup, News of the World,
26/6/60)

"Sons and Lovers is one of the most moving, compassionate,
understanding and genuinely human films I have ever experienced
... With sympathy and full-in-the-face frankness Sons and
Lovers plots the course of the young man's progress as he sails
through the stormy seas of young manhood. His encounters with
the problems of sex - a rock upon which he comes close to
foundering - are told with delicacy, skill and great tenderness."
(Len Moseley, Daily Express, 4/6/60)

"It is an excellent job - notably for the magnificent working-man portrait of Trevor Howard - and ex-cameraman Cardiff's creation of atmosphere and landscape." (J. Harman, Evening News, 23/6/60)

"Not to mince words, the film version of D.H. Lawrence's Sons and Lovers is something of an act of desecration. It is Lawrence not only de-gutted, but stuffed and mounted. It is Lawrence pre-packaged - in the usual, time-encrusted Hollywood tradition of 'shooting the classics'." (Clancy Sigal, Time and Tide, 2/7/60)

"What would be the most certain way to cripple a filming of Sons and Lovers? Put an American in the lead? That's precisely what has been done with the 20th Century-Fox version to be found at the Carlton." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 20/6/60)

"Much of the story has been broken down into familiar clichés. Lawrence's Nottinghamshire is never really brought to life ... Relationships are baldly simplified." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 27/6/60)

"What remains is an album of decent Edwardian snapshots, beautifully photographed by Freddie Francis, quite often amusing, but largely lacking in the depth and spirit of the original." (MFB, July 1960, p.94)

OSCAR WILDE (1960)

Cert. X. dist. 20th Century-Fox p.c. Vantage p. William Kirby
d. Gregory Ratoff sc. Jo Eisinger ph. Georges Perinal ed. Tony Gibbs
a.d. Scott Macgregor m. Kenneth V. Jones m. Muir Mathieson 98 mins.

With: Robert Morley (Oscar Wilde), Phyllis Calvert (Constance Wilde),
John Neville (Lord Alfred Douglas), Ralph Richardson (Sir
Edward Carson), Dennis Price (Robert Ross), Alexander Knox
(Sir Edward Clarke), Edward Chapman (Marquis of Queensberry),
Martin Benson (George Alexander), Robert Harris (Justice Henn
Collins), Henry Oscar (Justice Wills), William Devlin (Solicitor-
General), Stephen Dartnell (Cobble), Ronald Leigh-Hunt (Lionel
Johnson), Martin Boddey (Inspector Richards), Leonard Sachs
(Richard Legalliene).

The story of Oscar Wilde's relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas, his
court case against the Marquis of Queensberry and subsequent indict-
ment and imprisonment for gross indecency.

"The first, by five days, of two neck and neck versions of
the Wilde story to reach the screen, Oscar Wilde was still
being edited up to a couple of hours before the press show.
Unfortunately the hasty circumstances of its arrival can
neither excuse nor account for the funeral pace of the film
itself, which has the extraordinarily stiff and stagy look
of some tea-cup screen drama of the very early Thirties.
Nor has the director, Gregory Ratoff, succeeded in what
must surely be his primary object, to give a living portrait
of Wilde. Like the entire film, Robert Morley's performance
is external, cautious and afraid; only once does it hit a
genuine note of nobility and emotion, in the quiet, clear
delivery of the famous "Love that dare not speak its name"
speech. But if Morley seems unsure of himself, John Neville
is positively petrified as Douglas, looking like some
inhibited curate caught out in a game of forfeits and asked
to impersonate a femme fatale. With prosaic staging allying
itself to generally lifeless performance in corseting a
subject which in itself is nothing but a liberating one, it
is left to documented evidence to salvage some shred of
drama from Jo Eisinger's script. That the historic cross-
examination of Wilde in the libel case should succeed where
all else failed is due partly to letting the records speak
for themselves." (MFB, July, 1960, p.93)

THE TRIALS OF OSCAR WILDE (1960)

Cert. X. dist. Eros p.c. Warwick/Viceroy exec.p. Irving Allen,
Albert R. Broccoli p. Harold Huth d./sc. Ken Hughes ph. Ted Moore
ed. Geoffrey Foot a.d. Ken Adam, Bill Constable m. Ron Goodwin
123 mins.

With: Peter Finch (Oscar Wilde), John Fraser (Lord Alfred Douglas),
Yvonne Mitchell (Constance), Lionel Jeffries (Marquis of
Queensberry), Nigel Patrick (Sir Edward Clarke), James Mason
(Carson), Emrys Jones (Robbie Ross), Maxine Audley (Ada Leverson),
James Booth (Wood), Paul Rogers (Frank Harris), Lloyd Lamble
(Charles Humphries), Sonia Dresdel (Lady Wilde), Ian Fleming
(Arthur), Laurence Naismith (Prince of Wales), Naomi Chance
(Lily Langtry), Michael Goodliffe (Charles Gill), Liam Gaffney
(Willie Wilde), Gladys Henson (Landlady), Cecily Paget-Bowman
(Lady Queensberry), Meredith Edwards (Auctioneer).

The story of Oscar Wilde, his relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas,
subsequent trials and imprisonment.

"The second Wilde film, based on John Fernald's play
The Stringed Lute and Montgomery Hyde's Trials of Oscar
Wilde, takes in more territory than the other and is
incontestably more absorbing. It pays considerably more
attention to the family life of the Wildes and the
Queensberrys, and makes an effort - albeit a ponderously
conventional one - to reproduce the crowded London of
the 1890s. Above all, something of the tragedy of Wilde
is conveyed. ... The writing ... admits the persecution
and bad law implicit in all such tragedies ... and
Peter Finch ... has a suffering intensity ... and a
definably solid understanding of any public figure who
is privately sick, vulnerable and tormented." (MFB,
July 1960, p.94)

"In retrospect its implications that medicine, not the
law, was the suitable means of treatment for offenders
like Wilde stands out for what it was, a piece of 1960-ish
special pleading just before the reform of the law, as
recommended by the Wolfendon Report of 1957, was put into
effect. The contemporary pressures put on public opinion
in 1960 to 'accept' homosexuality as less a crime than a
condition probably account for the film's omitting the
grotesque side of Wilde's character so that, despite
Finch's excellent and unsentimentalized performance, he
seemed at times to be simply a decent family man who
preferred stimulating small talk in cafés to dull nights
at home." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit.
pp.158-9)

THE ENTERTAINER (1960)

Cert. X. dist. British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Woodfall/Holly
p. Harry Saltzman assoc.p. John Croydon d. Tony Richardson
sc. John Osborne, Nigel Kneale. Adapted from the play by John Osborne
ph. Oswald Morris ed. Alan Osbiston a.d. Ralph Brinton m. John Addison
96 mins.

With: Laurence Olivier (Archie Rice), Joan Plowright (Jean), Brenda de
Banzie (Phoebe Rice), Alan Bates (Frank), Roger Livesey (Billy),
Shirley Anne Field (Tina), Thora Hird (Mrs Lapford), Daniel Massey
(Graham), Miriam Karlin (Soubrette), Geoffrey Toone (Hubbard),
Albert Finney (Mick), James Culliford (Cobber Carson), Gilbert
Davis (Brother Bill), Tony Longridge (Lapford), McDonald Hobley
(Himself), Charles Gray (Columnist), Anthony Oliver (Interviewer).

Quarrelling with her fiancé, Jean returns to her family in Morecambe:
her father, Archie, a song and dance man, his wife, Phoebe, her brother,
Frank, and grandfather, Billy, a retired music hall artist. Archie is
involved in an affair with Tina, a beauty contest runner-up, whom he has
promised a part in his forthcoming show in return for her parents
financial support. Discovering that Archie is contemplating leaving
Phoebe, Billy warns the Lapfords that his son is an undischarged
bankrupt. News comes that Mick, Archie's son, has been killed at Suez,
and after the funeral Phoebe's brother resurrects an old, rejected plan
for Archie to start afresh in Canada. Archie, though, is determined to
stay put. Exploiting his father's remorse, he sets up a new show,
combining nudes with nostalgia, with the old man as partner and star.
But even this scheme fails. Billy finds the strain of a come-back too
great and dies in the wings. Bankrupt, shorn of every illusion, faced
with imprisonment, Archie turns his back on the emptying audience and
walks towards Jean across a deserted, barren stage.

"With its glib suggestion that Archie's death-in-life existence
is a microcosm of England as a whole, its imposition of the
Suez campaign for political comment, and its intricately
rambling stage construction, John Osborne's play must have
seemed an even greater challenge to its screenwriters than
Look Back In Anger. Up to a point the approach of the
adapters is similar. The allegory has almost disappeared,
less is made of Suez, and there is a change in emphasis in
that the film relies more solidly on exploring the rela-
tionship between Archie and his daughter, contrasting her
idealistic altruism with his drab egoism and superficiality,
thus substituting (as in Look Back) a human for a political
and social interest." (MFB, September 1960, p.124)

"I thought The Entertainer was the most encouraging film ever
to come out of a British studio ... The Entertainer was
never directly concerned with politics. It was much more con-
cerned to say something about the quality of life in England.
This is where the film really succeeds. It brilliantly
observes the decaying quality of English social life."
(Alan Lovell, Tribune, 19/8/60)

"Its theme - the decay of the British personality - could have been handled flippantly - imagine the Boulting Brothers; it could have been handled viciously - imagine Kazan; instead it is handled with a sadness that is living." (Arnold Wesker, *ibid*)

"The Entertainer is, to say the least, the most vital and imaginative British film since its companionpiece, Look Back In Anger. Having said so much, one may go on to enquire why it lacks the impact of the original play." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 4/8/60)

"Because some of the intellectual Teddy Boys are saying 'brilliant' I am going to say what I think of this film ... The Entertainer is badly made ... It is pretentious, slovenly and pointless ... Whatever the film of The Entertainer is about, it is not about anything remotely connected with aesthetic or intellectual or emotional truths." (Derek Monsey, Sunday Express, 31/7/60)

"It is amateurishly directed. Its script limps along like a lame dog and never misses a lamp-post on the way." (Leonard Moseley, Daily Express, 26/7/60)

"An unexpectedly torrid amalgamation of the talents of Sir Laurence, playwright John Osborne, and Shirley Ann Field." (Daily Mail, 13/5/60)

"The totally misconceived film version of The Entertainer ... tries to transplant all the least unrealistic sections unchanged into a setting of documentary realism." (John Russell Taylor, Anger and After, Methuen, 1962, p.47)

"In both the Osborne films, Tony Richardson tries to set stylized theatre pieces in documentary, Free Cinema-type locations. And although the locations are in themselves fascinating ... (they) seem rather arbitrary: they're too obviously selected because they're 'revealing' and 'photogenic'." (Pauline Kael, I Lost it at the Movies, op.cit. p.71)

BEAT GIRL (1960)

Cert. X. dist. Renown p.c. Renown exec.p. George Minter
p. George Willoughby d. Edmond T. Greville sc. Dail Ambler
ph. Walter Lassally ed. Gordon Pilkington a.d. Elven Webb
m. John Barry 85 mins.

With: David Farrar (Paul Linden), Noelle Adam (Nichole), Christopher Lee (Kenny), Gillian Hills (Jennifer), Adam Faith (Dave), Shirley Ann Field (Dodo), Peter McEnery (Tony), Claire Gordon (Honey), Nigel Green (Simon).

Neglected by her architect father, and jealous of his new French wife, art student, Jennifer Linden, spends most of her time in coffee bars with her friends Dave, Tony and Dodo. When she sees her new mother-in-law snub a strip-dancer, Greta, she visits a Soho club, run by Greta's lover, Kenny, and discovers that Nichole was once a 'dancer' in Paris. A teenage party at her parents' house is interrupted by Paul and Nichole, just as Jennifer is doing her own strip-tease. She tells her father about Nichole's past and flees into the night. Paul and Nichole pursue her to Soho and take her home, after she has witnessed Greta's stabbing Kenny.

"He did not really understand what these kids were all het up about or hepped-up about, but if they wanted a film about beatniks, whoever or whatever they were, he would give them it. For good measure, he was going to have some scenes in a strip-tease club which he thought everyone would understand, even the squares."

(Thomas Wiseman on George Minter's decision to make a film 'for the kids', Evening Standard, 14/8/59)

"With Soho strip-tease, Teddy boys, 'pop' songs, jiving in Chislehurst caves, a sports car chicken run, step-mother trouble, a wife with a past, teenage tantrums, and a race to save a Bardot-like heroine from the clutches of a rogue with two 'plane tickets to Paris, this film is nothing if not eclectic. Yet the scenes with the youngsters somehow achieve a certain liveliness. Pop singer Adam Faith, when he abandons his mobile invisible echo chamber and troubles to articulate, has an attractively sad and world-weary air and combines well with Peter McEnery and Shirley Ann Field in comic sessions of adolescent self-pity. Walter Lassally's photography occasionally gives the general farrago, with its confusing time continuity, a distinction it hardly deserves." (MFB, November 1960, p.154)

SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING (1960)

Cert. X. dist. British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Woodfall p. Harry Saltzman, Tony Richardson. d. Karel Reisz sc. Alan Sillitoe, from his own novel ph. Freddie Francis ed. Seth Holt a.d. Ted Marshall m. Johnny Dankworth. Played by the Johnny Dankworth Orchestra 89 mins.

With: Albert Finney (Arthur), Shirley Anne Field (Doreen), Rachel Roberts (Brenda), Hylda Baker (Aunt Ada), Norman Rossington (Bert), Bryan Pringle (Jack), Robert Cawdron (Robboe), Edna Morris (Mrs Bull); Elsie Wagstaffe (Mrs Seaton), Frank Pettitt (Mr Seaton), Irene Richmond (Doreen's Mother), Avis Bunnage (Blousy Woman), Colin Blakely (Loudmouth), Louise Dunn (Betty), Anne Blake (Civil Defence Officer), Peter Madden (Drunken Man), Cameron Hall (Mr Bull), Alister Williamson (Policeman).

Based on Alan Sillitoe's original novel, the film traces the experiences of Nottingham factory worker, Arthur Seaton, and, in particular, his relationship with a married woman, Brenda, and developing romance with Doreen. When Brenda becomes pregnant, Arthur takes her to his Aunt Ada but the attempted abortion fails. Jack, Brenda's husband, learns about the affair and his soldier brother and friend subject Arthur to a beating after an evening at the fair. Arthur is reconciled to Doreen and decides to marry and 'settle down'.

"My main concern was to show that, while in one sense a certain section of those who worked in factories had their earthly bread, they by no means had been shown any kind of worthwhile spiritual bread ... Having been some time out of England, I didn't know of Hoggart's Uses of Literacy - which pointed out more or less the same thing ... Those who see Arthur Seaton as a symbol of the working man and not as an individual are mistaken. I wrote about him as a person, and not as a typical man who works at a lathe. I try to see every person as an individual and not as a class symbol, which is the only condition in which I can work as a writer." (Alan Sillitoe, Daily Worker, 28/1/61)

"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning presented a faithful and realistic picture of an industrial working-class environment in a way that had rarely been evident in the British cinema before. It fully acknowledged the presence of sexuality and violence in the world that it depicted and carefully detailed some of the changes that new-found affluence had wrought among the working-class in this country. To its credit, the film did not argue that the working-class was thereby becoming more middle-class in its values or cultural behaviour ... The world that it presented was a totally insulated and isolated working-class world without ... any sense or recognisable sign of a 'class enemy'." (Anthony Aldgate, Best of British, op.cit. p.143)

"Sillitoe ... does portray the workers as a mass which has become integrated into capitalist society largely through the pervasive influence of the mass media - television in particular ... He portrays a self-contained culture built around the pub ... fishing and a dense web of family relations. It is a culture which has both great vitality and a limited potential, for it is a culture in which the proletariat remains a subordinate class seemingly unable to develop beyond the negative aggression of Arthur Seaton ... It is against the apparent docility of his fellow workers that Arthur Seaton's rebellious and violent acts have their meaning." (Alan Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture, op.cit. pp.69-70)

"It is a breakthrough film." (Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 27/10/60)

"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning seems to me the first British feature film in which today's working class world has appeared; not the variations in 'low life' we have seen in (say) the films of Osborne plays, not the working class comics that for years have been on our screens ... not the genteelly transitional war-time workers of films like Waterloo Road, but people today with today's attitudes and outlooks and today's money and bounce and hopelessness." (Isobel Quigley, The Spectator, 4/11/60)

"Here at last is a film which not only in the contemporary fashion is about the working class but of and for the working class ... It shows uncompromisingly that Arthur's weaknesses - and his developing strength - spring not from selfishness and irresponsibility but from the oppression and sheer frustration of being a worker under the present social set-up." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 29/10/60)

"What is profound about bedrooms, abortion, drink, sex ... Where is "the commonsense" and self-respect that we expect from decent working people ... An authentic working class background is used but the working class itself is shown in an inferior light. It is this, above all, that leads me to the conclusion that this film has been made for the money-market and is exhibited for this reason only." (Sheila Lazarus, letter to Daily Worker, 28/1/61)

"The working class 'hero' Arthur is a brute - bad-tempered and incapable of any humanity ... Far from being the salt of the earth, he is not far from being the scum of the earth. Is this the picture we want painted of workers?" (Cadmus, letter to Daily Worker, ibid)

"It is worth trying to understand lads like Arthur Seaton as there's plenty of them around, and we need them in our ranks ... The film assesses Arthur in much more dialectical terms than can be arrived at by static considerations like "Is he a hero or a brute?" ... It stands aside from him (but not above him) and points to some of the conflicting class factors that are moulding ... him." (Nina Hibbin's reply, Daily Worker, ibid)

"The hero is a study in frustration, against everything and for nothing ... The film is certainly a reminder that affluence has not diminished 'the revolt of the masses'." (Sunday Telegraph, 12/2/61)

"Mr Sillitoe makes articulate the aimless rage of the generation which have never had it so good, and all that." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 30/10/60)

"I still think that Mr Sillitoe, on the evidence of this film, has little to say except that a good wage, accessible sex and a telly are not everything. Any Sunday-school teacher could have made the point in fewer words." (Majdaleny, Daily Mail, 25/10/60)

"This is perhaps the most immoral, amoral film I have ever seen ... What our own real live teddy boys will think of it, I don't know - it seems to give them carte blanche for bad behaviour." (Donald Gomery, Daily Express, 25/10/60)

"It undoubtedly creates an impression that the young men of our industrial town are a lot of ill-behaved, immoral, drunken teddy boys ... The principal character could hardly be less typical of the young men of Nottingham ... We produce as good a type as anywhere in the country, who work the best of their ability from Monday morning to Saturday noon. Many work through the weekend as well." (Lieutenant-Colonel John Cordeaux, Conservative M.P. for Nottingham, quoted Daily Herald, 6/2/61)

"Today's new fashion is tomorrow's formula and the difficulty which the much heralded Saturday Night and Sunday Morning has to face is that these youths, the Midland or North-country heroes of John Osborne, John Braine and, now, Alan Sillitoe, begin to wear a familiar look. The theme of the young and angry begins to be a formula ... and young anger is no longer enough in itself." (The Guardian, 29/10/60)

"Although Mr Reisz is not English, he shares the English delusion that life can be captured by detailed reporting ... (The natives)...are all impressed by the film's 'honesty' and 'boldness' ... simply because for the first time (they claim) working class life has been shown ... not in terms of comedy or pathos, but straight. Unlike the young artist in Sons and Lovers, or the young clerk in Room at the Top, the hero of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning has no aspirations towards bourgeois status. I grant this is sociologically interesting as the latest crack in the British class system - what a lot of rifts that massive structure has survived since Lucky Jim. But the Reisz-Sillitoe approach is so unimaginative that one only gets a superficial sense of working class life ... Novelty is no substitute for art." (Dwight McDonald, Esquire, February 1961)

"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning was too unthinkingly taken by the critics of the time to herald a new wave of social-realist cinema in Britain. Actually - it marked - more excitingly - the emergence of a strikingly individual film-maker with a distinctive personal vision." (John Russell Taylor, Masterworks of the British Cinema, Lorrimer, 1974, pp.16-17)

"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning is completely a director's film ... Alan Sillitoe's novel gives a powerful expression to a brand of romantic anarchism, destructive and passionate, but perhaps lacking a clear sense of direction ... The film, on the other hand, places Arthur at a certain distance and encircles him with sharply observed minor characters ... The difference between the film and the novel amounts to no less than a difference between a romantic and a rational approach to a similar theme." (Boleslaw Sulik, Definition, No.3, p.17)

"Reisz's direction is orthodox: he does not attempt to give extra meaning to dialogue scenes by moving the camera and by using depth of focus dramatically. Thus many of the key scenes are shot in medium cross-cut close-ups: and even when he has two characters together in the same image they are manipulated in a functional rather than dramatic way." (Charles Barr, Granta, op.cit. p.44)

"Reisz's Saturday Night and Sunday Morning is preferable to the other new movies ... because he is less addicted than his colleagues to attempts at extraneous 'style'. Also he knows a little about how to use actors. Other positive qualities are less easy to find, and when Reisz does try for a bit of 'technique' he is no more bearable than Richardson. The fairground sequence of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning is one of the set pieces of which the new directors are so fond, and is inutterably silly." (V.F. Perkins, Movie Reader, op.cit. p.10)

"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning was a key film for the British cinema. It marked, first, the emergence of a new generation of film-makers; second, through the emergence of Albert Finney, the emergence of a new generation of film actors; and thirdly, and most importantly, the refurbishing and up-dating of the tradition of realism within British cinema, which by the late Fifties, had become coy and archaic." (Alan Lovell, 'The Chequered Career of Karel Reisz', op.cit. p.1126)

NO LOVE FOR JOHNNIE (1961)

Cert. X. dist. Rank p.c. Five Star p. Betty Box d. Ralph Thomas
sc. Nicholas Phipps, Mordecai Richler, after novel by Wilfred Fienburgh
ph. Ernest Steward ed. Alfred Roome a.d. Maunce Carter
m. Malcolm Arnold 111 mins.

With: Peter Finch (Johnnie Byrne), Stanley Holloway (Fred Andrews),
Mary Peach (Pauline), Donald Pleasence (Roger Renfrew),
Billie Whitelaw (Mary), Hugh Burden (Tim Maxwell), Rosalie Crutchley
(Alice), Michael Goodliffe (Dr West), Mervyn Johns (Charlie Young),
Geoffrey Keen (Prime Minister), Paul Rogers (Sydney Johnson),
Dennis Price (Flagg), Peter Barkworth (Henderson), Fenella
Fielding (Sheilah), Gladys Henson (Constituent).

A Labour victory in the General Election returns Johnnie Byrne to Parliament but not to the expected government post. Alice, his Communist wife, also decides to leave him. He joins a small ginger group, organised by Renfrew, with the purpose of harrying the Government. He considers an affair with Mary, who lives upstairs, but then falls in love with Pauline, a model he meets at a party. On the afternoon, when he is due to ask a question in the Commons, set up by Renfrew, he and Pauline make love for the first time. Pauline runs away, fearing any further involvement, and Johnnie is unable to bring her back. Alice now wants to revive their marriage, but Johnnie is offered a government post, previously withheld because of his wife's Communist affiliations. Johnnie tears up Alice's note.

A sort of political Room at the Top in which a Labour MP from the North sacrifices his political ideals and abandons his Communist wife in order to obtain Government office. Any sense that the film itself might be holding to socialist values, however, is decisively undermined by its generally unsympathetic portrayal of working class characters and crude caricature of Byrne's wife as dowdy and sterile. By misdescribing the film's ending, Ray Durgnat suggests the result is little more than 'pro-Conservative propoganda' but the film is so devoid of political substance that its conclusion is less that of Labour betrayal than a bland assertion of the corruptions of office. Romance in the country with a pure at heart and children-loving twenty-year-old is the film's clichéd (and depressingly conformist) alternative.

"No Love for Johnnie shows the running down of impetus, the softening up of authenticity, the working-over of freshly broken ground till all the vitality has been extracted from it, leaving the soil stale and unprofitable."

(Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.156)

THE MARK (1961)

Cert. X. dist. Twentieth Century Fox p.c. Raymond Stross/
Sidney Buchman p. Raymond Stross d. Guy Green sc. Sidney Buchman,
Stanley Mann ph. Douglas Slocombe ed. Peter Taylor and Ray Simm
m. Richard Bennett 127 mins.

With: Stuart Whitman (Jim Fuller), Maria Schell (Ruth), Rod Steiger
(Dr McNally), Brenda de Banzie (Mrs Cartwright), Maurice
Denham (Arnold), Donald Wolfitt (Clive), Paul Rogers (Milne),
Donald Houston (Austin), Amanda Black (Janie), Russell Napier
(Inspector), Marie Devereux (Ellen).

Jim Fuller is released from prison, after serving three years for an attempted sexual assault. The prison psychiatrist, McNally, finds him a job; he begins a relationship with his secretary, Ruth, and is re-united with his ten-year old daughter, Janie. However, when he is questioned by the police about a child-murder case, the story is pursued by a local reporter whose front-page 'scoop' reveals the details of Fuller's past. He is rejected by Ruth and returns to Dr. McNally. Encouraged to make a fresh start in a new town, Ruth comes back to him.

"The film makes a brave attempt at portraying abnormality sensibly, but gets no further. There is seriousness and care ... but ... too many issues are soft-pedalled. Added to the fact that the original crime was attempted, not committed, no hint of the truly sordid is allowed to seep through... Glamourous stars and expensive settings are altogether too obvious an edulcoration." (MFB, March 1961, p.32)

"Isn't it a lot more comfortable and easy to feel noble and generous and able to identify with a sex criminal who isn't really guilty of anything but confused intentions... Would he somehow not be a suitable subject for a compassionate study if he had actually attacked the child?" (Pauline Kael, I Lost It At The Movies op.cit. p.157)

"The Mark is another assault on philistinism. Stuart Whitman comes out of prison, to which he has been consigned for interfering with a little girl. Now he faces the task of remaining cured, despite all the pressures to collapsing morale, and therefore relapsing morals, exerted on him by the suspicious local police, by the machinations of a business colleague, by a ruthlessly prying reporter, and by a brief, fearful reflex on the part of the widow (Maria Schell) who has come to love him. Eschewing all melodrama, the script concentrates on everyday tensions. The hero, weakly, clings to his guilt, to his fear of all women who aren't either reassuringly motherly or too young to be dangerous; even the untidiness of his hair and collar and tie is subtly dejected and masochistic. Rod Steiger's strong, helpful psychologist is a tonic assertion of new understandings as neither sinister nor weak. (Raymond Durgant, A Mirror for England, op.cit. pp.195-6)

THE WIND OF CHANGE (1961)

Cert. A. dist. British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Bryanston p. John Dark
d. Vernon Sewell sc. Alexander Doré, John McLaren ph. Basil Emmett
ed. Peter Pitt a.d. Duncan Sutherland 64 mins.

With: Donald Pleasence (Pop), Johnny Briggs (Frank), Ann Lynn (Josie),
Hilda Fenemore (Gladys), Glyn Houston (Sgt Parker), Norman Gunn
(Ron), Bunny May (Smithy), David Hemmings (Ginger).

Teenager Frank hangs around coffee-bars with his gang and nurtures
a hatred for blacks. One night, he and his gang set upon a black youth
and his white girlfriend, whose face is slashed. The girl is subsequently
revealed to be his sister, Josie, and Frank turns on her for consorting
with blacks. Realising his involvement in the attack, his mother wishes
to cover up for Frank, but, when the black youth dies in hospital, Josie
informs the police.

"The film, as its pretentious title implies, takes too much
upon itself ... The vitriolic nastiness of the white thugs
is over-stressed, while the apparent nobility of the Negroes
seems implausibly saintly. But underlying the slickly
treated violence and ritual teenage trimmings - coffee bar
jive sessions, guitar-twanging and tough talk - the situation
is a genuine one." (MFB, April 1961, p.51)

SPARE THE ROD (1961)

Cert. A. dist. BLC /British Lion /Bryanston p.c. Bryanston/Weyland
p. Victor Lyndon d. Leslie Norman sc. John Cresswell, from novel
by Michael Croft ph. Paul Beeson ed. Gordon Stone a.d. Jimmy
Komisarjevsky m. Laurie Johnson 93 mins.

With: Max Bygraves (John Saunders), Donald Pleasance (Jenkins),
Geoffrey Keen (Gregory), Richard O'Sullivan (Harkness),
Betty McDowell (Miss Collins), Eleanor Summerfield
(Mrs Harkness), Peter Reynolds (Alec Murray), Jean Anderson
(Mrs Pond), Mary Merrall (Miss Fogg), Claire Marshall
(Margaret), Jeremy Bulloch (Angell), Aubrey Woods (Mr
Bickerstaff.

An ex-naval instructor, John Saunders, starts a new job at the
Worrell Street School in London's East End. His liberal approach to
teaching contrasts with the more disciplinarian approach of Gregory
and he soon wins success with his pupils. Eventually he is forced
into caning his favourite pupil, Harkness who subsequently falls
foul of Gregory. Discovering his mistake in punishing Harkness,
Saunders intervenes on his behalf but only succeeds in encouraging a
'revolt' of his pupils. Forced to resign by the Head, he is tempted
to give up teaching altogether but is heartened by the response of
his pupils as he leaves.

"The novel Spare the Rod was first published in 1954. It
is about the problems of teaching in a tough, badly run
secondary modern school and its an attack on corporal
punishment ... Max Bygraves knew the book backwards. It
was his own schooldays, he said. He believed in the
story and he wanted to play a dramatic part... I took
him at his word and sold him the option ... Leslie Norman
(the director) threw out the original script because it
was too 'heavy'. The new writer gave the teacher-hero a
wife but got caught up in the problem of whether she could
have children or not and was promptly dropped... The new
man, John Cresswell, went straight back to the book, and I
stuck my nose in whenever I could. I persuaded them to
drop the endless problems of married life, but couldn't
talk them out of the incredible riot at the end or the scene
where the sexy schoolgirl tries to get Max into bed -
"After all, you must have Entertainment, old man". But they
kept to the theme of the book and the message just about
gets through." (Michael Croft, The Observer, 4/6/61)

"This belated version of Michael Croft's novel does not shirk
the original's reality, nor its attack on ill-equipped
schools, semi-illiteracy, the disillusion and brutality of
elements in the teaching profession, the sense of perpetual
war between these elements and the slum children in their
charge. Not, that is to say, for about half its length...
The fact remains that box-office has won the day. Melo-
drama rampages throughout an incredible Blackboard Jungle
riot scene, a visit fraught with menace, to the home of a
sexy 15-year old schoolgirl, the rantings and raving of

dear old Geoffrey Keen as the one openly sadistic teacher, and two Unjust Beatings. The film, in fact, has too little time left in which to make any genuinely constructive criticism; and beats a painful retreat into rosy unrealism with a finale of discomfited villain, comforting heroine, grateful negroes and Christmas." (MFB, July 1961, p.96)

"The fundamental mistake of this production is that its determination to combine comment and entertainment is limited by an interpretation of entertainment as conventional drama and edge-of-the-seat excitement."
(Derek Hill, Tribune, 19/5/61)

FLAME IN THE STREETS (1961)

Cert. A. dist. Rank p.c. Rank/Somerset p./d. Roy Baker assoc.p. Jack Hanbury sc. Ted Willis, from his play 'Hot Summer Night' ph. Christopher Challis ed. Roger Cher a.d. Alex Vetchinsky m. Philip Green 93 mins.

With: John Mills (Jacko Palmer), Sylvia Syms (Kathie Palmer), Brenda de Banzie (Nell Palmer), Earl Cameron (Gabriel Gomez), Johnny Sekka (Peter Lincoln), Ann Lynn (Judy Gomez), Wilfred Brambell (Mr Palmer, Snr), Meredith Edwards (Harry Mitchell), Newton Blick (Visser), Glyn Houston (Hugh Davies), Cyril Chamberlain (James Dowell).

Jacko Palmer, a skilled craftsman in a furniture factory, persuades a union meeting to confirm the appointment of Gomez, a Jamaican charge-hand. His liberal principles are shaken when his wife tells him that their daughter, Kathie, intends to marry another Jamaican, Peter Lincoln. Disturbed by his wife's bitterness and the implications of his daughter's decision, he tries to persuade the couple out of the marriage. Their discussion is interrupted by a Guy Fawkes night disturbance in which Gomez is attacked by some Teddy Boys. Chastened by the scene, Jacko takes Peter and Kathie home, and after a reconciliation with Nell, the family unite to face the future.

"I unhesitatingly recommend this film." (Peter Burnup, News of the World, 25/6/61)

"Within its limits, which are mainly those of repeating the same old argument, and dodging the same old issue, it deals with it honestly, realistically, and not over-dramatically." (Eve Perrick, Daily Mail, 22/6/61)

"It says all the right things, and makes all the right gestures, but at the same time its determination to extract the maximum excitement from a full-scale race riot near the end does undeniably undermine any serious intention it may have." (Times, 23/6/61)

"It is all rather reminiscent of a terribly frank TV debate with Richard Dimbleby in the chair to see that nobody says anything he shouldn't." (Thomas Wiseman, Sunday Express, 25/6/61)

"The muzzy sentiment with which the two parents patch up their love life ... lowers the film to the level where it might be called The Huggetts Meet the Colour Bar." (Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 22/6/61)

"The British sociological film ... is now firmly established: recipe plain-to-stodgy, final taste perfectly predictable; progressive but 'sensible', and all points of view given an airing. First and foremost, it has a Problem (intolerance, colour, crime), and the people are there to illustrate it. Then you can expect good acting, with energy and conviction down to the smallest parts; plain, 'tough' direction that isn't really going to offend Aunt Edna, a plain 'tough' script that ditto, and a lower-middle-class background. The family will live in a mean, small street and the interiors will all look carefully right, halfheartedly comic relief being provided by the older members, who sit in corners smoking enigmatically. It is advertised as searing, thought-provoking, blisteringly outspoken; but its impact is mild." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 30/6/61)

"Pinewood still keeps trying to cash in on social comment, but its progressiveness stops at Ted Willis level. Flame in the Streets, his crude and melodramatic adaptation of his own play, is just one more Rank distortion of the contemporary scene." (Derek Hill, Tribune, 23/6/61)

"One of those well-meant, earnestly tailored pieces about life as it is in the headlines." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 30/6/61)

VICTIM (1961)

Cert. X dist. Rank p.c. Parkway p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden
sc. Janet Green, John McCormick ph. Otto Heller ed. John Guthridge
a.d. Alex Vetchinsky m. Philip Green 100 mins.

With: Dirk Bogarde (Melville Farr), Sylvia Syms (Laura Farr),
Dennis Price (Calloway), Nigel Stock (Phip), Peter McEnery
(Jack Barrett), Donald Churchill (Eddy Stone), Anthony
Nicholls (Lord Fulbrook), Hilton Edwards (P.H.),
Norman Bird (Harold Doe), Derren Nesbitt (Sandy Youth),
Alan McNaughton (Scott Hankin), Noel Howlett (William
Patterson), Charles Lloyd Pack (Henry), John Barrie
(Insp Harris), John Caimey (Bridie), Peter Copley (Paul
Mandrake), Mavis Villiers (Madge), David Evans (Mickey),
Margaret Diamond (Miss Benham).

Wages clerk, "Boy" Barrett absconds with two thousand pounds of his employers' money and makes repeated efforts to telephone Melville Farr, a barrister. Captured by the police, he hangs himself in prison. Photographs which he had attempted to destroy reveal that he was a victim of a blackmailer who had photographed Farr and he together. Having refused to return Barrett's calls before his arrest, on the assumption that they were themselves blackmail attempts, Farr is determined to track down the real blackmailers, despite the risks to his career and family. Resisting pressures from the blackmailers, he contacts a number of homosexual blackmail victims and admits his own homosexual inclinations to his wife. He eventually discovers the blackmailers' identity (a hysterical woman and leather-jacketed bike-boy) and decides to prosecute. His wife promises to return once the trial is over.

Encouraged by the success of Sapphire, which had made a profit in excess of £100,000 by 1961, Dearden and Relph employed a similar approach in treating homosexuality. Films and Filming (April 1961 p.31) suggested that the central character was 'only a potential homosexual' because of Rank's fears that "their top contract star for fifteen years, Dirk Bogarde, would lose his female following if he played an honest queer". Michael Relph replied, however, that "no alterations of substance" were made to the script after Bogarde had been cast (Films and Filming, May 1961, p.3). Vito Russo also reports on the 'general distaste' surrounding the shooting of the film: "the shooting was beset with overt hostilities on the part of crew members and production. Bogarde recalls that the cast and crew were sometimes treated "as if we were attacking the Bible". One lawyer involved in preproduction contracts ... reported that he had wanted "to wash his hands after reading the script". (The Celluloid Closet, Harper and Row, New York, 1981, p.131) Bogarde, for whom the film represented a turning-point in his career, was more positive: "I believe the film made a lot of difference to a lot of people's lives" (ibid). Although the film received an X certificate in Britain it was refused an MPAA Production Code seal of approval in America for its breach of Section III (6): "Sex perversion or any inference of it is forbidden".

"More diligent in her research than in Sapphire ... Janet Green ... has dressed up her new subject, male inversion, in a cleverly designed Crime Club dust-jacket. Surprisingly, the device - though again schematic - works rather well ... The performances have a definite passion. Dirk Bogarde suggests the anguish of the 'uncommitted' homosexual with sincerity and restraint - this is his best work in years; ... Dennis Price, Anthony Nicholls, Peter Copley, John Barrie and Charles Lloyd Pack bring a dignity, sobriety, an impression of really caring about their roles." (MFB, October 1961, p.141)

"A serious and sympathetic study of men in the grip of a compulsion beyond their control ... a sobering picture of the way homosexual inclinations make a permanent nightmare of private lives." (Daily Worker, 2/9/61)

"Janet Green and John McCormick's script ... is more concerned with hoodwinking audiences about the identify of the principal blackmailer than with any serious enquiry into the issues it professes to consider." (Derek Hill, Financial Times, 1/9/61)

"By making all the homosexuals in the story blackmail victims, they have avoided placing the audience in the uncomfortable position of having to arrive at some fresh moral judgement. We are merely asked to be against blackmail." (Thomas Wiseman, Sunday Express, 3/9/61)

"When it comes to marriage on the rocks, the best the script can do is to beat a hasty retreat into the terms of Galsworthian drama." (William Whitebait, New Statesman, 8/9/61)

"In Victim there is so much effort to make us feel sympathetic towards the homosexuals that they are never even allowed to be gay. The dreadful irony involved is that Dirk Bogarde looks so pained, so anguished, from the self-sacrifice of repressing his homosexuality, that the film seems to give rather a black eye to the heterosexual life." (Pauline Kael, I Lost It At the Movies, Jonathan Cape, 1966, p.203)

"What seems at first an attack on extortion seems at last a coyly sensational exploitation of homosexuality as a theme - and, what's more offensive, an implicit approval of homosexuality as a practice. Almost all the deviates in the film are fine fellows - well dressed, well spoken, sensitive, kind. The only one who acts like an invert turns out to be a detective. Everybody in the picture who disapproves of homosexuals proves to be an ass, a dolt or a sadist. Nowhere does the film suggest that homosexuality is a serious (but often curable) neurosis that attacks the biological basis of life itself." (Time, 23/2/62)

"The film portrays the screen's first homosexual character to choose visibility and thereby challenge the status quo. The issues of repression and enforced invisibility were equated, for the first time, with the law's relegation of homosexuals to a lawless subculture in which they became victims of their own ghostly status ... An acceptable hero to some liberal audiences because he admits that homosexual acts are wrong and refrains from acting on his urges, Farr becomes a hero in the gay perspective because he is willing to lend a little dignity to his homosexual relationship by fighting to legitimize its existence." (Russo, op.cit. pp.129-31)

THE KITCHEN (1961)

Cert. X. dist. British Lion p.c. ACT Films p. Ralph Bond, Sidney Cole d. James Hill sc. Sidney Cole, after play by Arnold Wesker ph. Reg Wyer ed. Gerry Hambling a.d. William Kellner m. David Lee 74 mins.

With: Carl Mohner (Peter), Mary Yeomans (Monica), Eric Pohlmann (Mr Marango), Tom Bell (Paul), Martin Boddey (Max), Sean Lynch (Dimitri), Frank Atkinson (Alfred), Howard Greene (Raymond), Brian Phelan (Kevin), Frank Pettitt (Frank), Charles Lloyd Pack (Chef), James Bolam (Michael).

A day in the kitchen of a cheap, busy London restaurant, employing a mix of Germans and Jews, Greeks and Cypriots, English and Irish. Kevin, an Irish newcomer, is introduced to the kitchen. After the frantic lunchtime rush, Peter encourages his fellows to imagine the possibilities of life beyond the kitchen. The evening routine begins. Peter, realising the impossibility of his relationship with Monica, smashes everything he can lay his hands on. The owner, Marango, expresses his perplexity.

"In theory The Kitchen is exactly the sort of British film we have been looking for for years. It is an adaptation it is true ... but at least it is an adaptation from something eminently worthwhile. The play has not been adulterated; it is boldly presented with its full, original text, in its single, claustrophobic setting of a big restaurant kitchen. The setting is realistic, and the personages in it are real people doing real work. The film is produced by the Cinematograph Technicians' own trade union; the director is youngish and untried; the cast is composed of interesting new faces. So what is wrong? ... For some reason the force and grandeur of the play are gone. Instead of a noble, humanist allegory, the film has often the air of a prim, left-wing tract ... The difference is that while the play succeeded in being at once documentary and intensely dramatic, the film hesitates somewhere between ... In John Dexter's stage production the drama and mechanics of the kitchen were entirely fused, here they are divorced ... The Kitchen is probably one of the most honest, sincere and thoughtful British films since the war, and so its failure is all the sadder." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 14/7/61)

A TASTE OF HONEY (1961)

Cert. X. dist. Bryanston p.c. Woodfall p./d. Tony Richardson
a.d. Peter Yates sc. Shelagh Delaney and Tony Richardson, from
Delaney's play ph. Walter Lassally e.d. Anthony Gibbs
a.d. Ralph Brinton m. John Addison 100 mins.

With: Rita Tushingham (Jo), Dora Bryan (Helen), Robert Stephens
(Peter), Murray Melvin (Geoffrey), Paul Danquah (Jimmy),
David Boliver (Bert), Moria Kaye (Doris), Herbert Smith
(Shoe Shop Proprietor), Valerie Scorden (Customer),
Veronica Howard (Gladys).

Thrown out by their Salford landlady, Helen and her schoolgirl
daughter, Jo, escape through a basement window, leaving the rent
unpaid, and taking another dingy furnished room. While Helen is
pursuing an affair with Peter, Jo meets a young black sailor,
Jimmy who presents her with a ring. Helen decides to marry Peter
and Jo tags along on a trip to Blackpool before being sent home.
She meets up with Jimmy and they spend the night together before
Jimmy's ship sails. Helen moves into a new bungalow with Peter
leaving Jo alone. She finds work in a shoe shop where she meets
Geoffrey, a homosexual, who moves in with her. When Jo discovers
she is having Jimmy's baby, Geoff attempts to take care of her.
Geoff also tells Helen who turns up after she has been thrown out
by Peter. Geoff leaves and mother and daughter are together again.

"Shaken by the eloquent fact that the last Woodfall film
showed a bigger profit than Hercules Unchained, the
Wardour Street money-bags are now busy asking one another
whether Tony Richardson's A Taste of Honey is a second
Saturday Night and Sunday Morning. In the crude
arithmetic of the front-office, I suppose that an illegiti-
mate Negro baby plus a homosexual may well be equal to an
attempted abortion plus a beating-up. The point of view
was repellently summarised to me the other day by the head
of a British production company: "It's the dirt that brings
in the cloth cap and muffler trade." No doubt the same
contemptuous man could even design a salacious poster for
A Taste of Honey. It would be like painting a leer on to
the mouth of a Cranach nude. Apart from the fact that it
is a triumph, and also clearly a money-maker, A Taste of
Honey is no second Saturday Night. Karel Reisz's film
was heroic; Tony Richardson's is poetic, full of a hard,
glowing realism that any film-goer bred on bogus British
naturalism will rise to like a kite. When one meets the
word "poetic" in a notice of a British film, one is
generally all too right in inferring a travesty, probably
about children and certainly involving the sort of studied
photography that is called "a joy" in the sedate Press;
the purity and compression of the genuinely poetic have
not figured much in British films. But A Taste of Honey
is the real thing. Like Shelagh Delaney's original stage
play, which she has adapted with Tony Richardson, it is
marvellously expressive and invigoratingly direct. It is
also moving, funny, packed with imagery and Lancashire
fortitude, and emotionally without a false note.
(Penelope Gilliatt, The Observer, 17/9/61)

"With its touching, chirpy, urban charm, Shelagh Delaney's A Taste of Honey, now turned into a film by Tony Richardson is out of line with the generally held view of kitchen-sink drama. Maybe because there are no kitchens, let alone sinks, in the lives of any of its people except the homosexual boy Geoffrey; and, especially now that the film has gone out and about to make streets its background, most of the drama isn't set against any sort of domesticity, Jo and her mum living a vagrant existence that puts them outside the usual social categories. You cannot and are not meant to draw any social conclusions; only human ones. ... Richardson has used the place and its objects as he uses people, moodily, lovingly, bringing beauty out of squalor, radiance from a plain face and eloquence from the sulky figure of a school-girl trailing a satchel. Only occasionally does the setting become too dominant; my feeling at the moment is that all fairgrounds, amusement arcades and fun-on-the-pier had better be banned from British films for the next ten years, and more especially dodgem cars, rifle ranges (with heroine's head peeping sideways at target) and merry-go-rounds, cinematically tempting though they must be." (Isobel Quigly, The Spectator, 22/9/61)

"At last to one's delight Tony Richardson's direction fulfils the poetic promise and avoids the technical pitfalls of Look Back In Anger and The Entertainer ... Mr. Richardson and his masterly cameraman, Walter Lassally, ... have caught Manchester's canal - threaded hinterland to a misty, moisty, smokey nicety. And they have found unforced poetry (e.g. a marvellous "dissolve" from the young lovers' first, outdoor kiss to the twinkling artificial stars on the ceiling of a Palais de Danse) among the mist, the moisture and the smoke." (Paul Dehn, Daily Herald, 15/9/61)

"Richardson now takes his place not only as one of the most brilliant but one of the most technically accomplished directors in British studios. ... He has done for Manchester what Visconti or Antonioni have done for Milan." (Felix Barker, Evening News, 14/9/61)

"I hope soon to feel the moment has come to stop congratulating the British cinema on its ability to mention homosexuality." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 17/9/61)

"It is Pollyanna you smell in the air, not Wolfendon, as Geoffrey goes about the housework, darning, baking, ironing..." (Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 14/9/61)

"I have always had a sneaking idea that ... Miss Delaney had one of those electronic playmaking machines. Into this she fed the most singled-out for discussion topics she culled from the reviews of the then contemporary proletarian drama - 'teenage rebel', 'unmarried mother', 'colour prejudice', 'homosexuality', 'basic insecurity of the unloved'." (Eve Perrick, Daily Mail, 14/9/61)

"Its total impact is of emptiness and human defeat." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 16/9/61)

PETTICOAT PIRATES (1961)

Cert. U. dist. Warner-Pathé p.c. Associated British p. Gordon
L.T. Scott p. manager Robert Sterne d. David MacDonald
assistant d. Gordon Gilbert 2nd unit d. Jeremy Summers sc. Lew
Schwarz, Charlie Drake story T.J. Morrison ph. Gilbert Taylor
2nd unit ph. Skeets Kelly ed. Ann Chegwidde a.d. Robert Jones
m. Don Banks 87 mins.

With: Charlie Drake (Charlie), Anne Heywood (Ann), Cecil Parker
(C-in-C), John Turner (Michael), Maxine Audley (Super-
intendent), Eleanor Summerfield (Mabel), Victor Maddern
(Nixon), Lionel Murton (U.S. Admiral), Barbara Hicks
(P.T. Instructress), Kenneth Fortescue (Paul Turner),
Dilys Laye (Sue), Penny Newington (Elizabeth), Michael
Ripper (Tug), Anton Rodgers (Alec), Murray Melvin
(Kenneth), Thorley Walters (Jerome).

Wren Officer Ann Stephens and the 150 girls under her command,
annoyed at having their application to serve at sea in warships
turned down, seize the frigate H.M.S. Huntress while her crew are
on shore-leave, and take over. Stoker Charlie, imprisoned by the
girls for spying on their activities, escapes and joins the raiding
party disguised as a Wren. The girls prove their skill as sailors.
Charlie repairs the radar equipment in a storm, and after various
misadventures the frigate return to harbour.

"Though hardly as rollicking as it might have been
Petticoat Pirates is at least a reasonably jolly farce,
and a film without any subtle overtones or undertones...
As any successful farce must be, this one is founded
upon a genuinely ridiculous idea - that of women taking
themselves in deadly seriousness as naval units."
(Alan Dent, Sunday Telegraph, 3/12/61)

"On TV Charlie Drake has shown signs of being something
of a social satirist. Here he is just a broad pantomine
comic shorn of any good knockabout business." (Felix
Barker, Evening News, 30/11/61)

"As British naval farce the piece is middling to dim, and
for men who have a built-in aversion to women in uniform,
it was virtually insupportable." (James Breen, Observer,
3/12/61)

"Much of the fun consists simply in getting Mr. Drake into
a skirt and getting as many girls as possible out of
theirs." (Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 30/11/61)

"In the true tradition of British .. humour, Charlie finds
himself in the Wrens' dormitory where he inevitably dresses
up a Wren. No wonder foreigners think of us as poor lovers,
when our only solution to this particular, so often recurring,
problem is to dress up as one of the girls ... only two points

intrigued me. First, a sociological one. The Wrens triumphed but men must always be superior. In their hour of success a storm blew up. The girls became seasick and had to appeal to the men to take over the ship. Female frailty was safely re-established." (Quentin Crewe, Daily Mail, 1/12/61)

"Charlie's chucklesome brand of humour hasn't been adapted to suit the big screen. He has to supply the comic interludes to a silly all-girls-together story about some Wrens battling for the right to 'man' the ships. They have to fight against male prejudice - and no wonder. Speaking as a confirmed believer in sex equality, I wouldn't trust this particular bunch of pouting pretties, with their smug faces and lah-di-dah voices, with a paper boat, let alone with a warship. However, I am proved wrong. ... They show the world that they are as capable of men, not only of controlling a battleship, but also of firing the guns and carrying out full-scale battle manoeuvres with the Nato forces. Not a very comforting thought." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 2/12/61)

"A nautical farce showing what happens when Wrens - take over a frigate and put to sea in the face of male opposition to show (as if we didn't know) what they can do." (Patrick Gibbs, Daily Telegraph, 2/12/61)

THE YOUNG ONES (1961)

Cert. U. dist. Warner-Pathé p.c. Associated British. An Elstree Film p. Kenneth Harper assoc.p. Andrew Mitchell p.manager John D. Wilcox d. Sidney J. Furie sc. Peter Myers, Ronald Cass ph. Douglas Slocombe ed. Jack Slade a.d. John Howell m. Stanley Black songs. Peter Myers, Ronald Cass, Roy Bennett, Sid Tepper, Shirley Wolfe, Sy Soloway, Bruce Welch, Hank B. Marvin, Peter Gormley, Norrie Paramor, Stanley Black sd. A.W. Lumkin 108 mins.

With: Cliff Richard (Nicky), Robert Morley (Hamilton) Carole Gray (Toni), Richard O'Sullivan (Ernest), Melvyn Hayes (Jimmy), Teddy Green (Chris), Annette Robertson (Barbara), Sonya Cordeau (Dorinda), Sean Sullivan (Eddie), Harold Scott (Dench), Gerald Harper (Watts), Rita Webb (Woman in Market), Robertson Hare (Chauffeur).

Nicky, son of property tycoon Hamilton Black encourages the members of a youth club to put on a teenage musical when his father buys up the property for conversion. The money will allow them to renew the lease and thus pre-empt his father's plans. The unscrupulous Black repeatedly outwits Nicky, but eventually the club obtains permission from the owner of a derelict theatre to stage its show. To promote it, the kids pirate the national networks in order to broadcast samples of Nicky's singing. Black promptly buys up the theatre and makes plans to prevent the opening night. A tough element in the youth club kidnaps Black, but Nicky rescues him and reaches the theatre in time to make the show a hit. Proud of Nicky, Black promises to build a new and better youth club.

The arrival of Rock Around the Clock in British cinemas in September 1956, followed a few months later by Don't Knock the Rock and The Girl Can't Help It, alerted the industry to the money to be made out of pop and 1957 saw the first of a series of home-grown products exploiting the music business. The Tommy Steele Story (d. Gerard Bryant) appeared in June 1957, along with Denis Kavanagh's Rock You Sinners, while Frankie Vaughan appeared a month later in These Dangerous Years (d. Herbert Wilcox) as a Liverpool teenager drafted into the army. Terry Dene was provided with a vehicle, The Golden Disc (d. Don Sharp), the following year while Alfred Shaughnessy adapted the successful TV programme, 6.5 Special, to the big screen. The success of The Tommy Steele Story led to further appearances of Steele in The Duke Wore Jeans (d. Gerald Thomas, 1958) and Tommy the Toreador (d. John Paddy Carstairs, 1959) while Frankie Vaughan followed These Dangerous Years with a series of Herbert Wilcox collaborations: Wonderful Things (1958), The Lady is a Square (1959) and The Heart of a Man (1959). His co-star in The Lady is a Square, Anthony Newley, meanwhile went on to appear in Idle on Parade (d. John Gilling, 1959) and Jazzboat (d. Ken Hughes, 1960). Cliff Richard also made his film debut in 1959, first in Serious Charge and then in Expresso Bongo, but it was The Young Ones that really established him as a major box-office force. The film, released in December 1961, proved the second biggest money-earner of 1962 and established Cliff as Britain's biggest box-office star, a position he was to retain with the repeat commercial success of Summer Holiday (d. Peter Yates) the following year. The film's director was the young Canadian, Sidney Furie. Furie had previously directed a problem piece on male impotence, During One Night (1961), and returned to a more serious treatment of youth with The Boys and The Leather Boys before rejoining Cliff to make Wonderful Life in 1964.

Like The Boys, The Young Ones displays a relatively benign concern to undermine the conventional stereotypes of youth. Hamilton Black, for example, mouths all the expected prejudices: that young people are 'thugs' and 'hoodlums' 'milling around in leather jackets brandishing bicycle chains'. Of course, in this film, they are not. The members of the youth club are as clean-cut and wholesome a bunch of youngsters as you could hope to find with a hearty appetite for singing and dancing. And, as Nicky suggests, if anyone can be seen as a 'cosh boy', it is his father, with his plans to 'vandalise' Trafalgar Square with an office block and readiness to sacrifice the innocent pursuits of the youth club for profits. But, as with The Boys, there is also a partial reversion to type near the end of the film. When the youngsters discover that Hamilton Black has purchased the theatre in which they intend to perform the show, Chris organises a gang of 'layabouts', who are 'always looking for a punch-up', in order to kidnap him. In doing so, the film ends up employing the easy imagery of teenage violence which it had previously sought to ridicule.

What this sequence also introduces is the question of class. Up to this point, the film has provided an exuberant celebration of the 'classlessness' of youth. The members of the club have all been happily united despite their differences of social background. As the opening sequence makes clear, their occupations vary from a labourer on a building site, a shop assistant, a waitress and a delivery boy through to students, a legal clerk and a businessman son of a millionaire. What unites them is their youth, and this is an apparently stronger bond than anything else. But with the adoption of strong-arm tactics, the group effectively divide along class lines. It is the labourer, Chris, who resorts to violence while Nicky, the millionaire's son, and his ballet-dancing girlfriend, Toni, who turn against him. Indeed, Nicky, who had previously hidden his identity, now comes clean and rushes to his father's side to help fend off his captors. It is the ties of class and family which are the greater, after all. But, no sooner does the film raise the issue of division than it closes it down again. Chris is forgiven and readmitted into the group while Hamilton Black himself joins the youngsters on the stage. But it is not a case of youth triumphing over age. Hamilton Black has still got what he wanted, while the youngsters, through the intermediary of Nicky, have merely identified their interests with his (the capitalist or real 'cosh boy'). The essential inequity of the film's 'utopian' resolution is thus disguised while the threat to capital, represented by the club, is rendered harmless. Despite Nicky's song ('Mummy says no, Daddy says no ... But they all have to go'), the youngsters haven't said 'no' at all but fallen in completely with Daddy and the interests he represents. Despite its apparent superficiality, the film does raise some interesting questions, but like The Boys after it, decides to duck them.

In fact, Nicky's rendition of "We Say Yeah" is one of the few actual pop songs performed in the film. Heavily influenced by West Side Story, and under the guiding hand of Hollywood choreographer, Herbert Ross, the film turns its back on the genuine energies released by pop music in favour of the rather contrived and, in this context, ersatz and ultimately sterile rituals of the mainstream musical. Like the youngsters themselves, it is pop made safe and conventional in a style that will appeal to everyone: Nicky croons his way through "The Girl In Your Arms" while everybody from beatniks to old ladies gather round their TV sets in

affectionate approval. It was up to It's Trad, Dad, (d. Dick Lester) the following year, to begin to develop something like an identity of its own for the pop film. It had a winning iconoclastic humour, genuine visual inventiveness and an obvious affection for the 'mindlessness' of youth: the coffee-bar regulars gather round their TV sets for the Pete Murray show, for example, while a pompous voice-over drones on about "these intelligent, alive and alert teenagers ... keeping up with current affairs". But, for all of its novelty, It's Trad, Dad still remains altogether too cosy (Craig Douglas and Helen Shapiro as the well-scrubbed leads prove particularly irksome), too contented a celebration of 'classless' youth and too ready to hedge its bets with a rather eclectic, not to say forced, combination of musical styles and performers.

"Blow the trumpets (syncopated), sound the drums (with a rocking beat), for here at last is what must surely go down as the first successful British musical. The Young Ones ... has all the verve of West Side Story, all the vivacity of Oklahoma and all the brash charm of Meet Me in St. Louis ... The film bursts its frame with the zest of youth. It sings with the unalloyed enjoyment of life." (Evening News, 14/12/61)

"This is the best screen-musical ever to have been made in England." (Paul Dehn, Daily Herald, 16/12/61)

"Easily the best British musical I've seen." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 16/12/61)

"Youth is the first thing this film is about. Youth is the second thing. Youth is the third thing."
(Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 14/12/61)

"The moral tone is high. The young, apart from inaugurating a pirate broadcasting station, are well-behaved, unflinchingly chaste and non-violent, the only exceptions to this rule receiving lessons in ju-jitsu from Mr Morley."
(Burgo Partridge, Time and Tide, 28/12/61)

ONLY TWO CAN PLAY (1962)

Cert. X. dist. BLC/British Lion p.c. Vale exec.p. Frank Launder, Sidney Gilliat p.manager John Pellatt d. Sidney Gilliat assistant d. Douglas Hermes sc. Bryan Forbes. From the novel That Uncertain Feeling by Kingsley Amis ph. John Wilcox ed. Thelma Connell a.d. Albert Witherick set decorator Robert Cartwright m. Richard Rodney Bennett 106 mins.

With: Peter Sellers (John Lewis), Mai Zetterling (Liz), Virginia Maskell (Jean), Richard Attenborough (Probert), Kenneth Griffiths (Jenkins), Maudie Edwards (Mrs Davies), Frederick Piper (Davies), Graham Stark (Hyman), John Arnatt (Bill), Sheila Manahan (Mrs Jenkins), John Le Mesurier (Salter), Raymond Huntley (Vernon), David Davies (Beynon), Meredith Edwards (Clergyman), Eynon Evans (Town Hall Clerk).

John Lewis works in the public library of a Welsh provincial town and lives in an atmosphere of cluttered discomfort, bludgeoned by his landlady's complaints, his landlady's dog, his own children's tedious prattle, his fellow librarian's timid opportunism, and the irritations of his working day. A fantasy pursuit of the local girls is about all that rouses him from truculent boredom. When Elizabeth Gruffyd-Williams, ex-Norwegian refugee and currently wife of one of the town's rich business men, calls at the library, Lewis is entirely ready to embark on an affair, as is Mrs Gruffyd-Williams. But circumstances - the inconvenient return of her husband, a cow peering through a car window - combine to frustrate them. Meanwhile Lewis's wife, Jean, becomes markedly suspicious, in spite of his insistence that he is only cultivating Elizabeth because her husband is chairman of the library committee. Although Lewis makes a hash of his interview with the committee, his promotion has already been fixed by Elizabeth. Discovering this, he suddenly rebels, walks out on her and the job, persuades Jean that he intends not to let her down again, and sets out with her to run a mobile library.

The second of Amis's novels to reach the screen. The result is a curious mix of Boulting-type farce (cf. Lucky Jim) and elements of the 'new realism' (location shooting, urban iconography, cluttered upstairs bedsit à la Look Back In Anger).

"The trouble with Only Two Can Play is that it is not wholehearted or consistent enough. Over-conscious of having possibly done some little damage to conventional notions of propriety, it tries to immediately repair it ... Inevitably a clash of styles develops and this shows up both in direction and acting." (Boleslaw Sulik, Tribune, 26/1/62)

"In fact Only Two Can Play functions partly as a vehicle for Peter Sellers, expert mimic rather than Amis rebel, and partly as another in the present 'tough' school of British films, earning its X certificate by its love scenes and keeping up a steady fire of sex jokes, lavatory jokes and jokes about people being sick. Bryan Forbes' script, and

direction which keeps the film bustling along after the Boultings' manner, are calculated to pull in the audience." (MFB, February 1962, p.21)

"In general the adaptation simplifies, coarsens, conventionalises its original and sacrifices the best of Amis' sharply sad and comic image of provincial life." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 12/1/62)

"Although some filmgoers may find its humour offensive, it is basically a moral film." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 13/1/62)

"There is an old English film convention which says that adulteresses, even, as in this case, would-be adulteresses, must be either foreign or absurd ... or both; and that if they can be left unsatisfied so much the better. Forbes has funked it and gone along; one might have guessed it from the title ... This is British film-making at its most nannyish and cowardly." (B. Partridge, Time and Tide, 18/1/62)

A KIND OF LOVING (1962)

Cert. X dist. Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Vic/Waterhall p. Joseph Janni
assoc.p. Jack Hanbury p.manager Charles Hammond d. John Schlesinger
assistant d. Frank Ernst sc. Willis Hall, Keith Waterhouse.
Adapted from a novel by Stan Barstow ph. Denys Coop ed. Roger Cherrill
a.d. Ray Simm m. Ron Grainer 112 mins.

With: Alan Bates (Vic), June Ritchie (Ingrid), Thora Hird (Mrs Rothwell),
Bert Palmer (Mr Brown), Gwen Nelson (Mrs Brown), Malcolm Patton
(Jim Brown), Pat Keen (Christine), David Mahlowe (David),
Jack Smethurst (Conroy), James Bolam (Jeff), Michael Deacon (Les),
John Ronane and David Cook (Draughtsmen), Norman Heyes
(Laisterdyke), Leonard Rossiter (Whymper), Fred Ferris (Althorpe),
Patsy Rowlands (Dorothy), Annette Robertson (Phoebe), Ruth Porcher
(Mrs Parker), Harry Markham (Railwayman), Peter Madden (Registrar),
Katherine Staff (Mrs Oliphant), Edna Ridgway (Pub Pianist),
Graham Rigby (Pub Politician), Bud Ralston (Pub Comedian),
Bryan Mosley and Joe Gladwin (Bus Conductors), Jerry Desmond
(TV Compere), Reginald Green (TV Competitor), Douglas Livingstone
(Window Cleaner).

A young draughtman in a North country factory, Vic, becomes involved
with Ingrid, a secretary at the same factory. After the anti-climax of
love-making, Vic avoids Ingrid but offers to marry her when she reveals
she is pregnant. They move in with Ingrid's mother and a strong
hostility between Vic and her develops. After the miscarriage of
Ingrid's child, Ingrid refuses to make love to Vic and spends money on
clothes, rather than saving for a home of their own. After a night's
drinking, Vic returns home to confront his mother-in-law. He is sick
in front of her and abandons the house. Finding little sympathy from
his sister and taunted by his father, he decides to make the best of
things and persuades Ingrid to look for a home away from her mother.

"Room at the Top was a terrific departure from the con-
ventional type of British film because it was direct
honest and personal ... I preferred Saturday Night
and Sunday Morning, which for me had a tremendous
impact. Part of this was due to the fact that it
had unknown actors - new faces not seen on the
screen before. I carried this through in A Kind of
Loving, for hardly any of the cast had done a film
before ... Saturday Night and Sunday Morning ...
was (also) a great commercial success, and there-
fore encouraged other companies to jump on the band-
wagon. Suddenly it was possible to make realistic
subjects, more directly, done largely on location
with unknown actors, and the public were prepared to
accept them." (John Schlesinger, Transatlantic
Review, 1962)

"John Schlesinger's first feature is as independent in spirit as those of Karel Reisz, Tony Richardson and (though to a lesser extent) Jack Clayton; he has, like the others, established an integrity of subject and approach. His material, if by now unoriginal, is still freshly observed, with a sympathy undimmed by facile sentimentality." (MFB, May 1962, p.62)

"The rawest, frankest British film for a long time."
(Michael Wale, Daily Express, 31/3/62)

"A minor masterpiece." (Paul Dehn, Daily Herald, 14/4/62)

"A Kind of Loving belongs to our new "industrial realism" school. It is simpler and even truer to life than A Taste of Honey or Saturday Night and Sunday Morning ... You will be shocked by this highly moral film only if you are shocked by life." (Felix Barker, Evening News, 12/4/62)

"The rare merit of A Kind of Loving is that it transcends fiction and does nothing whatever to dodge the commonplaces of life." (Alan Dent, Sunday Telegraph, 15/4/62)

"The trouble is that in avoiding whimsy its realism has remained so flat, so literal and so entirely without fireworks that it is just a little dull." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 20/4/62)

"Its great weakness seems to be that Schlesinger regards realism as a formula not an attitude." (Boleslaw Sulik, Tribune, 20/4/62)

"A Kind of Loving ... like its predecessors ... is a worthy and commendable job. The trouble is, however, that we now begin to see signs that these revolutionary, newly realistic films of ours are losing their freshness: they are becoming the victims of their success and are becoming formalised." (The Guardian, 12/4/62)

"Although he was aware that the social background of the story was important, he was also aware that what happened in human terms was more important still. What mattered most ... was the human drama that was being played out against this background of job, family, class distinctions, social conventions, etc.; and for me the human drama always comes through in the film." (Gene D. Phillips, John Schlesinger, Twayne, Boston, 1981, p.50)

"The sad thing is that, with just an ounce more courage, it could have been a genuine, affronting original: for if it had the candour to say so its real theme is not social discontent, like the other two (Room at the Top, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning) but the misogyny that has been simmering under the surface of half the interesting plays and films in England since 1956."
(Penelope Gilliatt, The Observer, 15/4/62)

TERM OF TRIAL (1962)

Cert. X. dist. Warner-Pathé p.c. Romulus. Presented by Warner Bros.
p. James Woolf assoc.p. James Ware d. Peter Glenville assistant
d. Gerald O'Hara sc. Peter Glenville. Based on the novel by James Barlow
ph. Oswald Morris ed. James Clark a.d. Anthony Woolard m. Jean-Michel
Damase 130 mins.

With: Laurence Olivier (Graham Weir), Simone Signoret (Anna),
Sarah Miles (Shirley Taylor), Hugh Griffith (O'Hara),
Terence Stamp (Mitchell), Roland Culver (Trowman), Frank Pettingell
(Ferguson), Thora Hird (Mrs Taylor), Dudley Foster (Det. Sgt.
Kiernan), Norman Bird (Mr Taylor), Newton Blick (Prosecutor),
Allan Cuthbertson (Sylvan-Jones), Nicholas Hannen (Magistrate
Sharp), Roy Holder (Thompson), Barbara Ferris (Joan), Rosamund
Greenwood (Constance), Lloyd Lamble (Insp. Ulyyat), Vanda Godsell
(Mrs Thompson), Earl Cameron (Chard).

Graham Weir teaches at a co-educational school in the poorer section of a North of England industrial town. Although his pupils are generally unresponsive, one pupil, Shirley Taylor, shows enthusiasm and he offers her extra coaching. On the way back from a school outing in Paris, she enters his bedroom and expresses her love for him. Weir rejects her advances and Shirley retaliates by accusing him of assault. Weir is subsequently tried and convicted but his impassioned speech to the court persuades Shirley to admit she was lying. Although the case is dismissed, everyone still believes Weir to be guilty except Anna, who despises him for his spinelessness. He tells her, however, that the accusation was true, thus salvaging his marriage.

"It shows the danger of a teenage girl becoming infatuated by a middle-aged schoolteacher; and also conveys a message to teenage youths that violence does not pay."
(Film publicity material)

"The background of a grim industrial city ... is by now familiar. So too are the foreign wife, the schoolboy thug, the cane-happy teacher, the cynical slippery headmaster, the blackboard jungle school." (MFB, October 1962, p.138)

"On the one hand, the film fiercely and directly exposes the upside-down values of our commercialised society ... On the other hand, it makes little distinction between cause and effect. Most of the people - and especially, it seems to me, the working-class children and their parents - are seen not only as hopelessly brutalised but also a brutalising force." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 18/8/62)

"Too many reminiscences of other kitchen-sink movies confuse a basically old-fashioned vision. Oh, that gratuitous beating-up (from every American picture), that brick through the windscreen (ex - The Angry Silence), Signoret amorous near a fuming geyser (ex - Room at the Top), Sarah Miles being all gawk (sort of Rita Tushingham), those love scenes with passionately thrumming trains (from any forties English picture), and that little sequence (ex - Free Cinema) of modern youth's Nice Time, all leather-jackets, dirty bookshops, and films with sex and violence, both qualities in which Term of Trial is not conspicuously deficient. At least Glenville seems aware of some of his hero's shortcomings ... Nonetheless, we seem to be expected to applaud Teacher's 'courageous' stand before all those frightening boys and girls. Even those working-class kids who have a longing for higher things remain a rabble ... It becomes an attack on the working-class for being disgusting ... We have been persuaded that only a thin chalk line has been holding proletarian savagery at bay." (Raymond Durnat, A Mirror for Britain, op.cit. pp.43-4)

LIFE FOR RUTH (1962)

Cert. A. dist. Rank/Allied Film Makers p.c. Michael Relph, Basil Dearden p. Michael Relph d. Basil Dearden sc. Janet Green, John McCormick ph. Otto Heller ed. John Guthridge a.d. Alex Vetchinsky m. Muir Mathieson 91 mins.

With: Michael Craig (John Harris), Patrick McGoohan (Dr Jim Brown), Janet Munro (Pat Harris), Malcolm Keen (John Harris' father), Megs Jenkins (Mrs Gordon), John Barrie (Mr Gordon), Paul Rogers (Hart Davis), Norman Wooland (Crown Counsel), Walter Hudd (Judge), Leslie Sands (Clyde), Michael Aldridge (Howard), Basil Dignam (Mapleton), Frank Finlay (Father), Maureen Pryor (Mother).

Injured in an accident, little Ruth Harris is taken to hospital where Dr Brown tells her parents, John and Pat, that she must have a blood transfusion to save her life. John refuses, explaining that it is against the beliefs of the religious sect to which he belongs. Although professing to share his faith, Pat later begs Dr Brown to give the transfusion, but Ruth is dead. Realising she never really accepted her husband's faith, Pat leaves him, but she stands by him when public opinion builds up against him. Dr Brown, shocked at this arbitrary waste of life, sets about exposing John, who is arrested under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. John is acquitted, but during the trial, when he explains that in his belief he assured Ruth of everlasting life, he is overcome by the guilty feeling that in fact he was hoping for God to perform a miracle and save his daughter. Dr Brown argues him out of an attempted suicide, and John faces the prospect of coming to terms with the burden his faith has imposed on him.

"It is seldom indeed that the cinema successfully attempts one of the highest of the theatre's functions - that of making people seriously debate about reason and reality, not to say matters of life and death. It does so here. This is ... the best-argued, best-made, best-directed, and best-acted film in an interesting week." (Alan Dent, Sunday Telegraph, 2/4/62)

"Life for Ruth ... could have been dogmatic and emotional, or both, but is in fact astringent, realistic and ... moving." (Time and Tide, 13/4/62)

"Janet Green and John McCormick, authors of Victim and Sapphire, have become Britain's most workmanlike exponents of the 'problem' film ... No one could deny that this writing team is conscientious - in fact, their tendency is to bend over backwards to cover all sides of the question ... But, the standpoint constantly shifts, and the surprise climax ... reveals that the father took his decision in the expectation of a miracle: his failing, therefore, was to saddle too much responsibility on God. To one's surprise one finds that through dexterous sleight of pen, the blame has been placed at no one's door, everyone may see the film without offence." (Derek Prouse, Sunday Times, 2/9/62)

"The film turns out a formula piece, giving everyone his say and finishing up saying nothing. Everyone is so sincere it hurts ... Everything is packed in, with much melodrama and loud music: religious (fanatic?) father and loving but unbelievable mother, outraged (fanatic?) doctor and every shade of medical opinion, action neatly parcelled out between a Jew, a Catholic, an Anglican clergyman and hordes of angry-in-laws and neighbours ... A piece about the fundamentals of life ... which is lightweight, hysterical and desperately pretentious." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 9/9/62)

"The problem in Life for Ruth is the refusal of a father to let his dying child have a blood transfusion because of his fundamentalist religious beliefs. The problem seems a marginal one but it touches on very important matters like a parent's responsibility to his children and the value of conscientious objection in a society. The way that Relph and Dearden have turned all this into a conventional 'entertainment' reveals an appalling vulgarity and insensitivity." (Alan Lovell, Observer, 2/9/62)

SOME PEOPLE (1962)

Cert. A. dist. Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Vic p. James Archibald
assoc.p. Michael Birkett d. Clive Donner sc. John Eldridge
ph. John Wilcox ed. Fergus McDonell a.d. Reece Pemberton m. Ron
Grainer songs Ron Grainer, Johnny Worth. Rock numbers played by
The Eagles 93 mins.

With: Kenneth More (Mr Smith), Ray Brooks (Johnnie), Annika Wills (Anne),
David Andrews (Bill), Angela Douglas (Terry), David Hemmings
(Bert), Timothy Nightingale (Tim), Frankie Dymon, Jnr. (Jimmy),
Harry H. Corbett (Johnnie's Father), Fanny Carby (Johnnie's
Mother), Michael Gwynn (Vicar), Cyril Luckham (Magistrate),
Fred Ferris (Clerk of the Court), Richard David (Harper),
Dean Webb (Mike).

Three teenagers, Johnnie, Bill and Bert lose their licences after an
incident with their motor bikes. Turned out of a youth club for dis-
mantling and playing the locked piano, they go to church where the
vicar finds them dancing to Johnnie's jazzed-up organ number. Organist
and choirmaster, Smith, offers them the Church Hall as a place to
practise their instruments. Joining up with members of the church
choir, they form a group and become involved with the Duke of Edinburgh
Award Scheme, also run by Smith. Bill, suspicious of conformist
pressures, loses interest and leads a gang to wreck the hall. Johnnie
feels responsible and shies away from the group before returning to a
warm welcome.

"James Archibald, the producer, was approached by the Duke
of Edinburgh Award Scheme to make a picture for them. They
wanted a picture which brought the idea of the scheme to
the attention of what the sociologists call the 'unattached
teenager'. He and I went on a tour with the scheme's deputy
director which was aimed to show us a cross-section of young
people throughout the country. As a result we decided that
in order to give them the film they wanted, we would have to
make an entertainment picture (not a didactic documentary,
because it wouldn't reach the audience it was intended for)
and one in which there was no aspect of people being got at.
There was obviously a propaganda requirement. The sponsors
said they wanted their point made good and strong. We said
they wouldn't achieve anything by being blatant about it.
It would be foolish and dishonest to pretend that it wasn't
there, but it would have to be there very much in proportion
to the other activities - as it would be in life if this
subject were to come up: the kids would talk about it, in
the coffee-bar scene for instance, for two or three
sentences and then get on to talking about Helen Shapiro."
(Clive Donner, quoted in V.F. Perkins, 'Clive Donner and
Some People', op.cit. p.23)

"What can you do about a film sponsored by the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and starring Kenneth More? Conscientious objection would seem to be the only valid reaction and, for once, one was willing to be amused by the snide journalese which passes for criticism in The Observer's film columns: (after their first contact with the Duke of Edinburgh's scheme) "The Young People start doing life-saving and using Wolf Cub phrases: 'I've made a musical instrument for my pursuit', says a 17-year-old proudly. The girls knit, which is a way of taking their minds off Going Too Far, for if you are D. of E. you mustn't go too far. People say 'D. of E.' rather as though it were the next stage on from 'C. of E.'" This is a very nice evocation of the film that one expects to see, a monstrous mating of Reach for the Sky and The Young Ones, with a little bit of Violent Playground thrown in for foul measure. It bears, however, no relation at all - in terms of the minimum requirements of accuracy - to Some People, the film under discussion. This is not a matter of differing opinions on a particular film. Mrs Gilliat has not simply disliked a film which I happen to like enormously; she has attacked a purely personal hallucination, so that in the three sentences quoted above there are three quite obvious misrepresentations of what actually occurs on the screen. Some People is the most intelligent, honest and enjoyable picture from a British director since Seth Holt's Nowhere to Go. But it is not simply a triumph in the context of British film-making, which would not be difficult to achieve; it is, by any standards, a very good movie. It has a less self-conscious, and therefore more genuine, freedom than any of the films of the so-called British new wave." (Victor Perkins, ibid)

"With its vitality and feeling for the idiom of youth, it avoids any hint of sanctity ... What comes across is a harsh, strident picture of British youth - the rowdies with leather jackets, roaring motor-bikes, and no sense of purpose." (Felix Barker, Evening Herald, 19/7/62)

"This is a sharp, subtle study of teenage goings-on that looks and sounds as if the men who made it were young ones not so long ago themselves." (Leonard Moseley, Daily Express, 18/7/62)

"Some People ... contrives to be one of the most experimental feature films ever made in the country." (Derek Hill, Topic, 28/7/62)

"Not without charm and showing, for the most part, a nice attention to detail, this teenage film (the profits of which go to the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme) is transparently well-meaning and made with obvious affection. Unfortunately, it has nothing to add to that now painfully familiar delinquency formula which combines a liking for coffee-bars, motor bikes and guitars with an inability to talk reasonably to Father. The script fails not because it is heavily weighted in favour of the Kenneth More character but because of the needlessly naive way in which this is done. Relying mainly on superficialities for its effects, the film finally outcasts the one thoroughly rootless delinquent who should have been its main concern." (MFB, September 1962, p.128)

THE BOYS (1962)

Cert. A. dist. Gala p.c. Galaworldfilm/Atlas p./d. Sidney J. Furie
executive p. Kenneth Rive assistant d. David Bracknell sc. Stuart
Douglass ph. Gerald Gibbs ed. Jack Slade a.d. John Earl
m. The Shadows m.d. Bill McGuffie 123 mins.

With: Richard Todd (Victor Webster), Robert Morley (Montgomery),
Felix Aylmer (Judge), Dudley Sutton (Stan Coulter), Ronald Lacey
(Billy Herne), Tony Garnett (Ginger Thompson), Jess Conrad
(Barney Lee), Wilfred Bramble (Robert Brewer), Allan Cuthbertson
(Randolph St. John), Wensley Athey (Mr Coulter), Colin Gordon
(Gordon Lonsdale), Kenneth J. Warren (George Tanner),
Laurence Hardy (Patmor), Harold Scott (Caldwell), Betty Marsden
(Mrs Herne), Carol White (Evelyn May), Patrick Magee (Mr Lee).

In the dock at the Old Bailey are four boys (Coulter, Herne, Thompson and Lee) accused of killing an elderly garage attendant and stealing fifteen shillings from the cash-box. A succession of Crown witnesses present the boys as irresponsible "Teds" who had planned the robbery. In defence, the boys' own evidence puts a different construction on their behaviour, showing them as the victims of misunderstanding, injustice, intolerance and pride, and demonstrating that they had not planned the robbery. But the counsel for the prosecution, himself beginning to doubt their guilt, traps Coulter into admitting the crime, with Lee and Herne as accomplices. Thompson is acquitted. Lee and Herne are too young to hang but Coulter is condemned to death.

"Is it unfair to condemn these youngsters without a second glance? To associate them with trouble when to all intents and purposes they are peaceful young citizens with high spirits and youth on their side? This is the important question which - The Boys poses. It is a question as relevant as nuclear disarmament, as modern as the conquest of space. More so, because it touches all of us every day. It is part of the society we live in, the framework of our modern economic system."
(Publicity material)

"The zest, urgency and passion of much of The Boys make it the most worthwhile British film for some time."
(Derek Hill, Topic, 15/9/62)

"Oh, Lord, you think, here we go again. Another film ... to prove delinquents aren't as bad as prejudice paints them ... Only The Boys doesn't work out like that at all ... thanks to an ingenious script by Stuart Douglass."
(Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 13/9/62)

"Once more they advance into the spotlight, the youths with the sideburns, the drainpipe trousers, the winkle-picker shoes, ready-made objects for compassion or contempt, a mingling of myth and reality, the obsession of an age which is allowing itself to feel a dangerous burden of guilt where youth is concerned. It might be thought that no film could say much that is new on the subject and The Boys ... does not say it. It has, however, an intelligent script ... and the ingenuity of the construction is continuously interesting." (The Times, 14/9/62)

"The Boys has a twist which I won't reveal, though it seems to me to commit an infuriating felony on one's previous sympathies, putting all in pointless doubt." (John Coleman, New Statesman, 21/9/62)

"The Boys is going to leave a lot of prejudiced citizenry in a state of more prejudice still. Were they not right, they will say, after all." (Eric Shorter, Daily Telegraph, 15/9/62)

"When the point of the film for the first two hours has been that it is wrong to suspect all teenagers of being juvenile delinquents, especially when they have more gaiety and originality than any other group in the country today, it seems woolly minded to introduce the final twist that the boys are vicious murderers after all. It confirms every suspicion the Tory witnesses ever had." (Penelope Gilliatt, The Observer, 16/9/62)

"Of the new-style British films which attempt to come to grips with contemporary problems, it is the first to get down to vital statistics. It is the first, for instance, to mention how much (or, rather, how little) a bus conductor on overtime takes home: or to show what happens to a skilled worker when he is too old for the job. It is the first to express, not only the horror of living in damp and rotten tenements, but also the mockery of the housing list. It is the first to show trade union membership as something to be proud of ... The third set, which shows what really happened, is the weakest part of the film. It glosses so lightly over the circumstances of the murder that you can't accept the boys' guilt. Or, if you do, then you might be led to the conclusion that they were, after all, born thugs and murderers. Yet, everything about the rest of the film implores you to take the opposite view - to look searchingly at society and to see what it is doing to lively youngsters with no outlet for their energy." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 15/9/62)

"Why is The Boys given an A certificate when the delinquent teenagers whom it is meant to discourage and shame will revel in it with no shame at all and no feeling of disagreement?" (Alan Dent, Sunday Telegraph, 16/9/62)

"A reader has written to me pointing to the sensation-mongering publicity for The Boys ... The posters gave the film a 'Mods and Rockers' tag and quoted the notorious words of that magistrate about 'mentally unstable ... rats ... hunting in packs'. Not only has the quotation nothing to do with the film; it also expresses an attitude which the film itself uncompromisingly condemns." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 11/7/64. The source of the quotation was Margate magistrate, Dr George Simpson, Whitsun 1964)

LIVE NOW - PAY LATER (1962)

Cert. X. dist. Regal Films International p.c. Woodlands. A Jay Lewis Production p. Jack Hanbury d. Jay Lewis assistant d. Jack Causey sc. Jack Trevor Story. From the novel All on the Never-Never by Jack Lindsay ph. Jack Hildyard ed. Roger Cherrill a.d. Lionel Couch m./m.d. Ron Grainer Title song Ruth Batchelor, Clive Westlake 89 mins.

With: Ian Hendry (Albert), June Ritchie (Treasure), John Gregson (Callendar), Liz Fraser (Joyce Corby), Geoffrey Keen (Reggie Corby), Jeannette Sterke (Grace), Peter Butterworth (Fred), Harold Berens (Solly Cowell), Thelma Ruby (Hetty), Monty Landis (Arnold), William Kendall (Major Simpkins), Geoffrey Hibbert (Price), Andrew Cruickshank (Vicar), John Wood (Curate), Judith Furse (Mrs Ackroyd) Nyree Dawn Porter (Marjorie Mason), Ronald Howard (Cedric Mason).

Albert Argyle is 'tally man' for Callendar's credit store, whose motto is 'get the goods in the house'. He is also in debt and has deserted his girlfriend, Treasure, and their new-born baby. In pursuit of promotion, he pressurizes Corby, a local estate agent, for land his boss wishes to acquire. He ends up suffering demotion when he's found in Callendar's store after showering Treasure with goods. He makes another attempt to regain Treasure but is sent on his way.

A development into satire of the critique of 'affluence' and consumerism found in the 'new wave' films which also continues their focus on the philandering male hero.

"The film's cynicism was total, its targets were ruthlessly demolished, and everything had the vigour of a cartoonist's world where the action is carried an instant beyond its naturalistic conclusion. Its hero was a door-to-door salesman played by Ian Hendry, a slicker son of Archie Rice in a length of gigolo suiting, with a plastic smile, a heart that beat like a cash register and a built-in waste-disposal unit for chewing up and flushing away any decent thought or conviction. Like Billy Liar, he was a mythomaniac, a pathological fantasist, hooked on the never-never narcotic as hopelessly as the mugs to whom he sells goods they don't want and can't afford, relying on his smooth patter and imagination to keep a jump ahead of the law or the women on whom he has fathered his illegitimate children. The well-stocked van in which he tours council estates is a mobile Aladdin's cave of easy credit; and the same fantasy element that punctuated the social realism of Billy Liar is duplicated in a near-surrealistic scene in a supermarket at night where the hero has brought his current mistress ... He plies her endlessly, frantically, with consumer goods, almost burying her in an inebriated orgy of vicarious getting-and-spending before collapsing with his arms round a plastic window dummy. "All we need is love" ... the Beatles would soon be singing: but "love" in the new morality that boasted to the British they had 'never had it so good' ... was the "love" of the Big Sell:

'love ... and a telly ... and a fridge ... and a washer
... and a mixer ... and a freezer', went the Chorus."
(Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. pp.168-9)

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG DISTANCE RUNNER (1962).

Cert. X. dist. BLC/British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Woodfall
p./d. Tony Richardson assoc.p. Michael Holden p. supervisor
Leigh Aman p. executive Alan Kaplan assistant d. Basil Rayburn
sc. Alan Sillitoe From his short story. ph. Walter Lassally
ed. Anthony Gibbs a.d. Ralph Brinton, Ted Marshall m. John Addison
104 mins.

With: Tom Courtenay (Colin Smith), James Bolam (Mike),
Avis Bunnage (Mrs Smith), Michael Redgrave (Governor),
Alex McCowen (Brown), Joe Robinson (Roach), Topsy Jane
(Audrey), Julia Foster (Gladys), Dervis Ward (Detective),
James Cairncross (Jones), Philip Martin (Stacey),
Peter Madden (Mr. Smith), Peter Duguid (Doctor), John Bull
(Ronalds), William Ash (Gunthorpe), Raymond Dyer (Gordon),
Peter Kriss (Scott), Anthony Sagar (Fenton), John Thaw
(Bosworth), Dallas Cavell (Lord Jaspers), Anita Oliver
(Alice), Brian Hammond (Johnny), John Brooking (Green),
Christopher Parker (Bill), Frank Finlay (Booking Office
Clerk), Robert Percival (Tory Politician), Ray Austin
(Craig).

Colin Smith arrives at Borstal where he is encouraged by the Governor to train for a long-distance running competition with a neighbouring public school. A series of flashbacks recall the death of Colin's father, his mother's spending of the compensation money, his mother's new 'fancy man', his trip to Skegness with Mike and their girlfriends, his and Mike's robbery of a cashbox and subsequent police investigation. The film ends with Colin stopping dead when in striking distance of winning the cross-country race and being returned to the borstal's workshops to strip gas masks.

"A British film nowadays, if it is to be taken seriously, must set its scene among the more or less rebellious young people of the industrial North or Midlands, it must be tough, realistic, iconoclastic ... and thoroughly working-class. ... Thus, in Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner there is much that is all too recognisable. We have already witnessed, more than once, the dingy family background, the parental misunderstanding and youthful resentment, the stark, irreverent language, the general air of cynical defeatism - and even certain specific sequences, such as those showing us a smoke-belching industrial city as seen by the young lovers on a 'romantic' outing to a neighbouring hill-top. We have been there before and the impact is no longer what it was. But to say that is not to dismiss the film as an exercise in plagiarism. It is, by any standard, a very well made film, one which, making complicated use of the familiar devices of the flashback has done so with much adroitness - so that the narrative which might so easily have become an insoluble jigsaw puzzle of muddled chronology, remains quite clear and convincing." (Guardian, 25/9/62)

"The war between the classes has never been joined in British films as openly as it was this week. In the forties the working classes were idiom-talking idiots, loyal or baleful. In the fifties they grew rightly articulate and angry. Now we get what may be the prototype for the sixties: Colin Smith, borstal boy hero of Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, a youth beyond anger, almost beyond speech, joining battle." (P. Williams, Sunday Telegraph, 30/9/62)

"Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner ... is a British film very much in the fashion. It is a film of youth ... it is realistic in theme and setting and it is concerned with the problems and difficulties of those who find themselves on the wrong side of the law. ... Nevertheless, it would be a pleasant change if all this elaborate apparatus of mockery at the expense of the existing order of things were put into action on behalf not of discontented youth, the spoilt darlings of the age, but of the ill, the solitary, the virtuous old." (Times, 26/9/62)

"Colin is a true 'rebel without a cause'. He has very strong views on what he does not like, basically all forms of discipline and authority, but he has little that is positive to offer. When his girlfriend asks him why he doesn't get a job he simply sulks." (Roger Mains, Screen Education, op.cit. p.99)

"A piece of skilful but specious pleading for the British proletariat. ... The hero is too prolier-than-thou, his case too obviously rigged." (Time, 26/10/62)

"As propaganda for the Socialist State it has all the impact of a wet bag. ... This film is not so much a dirge for the Establishment as a lament for a layabout." (Leonard Moseley, Daily Express, 27/9/62)

"Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner is a romantic movie which strikes attitudes instead of sticking to facts. Its realism is largely theatrical." (The Observer, 30/9/62)

"As an illustrated guide to current fashion, with every attitude and every statement perfectly predictable, it is the Establishment film so far, one vast soft-centred, repetitive cliché that sledgehammers away at nuts so microscopic you scarcely hear the crunch." (Isobel Quigly, The Spectator, 28/9/62)

"Sillitoe and Richardson by stuffing "poetry" in, with little innocent idylls of the fun of pinching a car, and wandering hand in hand at the beach with a playmate girl have destroyed the true poetry of the original conception - which was in the

singleness of vision: a terrifying view of modern life, a madman's view that forces us to see how mad we are. ... The pity is that the movie audience which might have been upset, forced to think out some of its attitudes towards theft and property and work and social organization, is instead reconfirmed in its liberal complacency." (Pauline Kael, I Lost it at the Movies, op.cit. pp.258-61)

"The main complaint against the film is that the director ... resorts to the sort of technical elaboration, the over-emphasis that so often betrays him." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 28/9/62)

"Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner is doubly disappointing. Not only does it fail stylistically - most critics have rightly condemned Richardson's love of gimmicks such as fast motion, subjective camera, and the overlapping sound from one sequence to another. It fails in conception too, as an adaptation of a short story. And what is worse, by being overstated, it is fake." (Peter Graham, The Abortive Renaissance, op.cit.)

"The film is in fact a series of clichés, depending for a response on the conditioned reflexes which can be expected to bring to a set of recognisable types and incidents. There is here no fresh observation of British society, nor any sense of an individual artistic response. We are simply escorted along the now well-known routes. ... There is an externality about the film's whole conception, so that unlike the story, it has neither a style nor a pulse of its own." (Peter Harcourt, Sight and Sound, Winter 1962/63, pp.16-19)

THE WILD AND THE WILLING (1962)

Cert. X. dist./p.c. Rank p. Betty Box d. Ralph Thomas sc. Nicholas Phipps and Mordecai Richler, from the play The Tinker by Laurence Dobie and Robert Sloman ph. Ernest Steward ed. Alfred Roome a.d. Alex Vetchinsky m. Norrie Paramor 112 mins.

With: Virginia Maskell (Virginia Chown), Paul Rogers (Prof Chown), Ian McShane (Harry Brown), Samantha Eggar (Josie), Catherine Woodville (Sarah), David Sumner (John), John Hurt (Phil), John Standing (Arthur), Johnny Briggs (Dai), Johnny Sekka (Reggie), Jeremy Brett (Gilby), John Barrie (Mr Corbett), Megs Jenkins (Mrs Corbett), Victor Brooks (Fire Chief).

Among a group of students at a provincial university, Harry Brown is outstanding both for his intelligence and his restlessness. Resentful of his status as a scholarship boy, uncertain about his work and his future, less seriously involved with his middle-class girl friend, Josie, than she is with him, he slides into an affair with Virginia, the bored wife of Professor Chown, who takes refuge from an unsatisfactory marriage in a series of liaisons with her husband's students. When Harry asks her to go away with him, Virginia backs away from his infatuation and stands by while Chown humiliates him by his attitude of cold boredom towards the situation. Hurt and reckless, Harry determines to assert himself by climbing the university tower as a rag day stunt. Phil, a rather weak and negative boy who has acquired friends under Harry's boisterous protection, goes along with him and falls to his death from the tower. Harry is sent down from the university, although Chown, a glum and embittered man who respects Harry's academic potential even more than he dislikes his personality stands up for him at the hearing.

An ungainly amalgam of Lucky Jim, Room at the Top and Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, The Wild and the Willing was Rank's belated attempt to cash in on the vogue for working class realism. It also borrowed liberally from the social problem film and showed an all too self-conscious determination to be contemporary with a series of references to race, homosexuality, nuclear arms and the like. Although the ostensive focus was the upwardly mobile working-class hero, Harry Brown, there was a peculiarity of emphasis on the middle classes in decline, as represented by the Chowns. What pathos the film provides derives less from the frustration of Harry's ambitions than the inability of the Chowns to escape their imprisonment of failure and sterility.

"Just as Pinewood tried to imitate the smutty vulgarity of Carry on Nurse with Doctor in Love, just as they tried to cash in on the vogue for social comment with No Love For Johnnie, so they now ludicrously attempt to set up an angry young rebel of their own. And the same sorry team, virtually the sole survivors at Rank's, has been responsible for all three films."
(Derek Hill, Scene, 12/10/62)

"The indefatigable producer-director team of Betty Box and Ralph Thomas are not to be outdone on any score. The Wild and the Willing is their answer to the new wave of films with sociological themes and working-class and provincial settings ... They excel all their predecessors in ripe language and bold sexiness; but, predictably, their approach to a socially motivated theme goes no deeper than the naughty words themselves. It is just another old Pinewood melodrama in which regional accents and working-class accents are no more than fashionable trappings." (David Robinson, Financial Times, 19/10/62)

"The Wild and the Willing shows, all too clearly, some of the hazards lying in wait for proven commercial expertise (in this case, that of the Box-Thomas *équipe*) when it ventures into the areas of the new British realism. One doesn't doubt the film's good intentions: the seeking out of a promising location, with Lincoln standing in for red-brick provincialism; the use of an eager and largely untried team of young actors (among whom John Hurt and Samantha Eggar show the most promise); the resolute excursions into the 'X' certificate dialogue, pub scenes and bedroom scenes which have helped to equate this kind of realism with box-office. But the film, from Virginia Maskell's frustrated don's wife, swigging whisky out of the bottle and seducing her husband's students in the kitchen, to the extravagantly self-conscious heartiness of the roistering in pubs, looks either slightly off-key or hilariously so. Harry may have seemed a plausible character in the original play; here he becomes a walking compendium of jaded Angry Young Man attitudes, while the film leans so far backwards in its determination to integrate Reggie, the coloured student, into the group that it achieves a kind of desperate self-consciousness about him. A bowling alley sequence, dominated by a screen-wide placard for Top Rank bowling, also calls for a mention. Ralph Thomas directs in a manner more restless than brisk; but the restlessness is hardly that of urgent youth." (MFB, November 1962, p.152)

"The experience is rather like learning the plot of Lucky Jim explained by a librarian with no sense of humour, or seeing Look Back in Anger re-written by Jimmy Porter's mother-in-law in a mood of suppressed irritation about the noise of the trumpet." (Penelope Gilliatt, Observer, 28/10/62)

"In writing recently about British 'new wave' films I said that this new idiom was already developing its own tedious formulae. The fact is that until our film-makers can regard the young people of the new Britain - in which opportunities are so much more equal than they were and classes, traditions and values are all in a ferment - as individuals and not just as problems from a case-book, we are going to be treated to some very dreary films flying the flag of the 'new wave' - unless, of course, The Wild and the Willing serves as a salutary warning." (The Guardian, 20/10/62)

"The Wild and the Willing ... cosied up to the 'new realism' and only succeeded in bringing it into absurdity ... It was the Rank Organization's attempt to be in fashion, which was a surer sign than almost anything else that the fashion was long past." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.161)

THE MIND BENDERS (1962)

Cert. X. dist. Warner-Pathé/Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Novus. A
Michael Relph and Basil Dearden Production p. Michael Relph
d. Basil Dearden sc. James Kennaway ph Denys Coop ed. John D. Guthridge
a.d. James Morahan m. Georges Auric 113 mins.

With: Dirk Bogarde (Dr Henry Longman), Mary Ure (Oonagh Longman),
John Clements (Major Hall), Michael Bryant (Dr Tate), Wendy Craig
(Annabelle), Harold Goldblatt (Professor Sharpey), Geoffrey Keen
(Calder), Terry Palmer (Norman), Norman Bird (Aubrey),
Edward Fox (Stewart).

Major Hall, a security officer, is called in when Oxford psychologist Professor Sharpey commits suicide after some shady dealings with foreign agents. Investigating in Oxford, Hall finds that Sharpey and his colleagues, Longman and Tate, have been experimenting with a technique known as Isolation - suspending a man for hours at a time in a tank of warm water to deprive him of all sensation. Longman insists that if Sharpey sold scientific information it must have been as a result of the mental unbalance brought on by this experience. Overcoming his own extreme reluctance, he offers to demonstrate this to Hall by going into the tank. When he comes out, in a state of total collapse, Hall and Tate carry the experiment a stage further - they brainwash Longman by undermining his trust in his wife Oonagh, to whom he is passionately devoted. Longman apparently recovers, insists that the experiment has failed, and takes Oonagh, who has just told him that she is pregnant, away for a long holiday. When they come back, Oonagh tells Hall of the miseries of life with Longman, who has turned into a cold sadist. Hall tries to put things right by playing back the tape of the brainwashing session, but Longman remains unaffected and leaves with Annabelle, the local floozie, for her houseboat on the river. Oonagh follows, slips down the river bank, and finds herself giving birth to her child on Annabelle's boat, with Longman in attendance. This experience rights matters between them; and also, it appears, has a salutary influence on Annabelle.

"Dearden and Relph have, as usual, contrived to snatch a plot out of the headlines, though the 'secrets' Sharpey has disposed of seem to be of a kind familiar to any popular science magazine. In fact, and having got on to the fascinating theme of personality changes and the techniques of manipulating the human mind, Dearden and his scriptwriter, James Kennaway, have pulled it all down to elementary Jekyll and Hydeism. Jekyll Longman; the happy family man whose children, in the old North Oxford tradition, are given such names as Piers and Persephone, goes into the tank, screams and gibbers through a sci-fic sequence, and emerges as Hyde Longman, whose unlikely recreation (offscreen) consists of hiring an Amsterdam prostitute's window to show off his wife in it. With a screaming of gears, the film changes up (or down?) for the childbirth sequence of the depressing order known as 'frank', and back comes Jekyll Longman, proudly nursing another candidate for a whimsical Christian name." (MFB, March 1963, p.32)

"The film resembles many British films in practically taking it for granted that the hero will care much more passionately about his dead boss' honour than about his live wife's happiness ... The husband's hatred of his wife might well have been something colder and deadlier ... At any rate, The Mind Benders is a gruelling, relevant film, and despite a dragged-in smear that CND crawls with Russian spies, James Kennaway's script makes an amende honorable for Violent Playground."
(Raymond Durnat, Two on a Tandem, op.cit. pp.32-3)

THE L-SHAPED ROOM (1962)

Cert. X. dist. BLC/British Lion p.c. Romulus p. James Woolf, Richard Attenborough - assoc.p. Jack Rix d. Bryan Forbes assistant d. Gerald O'Hara, John Quedsted sc. Bryan Forbes. Based on the novel by Lynne Reid Banks ph. Douglas Slocombe ed. Anthony Harvey a.d. Ray Simm m. Brahms' No.1 Piano Concerto jazz sequences John Barry m.d. Muir Mathieson 142 mins.

With: Leslie Caron (Jane), Tom Bell (Toby), Brock Peters (Johnny), Cicely Courtneidge (Mavis), Bernard Lee (Charlie), Avis Bunnage (Doris), Patricia Phoenix (Sonia), Emlyn Williams (Dr Weaver), Verity Edmett (Jane II), Harry Locke (Newsagent), Gerry Duggan (Bert), Mark Eden (Terry), Jennifer White (Monica), Nanette Newman (Girl at End) Anthony Booth (Youth in street).

Pregnant and intending to have an abortion, French woman, Jane Fosset, moves into the L-shaped room at the top of a crumbling house in Notting Hill Gate. Disgusted at the attitude of a Harley Street gynaecologist, she decides to have the baby after all. She hesitantly starts an affair with the unsuccessful writer and fellow lodger, Toby, but he leaves when he hears of the baby. Jane attempts to abort the child by swallowing pills but doesn't lose the baby. When the baby is born, Toby visits her in hospital and gives her his latest story, "The L-Shaped Room". This is their last meeting; Jane is returning to France.

"The L-Shaped Room can be described as a love story with a difference - written and presented with the honesty and realism which characterises the pick of recent British pictures." (Film publicity material)

"I wanted to make an honest film about young people that didn't compromise, and exploded a few of our more cherished and hypocritical myths." (Bryan Forbes, quoted in film publicity material)

"It would be hard to imagine a more unlikely, or commercially sure-fire group of lodgers living under a single roof than this pregnant French girl, maladjusted negro, Lesbian actress, couple of prostitutes, and unpublished writer who finally commits it all to paper - shades of I am a Camera as well as A Taste of Honey. And although it is full of the trappings of contemporary frustration, from the ban-the-bomb marchers to a police-woman for whom the slightest hint of sex is inadmissible in the park, the film has nothing specific to say about life in a London bedsitter in 1962. (MFB, January 1963, p.3)

"On the screen these days, realism usually means unmarried mothers, abortions, prostitutes, homosexuals, lesbians and what Mr. Somerset Maugham has taken to calling 'sexual congress'." (Harry Weaver, Scene, No.10, November 15, 1962)

"Open any door in the studio-bound lodging house and one might have thought that all the stock characters, made homeless by more ruthlessly realistic film-makers, had found fixed abodes again." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. pp.159-60)

"Bryan Forbes takes two and a half years to knock the last nail in the social realist coffin." (Derek Hill, Topic, 17/11/62)

THIS SPORTING LIFE (1963)

Cert. X. dist. Rank p.c. Independent Artists. A Julian Wintle-Leslie Parkyn Production exec.p. Albert Fennell p. Karel Reisz p.manager Geoffrey Haine d. Lindsay Anderson assistant d. Ted Sturgis sc. David Storey, from his novel ph. Denys Coop ed. Peter Taylor a.d. Alan Withy m. Roberto Gerhard m.d. Jacques-Louis Monod 134 mins.

With: Richard Harris (Frank Machin), Rachel Roberts (Mrs Hammond), Alan Badel (Weaver), William Hartnell (Johnson), Colin Blakely (Maurice Braithwaite), Vanda Godsell (Mrs Weaver), Anne Cunningham (Judith), Jack Watson (Len Miller), Arthur Lowe (Slomer), Harry Markham (Wade), George Sewell (Jeff), Leonard Rossiter (Phillips), Frank Windsor (Dentist), Peter Duguid (Doctor), Wallas Eaton (Waiter), Anthony Woodruff (Head Waiter), Katharine Parr (Mrs Farrer), Bernadette Benson (Lynda), Andrew Nolan (Ian), Michael Logan (Riley), Murray Evans (Hooker), Tom Clegg (Gower), John Gill (Cameron), Ken Traill (Trainer).

Frank Machin, a miner, lives with a widow, Mrs Hammond, and her two children. He persuades Johnson, a hanger-on and scout for the City Rugby team to get him a trial and, as a result, he is signed. Mrs Hammond is initially hostile but eventually yields to his advances. But haunted by bitterness and guilt, she refuses to admit any emotional need for Frank and their relationship becomes increasingly troubled. Frank leaves the house, only to find Mrs Hammond has been taken to hospital in his absence. Frank watches her die before returning to the house and the rugby field.

"It is easier to say what a film is not about. This Sporting Life is not a film about sport. Nor is it to be categorised as a "North Country working-class story" ... I suppose that the film is primarily a study of temperament, it is a film about a man. A man of extraordinary power and aggressiveness, both temperamental and physical ... Flying in the face of fashion, we have tried to make a tragedy. Much as I admire many of the experiments made by the young French directors and particularly their adventurous breaking away, from the outmoded conventions of cinematic 'style'... I think that even in their work there is apt to be a terrible lack of weight, of substance and human significance. Their very brilliance seems to trap them in facility and vogueishness ... For all of their scorn of artistic conventions, their films do not disturb. The case of the new British school is rather different ... Here the achievement has been the opening up of new territories, both of subjects and of the social backgrounds in which they are set. But it could also be restrictive if we make films for too long with an eye on what is representative - films about 'working class people' looked at objectively, almost with a documentarist's vision. (Or a sociologist's, which is worse). Of course, too, it must rule tragedy out; for tragedy is concerned with what is unique, not what is representative ... No doubt I shall be accused, or congratulated, for having deserted the

ranks of 'commitment'. Both accusations and congratulations will be misplaced. All works of art have political implications: but they have political implications because they are works of art, not vice versa."

(Lindsay Anderson, Films and Filming, op.cit. pp.16-18)

"Lindsay Anderson's This Sporting Life is a stupendous film. It has a blow like a fist. I've never seen an English picture that gave such expression to the violence and the capacity for pain that there is in the English character. It is there in Shakespeare, in Marlowe, in Lawrence and Orwell and Hogarth, but not in our cinema like this before. Lindsay Anderson's films before this have been documentaries, but his first feature certainly isn't a documentary about Rugby League. Nor is it a sociological study of a kind of contemporary man. Frank Machin could have lived at any time, and he is not anyone's representative; the film is about a unique man who suffers an absolutely personal kind of pain."

(Penelope Gilliatt, The Observer, 10/2/63)

"Lindsay Anderson's first feature is more about life than sport, less about kitchen sinks than the people who live near them. It is also unique ... I had expected a simple film about simple people. What Anderson has done is make as complicated a film as Welles' Citizen Kane, about people as complicated as ... you or me. It is the intensity of thought that has gone into This Sporting Life that compels attention and, finally, admiration ... If I have over-praised This Sporting Life it is because I was expecting arrogance and saw compassion, expected socialism and saw an apolitical humanity ... If This Sporting Life fails to pay its way, there is no future for British cinema." (Peter Baker, Films and Filming, March 1963, p.32)

"I have just seen the nearest thing to High Tragedy that has ever appeared on the British screen. The result is not just another British film about the contemporary working-class North. It is the classless, dateless record of a proud man who fell." (Paul Dehn, Daily Herald, 6/2/63)

"These films which have by now acquired their own formulae, are usually concerned with an ambitious, working class young man, determined to better himself at whatever ruthless cost, and, sure enough, the hero or anti-hero (played by Richard Harris) is a miner. - but the difference, this time, is that the way he chooses to the top is not big business but Rugby League." (The Guardian, 4/2/63)

"Mr. Lindsay Anderson, who acquired what is usually known as no small reputation by pointing a documentary film camera meaning-fully at several tons of fruit, vegetables and humanity in Covent Garden Market, has now directed his first feature film ... The Anderson team has dredged up one of the notions that first came in on the Braine-wave of novelists - the notion that the boss class is made up of smoothly operating hypocrites who are not only grinding the faces of the affluent proletariat but also trying to prevent it being seduced by their suburbanized wives - disillusioned women in search of more honest sons of toil ... The Anderson team, like Antonioni, refuses to allow principal characters to establish a reasonable relationship with each other. But unlike Antonioni's world-weary Italian intelligent people who are always caught by the camera on off-days, when conversation seems to bore them - the British film couple would never understand each other in a month of Sunday mornings and Saturday afternoons." (The Times, 7/2/63)

"It is not, surely, the North Country scene that's exhausted, nor the realistic style, but the convention that a sex relationship must be at the centre of a film, to be flogged, as here, for more than it's worth." (Patrick Gibbs, Daily Telegraph, 9/2/63)

"My heart sank when I saw another dreary sex drama coming up from the kitchen sink ... But I needn't have worried ... It's a new kind of British picture with a kick that will knock you off your seat." (Ernest Betts, The People, 10/2/63)

"This Sporting Life is inevitably classed as belonging to the 'Kitchen sink' era: 'social realism' in the tradition of Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, A Taste of Honey, and A Kind of Loving. While this label was never a very appropriate one for these films, it is even less helpful for an understanding of This Sporting Life, and is both inaccurate and misleading. What it shares with these films is less their northern industrial setting than a concern to get to the root of specific human relationships. In fact, one criticism which may be made of This Sporting Life is that the observation of social background is insufficient for an understanding of Machin." (Terry Lovell, Scope, 5/3/63, p.8)

"You can feel ... the determined efforts of the director ... to cut off character from social roots. The producer, Karel Reisz, showed when he directed Saturday Night and Sunday Morning the essential relationship between character and society. But the two people in This Sporting Life are rotten because they are rotten. There is nothing to explain them or make you care." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 9/2/63)

"The novel went far beyond realism in its portrait of a violent, incoherent man: realism was really irrelevant, moral criticism even more so. Whereas the film treats the whole thing in strictly, modishly realist, even social-realist terms, so that you start to question and quibble, and wonder too much about the psychology and not enough about the passion and denseness (that were in the novel), and want - which in such a case is out of place - some moral comment on the man's behaviour ... Yet forgetting the original for a minute, it is a fair-to-middling film ... Technically, it is competent but confusing, flashback following on like Chinese boxes, till I found myself (since he lost his teeth in the first few minutes) checking on the hero's teeth or toothlessness to keep up with the time sequence, which, as he got false teeth about half-way through, was a rum way to follow the narrative."
(Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 15/2/63)

"Superficially This Sporting Life belongs to the class of Sillitoe and Wesker but the differences are important. In both his novel and his screenplay, David Storey is composing a kind of muscular poetry, several light years away from realism, but which pungently interprets reality."
(Sunday Telegraph, 10/2/63)

"This is the most anti-naturalist of British films (which is not to impugn its truth). The structural intricacy of the film ... acknowledges a convention. The playing of Richard Harris and Rachel Roberts ... is raised altogether above lifesize. Characters like Johnson ... and Weaver ... have a symbolic quality. David Storey's dialogue has often an incantatory character. The northern settings are not used for documentary purposes: they are employed to give the characters a setting as formal as a Craig set ... and are used with deliberate poetic and imagist effect."
(David Robinson, Financial Times, 7/2/63)

"This is, perhaps, the most 'way out' of all the new style realistic British films ... the long-drawn-out use of flashback ... seems both unnecessary and ultimately confusing. It is, let's face it, a demanding film."
(Daily Cinema, 4/2/63, p.6)

"With This Sporting Life, Lindsay Anderson has instigated a revolution in British cinema aesthetics." (Andrew Tudor, Scope, 5/3/63, p.21)

"It now seems incomprehensible that This Sporting Life tended to be judged (or misjudged) on its first appearance as another generally realistic, semi-documentary picture of life in the North, like Saturday Night and Sunday Morning or A Kind of Loving. It would be more to the point to compare it with Wuthering Heights ... the same elemental drama of souls in conflict, the same titanic emotions, the same obsessive passion ... Despite initial misunderstandings, the film has established itself as a classic of modern cinema."
(John Russell Taylor, Directors and Directions, op.cit. pp.84-5)

"One feels guilty about attacking This Sporting Life because of the ambitiousness of its intentions ... One can only admire this unprecedented - in Britain - attempt to portray a complex relationship with passion instead of gutless understatement. In fact, there would be no reason to attack the film if it had not had the critical ... success that is likely to make it one of the holy films of the resurrected British cinema. ... Anderson's fragmentary technique is one source of trouble in a film that I find offensive ... Having chosen to make a passionate film, Anderson has attained his aim by the easy - one could say cheap - way of shooting his film in close shots ... The close-up style does not help us to see Frank Machin but obscures our view of him ... The camera style, which is intended to be oppressive, ends up being repressive: it stunts the moral growth of the film. That is to say, it prevents our moral awareness of Frank from developing ... The nature and treatment of the flashbacks involves such a degree of directorial contrivance, that the illusion of subjectivity is destroyed by the obtrusiveness of the device ... The search for impact in the use of sound-track, camera angles and shock cutting - recalls the enormities perpetrated by Messrs. Dearden and Relph. The 'expressionist' devices that punctuate the film invariably result in disaster." (Ian Cameron, Movie, op.cit. pp.21-2)

"The film is a masterpiece, a wonder, a marvel - almost certainly the best British movie since the war ... Whether it will make money is a different matter." (John Leversley, Scene, 18/2/63)

"The Rank Organization were genuinely stirred and impressed when they saw it. But they didn't honestly know what to do with it, how to sell it or to whom, short of pushing it out on their own circuit with a decent send-off and then hoping for the best. It did well enough in the United States - but its non-success in Britain was taken by Rank as confirmation of a basic reluctance to invest in social realism any further. When it was seen not to be doing well, it was immediately disliked." (Lindsay Anderson, quoted Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. pp.175-6)

THAT KIND OF GIRL (1963)

Cert. X. dist. Compton-Cameo p.c. Tekli p. Robert Hartford-Davis
d. Gerald O'Hara sc. Jan Reed ph. Peter Newbrook ed. Derek York
a.d. William Brodie m. Malcolm Mitchell 77 mins.

With: Margaret-Rose Keil (Eva), David Weston (Keith),
Linda Marlowe (Janet), Peter Burton (Elliot Collier),
Frank Jarvis (Max), Sylvia Kay (Mrs Millar), David
Davenport (Mr Millar), Stephen Stocker (Nicolas),
Charles Houston (Ted), Max Faulkner (Johnson),
Patricia Mort (Barbara), Martin Wyldeck (Bates),
John Wood (Doctor).

Eva, a young Austrian, who lives in Kensington with the Millars, meets two men: Max, a young and eager "Ban the Bomb" propagandist, and the more mature and sophisticated Elliot, who wines and dines her, and from whom she receives her first experience of love. She accompanies Max on an Aldermaston march but soon gives up and is given a lift home by Keith Murray, a sports car enthusiast. Keith is in love with Janet Bates, his childhood sweetheart, but her father insists that they wait until Keith has completed his studies before they marry. The two quarrel and Keith seeks out Eva. They go to a midnight bathing party. Elliot lies in wait for Eva and attacks her. At the police station, Eva denies knowledge of her attacker but is persuaded to submit to a medical examination which reveals she has V.D., evidently contracted from Elliot. This involves Max and, more particularly, Keith, who has learned that Janet is pregnant. Prompt treatment is effective. Elliot is caught by the police after pestering Eva with obscene telephone calls, while Eva is sent home by the Millars.

"A lesson of life for each and everyone, but one that as in the story can still lead to a happy and successful ending. As Max concludes, "She taught me one thing, no mucking around from now on. The next girl I go with is going to be steady, and when I marry she's got to be a virgin". They had all met and known too well ... 'That Kind of Girl'." (Film publicity material)

"There is much padding and surplus material before the film arrives at its main theme - the dangers, through ignorance, of V.D. Directed to adolescents, the propaganda element is reasonable enough, even if the medical profession is depicted in rather too glowing and sympathetic terms; but the story is sheer melodrama, running the weird gamut of anti-nuclear demonstration, striptease, pre-marital intercourse, rape and improper use of the telephone - scarcely a digestible mixture. (MFB, May 1963, p.70)

THE LEATHER BOYS (1963)

Cert. X. dist. BLC/British Lion/Garrick p.c. Raymond Stross
p. Raymond Stross p. supervisor Jack Swinburne d. Sidney J. Furie
assistant d. Roy Baird sc. Gillian Freeman. Based on the novel by
Eliot George ph. Gerald Gibbs ed. Reginald Beck a.d. Arther Lawson
m. Bill McGuffie 108 mins.

With: Rita Tushingham (Dot), Colin Campbell (Reggie), Dudley Sutton
(Pete), Gladys Henson (Gran), Avice Landon (Reggie's Mother),
Lockwood West (Reggie's Father), Betty Marsden (Dot's Mother),
Martin Mathews (Uncle Arthur), Johnny Briggs (Boy Friend),
James Chase (Les), Geoffrey Dunn (Mr Lunnis), Dandy Nichols
(Mrs Stanley), Elizabeth Begley (Woman Receptionist),
Valerie Varnam (Brenda), Jill Mai Meredith (June), Brian Phelan
(Man-in-Jeans), Oliver MacGreevy (Merchant Seaman), Sylvia Kaye
(School Teacher), Sandra Caron (1st Schoolgirl), Tracy Rogers
(2nd Schoolgirl), Carmel McSharry (Bus Conductress), Joyce
Hemson (Publican's Wife).

Dot and Reggie are two London working-class teenagers who marry soon after Dot leaves school. During the honeymoon, spent at a holiday camp, signs of conflict appear. Dot wants to enjoy the camp entertainments, whereas Reggie prefers bed. At home in their flat Dot shows herself more interested in hairstyles than in cooking or housework. Reggie seeks refuge from squalor and quarrels at his grandmother's house where he shares a room with Pete, a fellow motor-cycling enthusiast. As they roar around the country in their leather jackets, a close camaraderie develops between the boys. During a ton-up race to Edinburgh, Reggie makes it up with Dot, but when he returns to their flat later he finds another man in her bed. Pete now proposes that he and Reggie sail to New York. However a chance encounter in a dockside pub reveals to Reggie that Pete has a homosexual past. In revulsion, Reggie leaves him, and each is now alone.

"The notoriously long delay in putting this film into the cinemas has made it the proto-martyr of the crisis in the British film industry. The fact that it has only one star and touches, however, delicately on the subject of homosexuality, presumably outweighs the wit, feeling and artistry that have gone into the direction, acting and photography." (MFB, February 1964, p.21)

"The most worth-while of the films dealing with the ... fresh issue of male homosexuality." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.250)

"The implication of this film seems to me brutally anti-feminine: that what makes men turn to men is women." (Thomas Wiseman), Sunday Express, 26/1/64)

HEAVENS ABOVE! (1963)

Cert. A. dist. BLC/British Lion/Romulus p.c. Charter p. Roy Boulting
p.manager Michael F. Johnson d. John Boulting assistant d. Derek
Cracknell sc. Frank Harvey, John Boulting. From an idea by
Malcolm Muggeridge ph. Max Greene ed. Teddy Darvas a.d. Albert
Witherick m. Richard Rodney Bennett 118 mins.

With: Peter Sellers (Rev John Smallwood), Cecil Parker
(Archdeacon Aspinall), Isabel Jeans (Lady Despard),
Eric Sykes (Harry Smith), Bernard Miles (Simpson),
Brock Peters (Matthew), Ian Carmichael (The Other
Smallwood), Irene Handl (Rene Smith), Miriam Karlin
(Winnie Smith), Joan Miller (Mrs Smith-Gould),
Eric Barker (Bank Manager), Roy Kinnear (Fred Smith),
Kenneth Griffith (Rev Owen Thomas), Miles Malleon
(Rockerby), William Hartnell (Major Fowler), Joan
Hickson (Garrulous Housewife), Mark Eden (Sir Geoffrey
Despard), John Comer (Butcher), Geoffrey Hibbert
(Council Official), Harry Locke (Shop Steward), Thorley
Walters (Tranquilax Executive), George Woodbridge
(Bishop), Basil Dignam (Prison Governor), Colin Gordon
(Prime Minister), Malcolm Muggeridge (Cleric), Cardew
Robinson (Tramp), Josephine Woodford (Doris Smith).

Lady Despard and Archdeacon Aspinall arrange for the socially
irreproachable Rev. John Smallwood to be appointed as the new vicar of
Holy Trinity Church, Orbiston Parva. A clerical error results in the
arrival of the wrong Rev. Smallwood, transferred from a prison chaplaincy,
with a strong Northern accent and equally strong ideas about Christian
charity. He shocks the village by appointing Matthew, a Negro dustman,
as his warden in place of Major Fowler, and by allowing the Smiths, a
feckless family of squatters recently evicted after much effort from a
caravan site, to set up home in his vicarage. Next Smallwood so disturbs
Lady Despard's conscience that she puts her whole fortune at his disposal,
and he starts to distribute free food. Everybody takes delighted
advantage of this windfall. The local shops, deprived of custom, mutter
angrily, and as Lady Despard has sold her holding in the local product,
"Tranquilax", the shares fall disastrously, and unemployment threatens
Orbiston Parva. Eventually Lady Despard, recalled to her senses, stops
the flow of money; Smallwood has no more food to distribute, and his
angry customers, now out of work, begin to riot. Smallwood manages to
escape from the mob, and is transferred by his superiors to a new parish
on a remote island nuclear station. Trying to give spiritual comfort
to a terrified astronaut about to be launched into space, Smallwood is
met with a taunt that his religion is theoretical rather than practical;
he therefore ties up the astronaut, takes his place in the rocket, and is
last heard of singing hymns in orbit.

"A vastly funny film - until you think about it afterwards.
Then it could make you feel uncomfortable." (Michael Kirsch,
Daily Sketch, 21/5/63)

"The Boultings have not lost their satirical sting, but they
direct it not so much at the Church as at its parasitical
hangers-on and the petty snobberies, tyrannies and jealousies

they engender. The result is the brothers most human picture. If it is not as outrageous nor as consistently uproarious as we have come to expect, it still has some glorious moments." (Cecil Wilson, Daily Mail, 22/5/63)

"It takes courage to make a film like this, in which lavatory gags and old Biblical jokes are deliberately stirred like ketchup in soup, into a story which is trying to say something deep and tragic about Established religion. I wouldn't say that the Boulting brothers have quite succeeded in bringing it off. The film balances uneasily between fun and philosophy. My salutations to them, though, for having tried." (Leonard Mosley, Daily Express, 22/5/63)

"Over their last few productions the Boulting Brothers have achieved an enviable reputation as ruthless, fearless social satirists without in fact seriously offending anybody; they offend everybody just a little, which makes it look fair, but never say anything sufficiently damaging to lose any segment of an audience." (Times, 23/5/63)

"The film is almost invariably entertaining as it takes pot shots all round. ... The trouble is that it is liable to go off in any direction. In the event, quite a lot of people get hurt, but most of the wounds are superficial." (Guardian, 24/5/63)

"The Boultings philosophy is easy enough : there is no place in our society for the honest man. And they find this situation a source of seemingly endless amusement. If this outlook is to be accepted ... it needs some degree of enterprise, sophistication and wit. The Boultings, alas, continue to show the courage and humour of a small boy whispering a dirty word for the first time." (Derek Hill, Financial Times, 24/5/63)

"The shrewd twins ... are doing a repellent job at the moment, taking the worst from two worlds : the gusty vulgarity of the Carry Ons and the social simplesse of a Capra." (John Coleman, New Statesman, 31/5/63)

"Heavens Above is a dingy and ill-made farce. ... The only people it is likely to offend are those who care about good films." (Philip Oakes, Sunday Telegraph, 26/5/63)

"Heavens Above ... I personally regard as reaching a level in the cinema below which it would not be possible to go." (Charles Barr, Monogram, op.cit. p.44)

BILLY LIAR (1963)

Cert. A. dist. Warner-Pathé/Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Vic Films in association with Waterhall p. Joseph Janni assoc.p. Jack Rix d. John Schlesinger assistant d. Frank Ernst, Jim Brennan sc. Keith Waterhouse and Willis Hall. Based on the novel by Keith Waterhouse, and the play by Waterhouse and Willis Hall ph. Denys Coop ed. Roger Cherrill assistant ed. Jack Gardner, Jean Short a.d. Ray Simm m. Richard Rodney Bennett 98 mins.

With: Tom Courtenay (Billy Fisher), Julie Christie (Liz), Wilfred Pickles (Geoffrey Fisher), Mona Washbourne (Alice Fisher), Ethel Griffies (Florence, Grandmother), Finlay Currie (Duxbury), Rodney Bewes (Arthur Crabtree), Helen Fraser (Barbara), George Innes (Eric Stamp), Leonard Rossiter (Shadrack), Gwendolyn Watts (Rita), Patrick Barr (Det Insp MacDonald), Godfrey Winn (Disc Jockey), Ernest Clark (Prison Governor), Leslie Randall (Danny Boone), Anna Wing (Mrs Crabtree).

Billy Fisher's real world is bounded by a dull Northern town, a job as clerk in an undertaker's office, a quarrelsome relationship with his parents, and a potentially explosive one with two girls, noisy Rita and silly Barbara, to whom he has simultaneously become engaged. A compulsive liar, Billy is also ruler and commandant-in-chief of his own fantasy kingdom, Ambrosia, to which he retreats when circumstances become too much for him, and from which he emerges, machine-gun blazing, to mow down his enemies in his dreams. Billy has sent some material to a TV comedian, and genuinely believes he has the promise of a job in London. But this illusion doesn't survive an encounter with the comedian; and, simultaneously, all Billy's problems catch up with him. His employer, Shadrack, finds that he has been purloining the petty cash and is still in possession of two hundred of the firm's unposted Christmas calendars. Rita and Barbara brawl over the engagement ring which they have unwittingly been sharing. But Billy still has his hope of escape through Liz, a cheerful, self-reliant wanderer, home for the moment between adventures, who persuades him that only a ticket to London stands between him and a more exciting reality. Returning home to pack, Billy finds that his grandmother has been taken ill after a family row. He follows his mother to the hospital, learns that his grandmother is dead, but still goes ahead with his escape plan. He gets to the station, even to the train, before his nerve fails him. Liz goes off alone; Billy returns to home and Ambrosia.

John Schlesinger's follow-up to A Kind of Loving reworks the former film's theme of freedom versus constraint in the form of Billy, nurturing fantasies of escape to London as a scriptwriter, but ultimately settling for the continuing drabness of his life up North. The former film's disdain for mass culture has become more satirical but no less contemptuous, as housewives rush to hear their name on the radio or jostle to watch an inane TV personality open a supermarket. As Gene Phillips puts it, with apparent approval, the film "suggests that a sense of material progress has yet to touch meaningfully the monotonous lives of these anonymous homemakers, whose horizons are so narrow that hearing their names announced by a radio disc jockey can be a major event for them" (John Schlesinger, op.cit. pp.53-4). The

film is no less harsh on Billy's girlfriends, Barbara and Rita, whose small-town conservatism and hollow superficiality, like Christine and Ingrid's in A Kind of Loving, add to Billy's sense of imprisonment. Unlike A Kind of Loving, there is something of a counterweight in Julie Christie's role as Liz, though as an image of female liberation it amounts to little more than an adman's dream. For all of its denigration of the media, Billy Liar is more than ready to indulge in its own particular brand of media fantasy.

"Billy's society is a society of conformity ... There is the captivity and lack of communication in his relationships with his family, and the dullness of the routine of his work ... He hates it all but ultimately he doesn't have the courage to break away from it ... The problem is universal." (John Schlesinger, Films and Filming, May 1963, p.10)

"I still can't decide whether this screen version of the Keith Waterhouse-Willis Hall play is the funniest film of the year or the saddest. But there's one thing I am certain about: it's brilliant." (Margaret Hinxman, Daily Herald, 16/8/63)

"Sometimes, just occasionally there comes a reminder that a good film is still the finest entertainment in the world. It happened this week. The film - Billy Liar." (Ernest Betts, The People, 18/8/63)

"The story of Billy Fisher ... should come over with a convincing realism. But it doesn't. One reason is that in some ways we've seen it all before - 'A Taste of Loving on Saturday Night at the Top'. We've seen the dreary town, Billy's useless defiance, the office where he works and the men who bully him. We've seen his girlfriends and his parents and we have got a pretty good idea of what they are going to say next." (Ian Wright, The Guardian, 13/8/63)

"At first sight John Schlesinger seems to fit very neatly, almost repetitively, into the pattern established by the 'new' British film directors ... Strong local flavour, plenty of realistic locations, provincial settings, working-class domesticity, inside views of job, dance hall and pub ... In fact, Schlesinger is quite distinct ... What Reisz, Richardson and Anderson never quite seem to avoid is a certain degree of social posturing that ... gives them a de haut en bas sort of air ... This is what Schlesinger noticeably lacks." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 16/8/63)

"While it would be early to proclaim that realism is dead in the new British cinema, it is noticeable that during the last year or so most of our newer directors have shown signs that they no longer find it enough. Mr Jack Clayton has moved on from Room at the Top to The Innocents, Mr Tony Richardson from Look Back In Anger to Tom Jones ... In his second feature film Mr John Schlesinger joins the move away from realism ... The writers have produced what at first sight looks like an incitement to cinema with a capital C ... And Mr Schlesinger has allowed himself to be incited, adopting a far more highly wrought style and staging the fantasies ... with every sign of enjoyment. And yet on this evidence one would guess Mr Schlesinger still to be a realist at heart. The fantasies are by far the least effective parts of the film ... With the realistic framework into which the fantasies are inserted, however, ... Mr Schlesinger gives us perhaps the sharpest and most persuasive picture yet of that northern town in the throes of reconstruction."
(The Times, 14/8/63)

"The film version of Billy Liar begins by sending up Housewives Choice. This is probably going to be a cue for a lot of anxiety about whether we should really be laughing at the ordinary little people's programme, whether it isn't a bit patronising. But Keith Waterhouse, who wrote the original, would presumably say that anyone who laps up the humbug of being called an ordinary little person deserves what she (sic) gets. Billy Liar isn't patronising, it's plain insulting." (Penelope Gilliatt, The Observer, 18/8/63)

"In Billy Liar one feels at a cross-roads in cinema. The sad-faced boy who stays behind and conforms, a rebel only in his dreams, has been passed by the new type of girl swinging confidently and joyously out into a future that is part and parcel of an affluent generation's life-style centred on youth, dreams and metropolitan delights. With Julie Christie, the British cinema caught the train south."
(Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.167)

A PLACE TO GO (1963)

Cert. A. dist. BLC/British Lion/Bryanston p.c. Excalibur. A Michael Relph and Basil Dearden Production p. Michael Relph p. manager Philip Shipway assistant to p. John L. Hargreaves d. Basil Dearden assistant d. Jake Wright sc. Michael Relph Based on the novel Bethnal Green by Michael Fisher addit. dialogue Clive Exton ph. Reginald Wyer ed. John D. Guthridge a.d. Bert Davey m. Charles Blackwell 86 mins.

With: Bernard Lee (Matt), Rita Tushingham (Cat), Mike Sarne (Ricky), Doris Hare (Lil), Barbara Ferris (Betsy), John Slater (Jack Ellerman), David Andrews (Jim), William Marlowe (Charlie Batey), Michael Wynne (Pug), Marjie Lawrence (Sally), Roy Kinnear (Bunting), Norman Shelley (Magistrate), Jerry Verno (Nobby Knowles), Yootha Joyce (1st Woman in Laundry).

Ricky Flint lives in Bethnal Green and longs for the sort of life which he imagines money can bring. His docker father, Matt, out-of-work because of union troubles, decides to become a busker; his mother Lil is distressed to think that her proud husband has sunk so low; his sister Betsy is expecting a baby, which will stretch her husband Jim's finances beyond endurance; and Ricky himself indulges a quarrelsome romance with Catherine, known as Cat. He becomes involved with a gang led by Jack Ellerman, and agrees to fix the burglar alarm in the factory where he works so that they can rob it. Jim, who owns a lorry with which he runs his own humble haulage business, agrees to become their driver, tempted by the thought of easy money. At the last minute he backs out, troubled by conscience, but Ricky steals his lorry and the robbery goes forward. The plan fails, partly because Ricky hesitates to cosh a prowling policeman, and in revenge the gang set fire to Jim's lorry. Ricky is severely burned trying to save it. When he comes out of hospital, he seeks out and beats up one of the gang, but after a cautionary experience in court decides to settle down and marry Cat.

"The film is very much concerned with the wind of change which is blowing through the East End of London, a wind which is sweeping away the close-packed street of drab little houses and bringing new, shining modern flats in their place. The trouble is that this wind blows too fast for the old but not fast enough for the young."
(Daily Cinema, 25/7/63, p.30)

"Relph and Dearden and "new realism". Everything is there, from childbirth at a Christmas party and teenage violence, to union troubles and slum clearance evictions, all glued together with a patronising brand of sentimentality, and punctuated from time to time by those dear old shots of urban chimney-stacks." (MFB, June 1964, p.93)

"A Place To Go is a sympathetic attempt to keep up with Woodfall and take a new, tender, poetic look at East End youth and New Town resettlements. But despite some lively

playing by... Rita Tushingham and Mike Sarne, the film seems uncertain of itself, as if the class barrier had turned out to be wider than Relph and Dearden had anticipated." (Raymond Durgnat, Two on a Tandem, op.cit. p.33)

"An anthology of every British 'new wave' backstreet cliché, including pub sing-songs, flick-knife fights, loneliness in the new tenements, eviction from the old street, Dad forever on the dole and Mum just as eternally laying the table for high-tea."
(Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.250)

THE PARTY'S OVER (1963)

Cert. X. dist. Monarch p.c. Tricastle p. Anthony Perry
d. Guy Hamilton ph. Larry Pizer a.d. Peggy Crick ed. John Bloom
m. John Barry 94 mins.

With: Oliver Reed (Moise), Clifford Davis (Carson), Ann Lynn
(Libby), Catherine Woodville (Nina), Louise Sorel
(Melina), Mike Pratt (Geronimo), Maurice Browning (Tutzi),
Jonathan Burn (Phillip).

Carson is sent by his future father-in-law, Ben, an American industrialist, to fetch his daughter, Melina, home from England. Carson makes contact with a group of beatniks, The Pack, who claim she has disappeared. He is later informed that Melina became dead drunk during a wild party and was later stripped and given a mock "burial". Dissatisfied with this explanation, he confronts Moise, who reveals that she in fact fell from a balcony and was dead while the gang played the fool and Phil made love to her. Moise had arranged her death to look like a street accident. Ben arrives to take the body back to America; Carson decides to stay in England with Nina, a member of The Pack.

"Its the sort of party where anyone who has any inhibitions to lose, loses them quickly, and some have been without inhibitions for so long they are trying to find new ones, where a good time is achieved by the frantic wriggling of a hundred bottoms to raucous music, where those who can't twist any more collapse into inanimate heaps above the floor, where pot is smoked coolly in corners and wine that is one cut above vinegar is drunk out of jam jars, where, if you happen to pass out, you are liable to have a ban-the-bomb sign painted on your face or be stripped."
(Publicity material).

"Moise is ... a thwarted idealist ... Carson ... represents the world we are conditioned to accept as 'normal'. ... By the end of the film Moise and Carson are not so far apart. ... That they have each seen some degree of merit in the opposite camp, is one of the points that director Hamilton wanted to fire home." (ibid)

"My intention is to shock people into thought and to show that these superannuated teenagers have to grow up and just can't opt out of society." (Hamilton, quoted Daily Mail, 28/10/63)

"Although one commiserates with the film's producer and director, who felt it necessary to remove their names from the credits following censor cuts, the so-called mangled version is so unrewarding that the whole business seems pointless. Once again we are in the beatnik world (which means a lot of hectic if joyless dancing, vaguely rebellious behaviour, and casual sleeping around), presented even less convincingly than usual, and aggravated by some

appalling acting from most of the cast and direction which ensures that each scene is shot in as boring a manner as possible. The moral of the tale, emphasising how futile and empty this kind of life can be, might have held some force if the people had been at all interesting." (MFB, June 1965, p.94)

"The Party's Over, in fact, has a moral theme; melodramatically moral. But everything in it is disjointed, implausible, absurd." (Dilys Powell, Sunday Times, 4/5/65)

"For all I know, Chelsea may teem with louts and trollopettes like these, just as all kinds of unpleasant life may go on under certain stones. But personally I prefer to leave such stones untouched." (Cecil Wilson, Daily Mail, 5/5/65)

"Possibly the most outspoken and controversial film ever made in Britain." (John Ardagh, The Observer, 27/10/63)

NOTHING BUT THE BEST (1963)

Cert. A. dist. Warner-Pathé/Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Domino
p. David Deutsch assoc.p. George Willoughby d. Clive Donner
assistant to d. Miriam Brickman assistant d. Peter Price
sc. Frederic Raphael. Based on a short story by Stanley Ellin
ph. Nicholas Roeg ed. Fergus McDonnell a.d. Reece Pemberton
set dec. Helen Thomas m./m.d. Ron Grainer 99 mins.

With: Alan Bates (Jimmy Brewster), Denholm Elliott (Charlie Prince),
Harry Andrews (Mr Horton), Millicent Martin (Ann Horton),
Pauline Delany (Mrs March), Godfrey Quigley (Coates),
Alison Leggatt (Mrs Brewster), Lucinda Curtis (Nadine),
Nigel Stock (Ferris), James Villiers (Hugh), Drewe Henley
(Denis), Avice Landon (Mrs Horton), Ernest Clark (Roberts),
William Rushton (Gerry), Peter Madden (Ex-Politician),
Robert Bruce (Basil), Diane Appleby (Secretary), Paul Curran
(Mr Brewster), Joe Levine (Taxi Driver), Howard Lang (Jutson),
Angus Mackay (Clergyman).

Jimmy Brewster, ambitious young clerk in Horton's, a smart London estate agent's and auctioneer's, is in daily contact with a world of money and privilege which he is determined to gatecrash. A chance meeting with Charlie Prince, a seedy old-young man with expensive tastes, a public-school accent and a record which includes dismissal from Horton's for forgery, gives him his opportunity. Brewster instals Prince at his lodgings, advances him money, borrows his clothes, and takes a crash course from him in speaking the right language, playing the right games, and assimilating the right background. Brewster is making rapid progress, both in his job and with his boss' daughter, Ann Horton, when a racing win gives Prince the chance to break up the arrangement. Since the departure of Prince means the loss of his wardrobe, and also of his monthly allowance cheques, Brewster strangles him with his Old Etonian tie, packs the body away in a trunk and dumps it in the cellar, with the connivance of his loving landlady, Mrs March. Soon Brewster has bundled his working-class parents off to Australia and is set for a partnership and marriage to Ann. He even survives the discovery that Charlie was in fact Ann's scapegrace brother, and the reappearance (without corpse) of the trunk. Mrs March has stowed the body away in her cellar, and is quite prepared to share Brewster with his wife. The return from the honeymoon brings a new shock: Mrs March's house is being demolished, and the landlady herself has decamped to South Africa. The film ends on a question mark, with Brewster awaiting - or not awaiting - discovery.

"Room at the Top reconstructed for laughs", according to the Monthly Film Bulletin (April 1964, p.53), Nothing But The Best is the post-Profumo, That Was The Week That Was version of the ambitious and philandering young working-class hero's rise to the top of 'a filthy stinking world' of superficial tastes and values. Brewster and Prince's squash-court work-out provides a notable summary of 'affluent society' attitudes: "What's wrong with the Socialists? Out of date. No need for them. And the Conservatives? Going pink at the edges ... What's wrong with the British workman? He's too bloody middle class by half. British Royalty? Too bloody middle class by half."

"Nothing But The Best ... was based on the (correct) assumption that class was still a way of life for some and a part of nostalgic memory for most in Britain in the mid-1960's and that the path to advancement was open to him (sic) who could convincingly impersonate the life-style, speech-patterns and value-systems of the class above him. The social and political Establishment, still helped to conceal the difference between appearance and reality."
(Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.275)

THIS IS MY STREET (1963)

Cert. A. dist. Warner-Pathé/Anglo Amalgamated p.c. Adder
exec. p. Peter Rogers p. Jack Hanbury d. Sidney Hayers
sc. Bill MacIlwraith Based on the novel by Nan Maynard
ph. Alan Hume ed. Roger Cherrill a.d. Alex Vetchinsky
m./m.d. Eric Rogers 94 mins.

With: Ian Hendry (Harry), June Ritchie (Margery), Avice Landon
(Lily), Meredith Edwards (Steve), Madge Ryan (Kitty),
John Hurt (Charlie), Annette Andre (Jinny), Philippa Gail
(Maureen), Mike Pratt (Sid), Tom Adams (Paul), Hilda
Fenemore (Doris), Susan Burnet (Phyllis), Robert Bruce
(Mark), John Bluthal (Joe), Margaret Boyd (Granny),
Carl Bernard (Fred), Patrick Cargill (Ransome), Margo Johns
(Isabel), Derek Francis (Fingus), Ursula Hirst (Molly),
Sheraton Blount (Cindy).

Margery Graham lives with her husband, Sid, and small daughter in a Battersea back-street. Restless and dissatisfied, she embarks upon an affair with her mother's lodger, Harry King, who subsequently transfers his attentions to Margery's younger sister, Jinny. When Jinny and Harry announce their engagement, Margery attempts suicide but is discovered in time by her mother, who promptly turns Harry out. Jinny returns to her former fiancé, while Margery is left to make the best of life in the street.

Producer Jack Hanbury brought Ian Hendry and June Ritchie together again for a downbeat re-run of Live Now - Pay Later. The film was originally expected to qualify for an X-certificate but ABPC requested that Hanbury tone down the scenes in order to receive an A-certificate. According to Ernest Belts, "X-certificates which used to be all the rage, have now begun to backfire." (The People, 2/2/64)

"This highly moral tale bears all the hallmarks of a serial from one of the not-so-glossy women's weeklies. Weak on characterisation and over-loaded with sub-plot, it forms a very flimsy base for a screenplay. Bill MacIlwraith has supplied some snappy dialogue, Sidney Hayers uses the Battersea locations intelligently and keeps up a cracking pace, while slightly flashy editing adds to the general impression of slickness. But the glossy surface only emphasises the emptiness of the writing." (MFB, March 1964, p.43)

"On the surface, This Is My Street belongs to the contemporary style of British film with its presentation of a thick slice of lowish life. ... But it is all seen romantically ... recalling ... a late nineteenth-century cautionary tale written for the woman reader." (Patrick Gibbs, Daily Telegraph, 3/1/64)

"This Is My Street is a tarted-up version of the Coronation Street formula, dealing with the lives and bedtimes of half a dozen inhabitants of a sleazy working class neighbourhood.

... It is all a rather smudged carbon copy of the sort of thing we have been seeing now for several years in dozens of television and stage plays, and in films. Nothing in it is new except possibly the self-conscious way in which everyone in it tries to be desperately sexy and 'realistically frank'." (Thomas Wiseman, Sunday Express, 2/2/64)

"How does a film like this get made? Its triviality, unattractiveness, and lack of any sort of conviction are so much more depressing when you see it is made by actors who need something to sink their teeth into." (Ian Wright, The Guardian, 31/1/64)

"It is very hard that the husband - a good, sturdy worker whose main crime seems to be that he has supper in his vest - should have to carry the can. Apparently he only works at the factory because he's lazy. If only he'd look for something 'better' they could move to a 'better' neighbourhood and all their problems would be solved." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 1/2/64)

"Fascinating, funny and a little sad." (News of the World, 2/2/64)

YOUNG CASSIDY (1965)

Cert. A. dist. MGM p.c. Sextant p. Robert D. Graff, Robert Emmett Ginna, d. Jack Cardiff, John Ford sc. John Whiting, after Sean O'Casey ph. Ted Scaife ed. Anne V. Coates a.d. Michael Stringer m. Sean O'Riada 110 mins.

With: Rod Taylor (Johnny Cassidy), Flora Robson (Mrs Cassidy), Maggie Smith (Nora), Julie Christie (Daisy Birtles), Edith Evans (Lady Gregory), Michael Redgrave (W.B. Yeats), Jack MacGowran (Archie), Sian Phillips (Ella), T.P. McKenna (Tom), Philip O'Flynn (Mick Mullen).

Very loosely based on the life of Sean O'Casey, the film plots the early career of Johnny Cassidy from manual labourer to successful playwright, his involvement in the 1913 transport strike and Irish Citizens Army, his relationships with a Dublin prostitute, Daisy, and bookshop assistant, Nora and his 'adoption' by Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats. The film ends with Cassidy leaving Ireland, intent on pursuing his career elsewhere.

"This is little more than a conventional act of hagiographic homage ... O'Casey spruced up for export and audience-identification. The scenes of social and political unrest are short - in a spirit of plague on both-your-houses savagery. True enough O'Casey detested bloodshed: but where is the faintest hint that he was a passionate Communist and a virulent anti-Catholic?"
(Kenneth Tynan, Observer, 28/2/65)

"It is rather as if Disney had decided to make a film about Lenin guaranteed to tread on no right-wing toes." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 5/3/65)

"It is ... too comfortable, too romantic and too mystifying a vision of the artist and his development ... The detachment from love, physical roots, and political struggle proves the myth of the artist's necessary isolation and attendant isolated completeness." (Janey Place, The Non-Western Films of John Ford, op.cit. pp.215-19)

"Realistically staged, aggressively acted and spiced with bawdy sex, brutal action, tender romance, local colour and high ideals. Attractive popular box-office proposition with useful star values."
(Daily Cinema, 15/2/65 p.4)

DARLING (1965)

Cert. X. dist. Anglo-Amalgamated p.c. Vic/Appia p. Joseph Janni
d. John Schlesinger sc. Frederic Raphael ph. Ken Higgins
ed. James Clark a.d. Ray Simm m. John Dankworth 127 mins.

With: Dirk Bogarde (Robert Gold), Laurence Harvey (Miles Brand),
Julie Christie (Diana Scott), Jose-Luis de Villalonga (Prince
Cesare), Roland Curram (Malcolm), Alex Scott (Sean Martin),
Basil Henson (Alec Prosser-Jones), Helen Lindsay (Felicity
Prosser-Jones), Tyler Butterworth (William Prosser-Jones),
Pauline Yates (Estelle Gold), Hugo Dyson (Matthew Southgate).

Diana Scott's story as it might be told to a woman's magazine: she has always been spoilt because she is prettier than other girls, and after making a foolish marriage very young to an equally young man, she falls in love with journalist Robert Gold, who leaves his wife and family to live with her. Soon, in the interest of her career as a model, she is ingratiating herself with influential company executive Miles Brand, who gets her a walk-on part in an ante-diluvian-looking horror film. After the premiere she tells Robert that she is pregnant. For a tiny space of time they both look forward to the baby; then she has an abortion. Unable to endure the boredom of convalescing with her married sister in the country, she quickly returns to torment Robert anew. Going to bed and then to Paris with Miles, she learns how sophisticated people live, but on her return to London, Robert walks out on her. Heartbroken she goes off with effeminate photographer Malcolm to have a holiday in Capri, and make a commercial for chocolates outside the ancestral home of Prince Cesare Della Romita, a widower with six children, who asks her to marry him. Diana refuses to give up her own life until it becomes apparent that she has lost Robert for ever, whereupon she marries the Prince. Finding her new life desperately lonely, she flies to London to make a last bid for Robert. They make love and then, pretending to hate her, Robert puts Diana on the next flight to Rome.

"Time was when people who were mean and nasty and corrupt and promiscuous were thought to be answerable for their actions; now it's more fashionable to blame society as a whole wherever possible. In this way Darling ... is absolutely up to date: smooth sociology that buries the individual, as well as the individual guilt, beneath a blanket of preconceived ideas about what makes people tick. Diana is, for instance, inevitably spoilt and selfish because she is the product of the upper-middle classes who (if her sister's family is anything to go by) indulge in affectedly baroque small-talk over dinner and find their own children deeply boring. Apart from this, Diana's whole life is a mess because she is living in a society governed by the wrong values (e.g. roulette-playing top people, who can even make fund-raising for famine relief an excuse for self-indulgence). Were it not that Diana, as portrayed by Julie Christie, is so obviously and irrepressibly classless, one might almost fail to

recognise the affluent society here at all. Schlesinger sees no pity anywhere. To imply, as he seems to do, that half the world is starving simply because the other half is greedy, strikes one as excessively ungenerous as well as out of touch with economic realities. If the film is on the right side (as one certainly believes it to be) it is for very much the wrong reasons." (MFB, September 1965, p.132)

"'Diana', Schlesinger remarked after finishing the film, 'will never settle for anything as good enough for her. She always wants something better than what she has, both in her career as a model and in her personal life, and therefore is always looking forward to her next experience instead of making the most of the present'. Although there have always been opportunistic girls on the make like Diana, he said that he believed that 'there are more of them these days, because life is freer. There aren't so many rules; society as it is now is only too ready to accommodate girls like her'. Elsewhere he has added that young women of this stamp inevitably lack emotional stability, and for that reason they seem capable only of what he called 'wrap-up-and-throw-away relationships'; and the resulting loneliness and disenchantment which they experience, he concluded, are one of the serious diseases of our age." (Gene Phillips, John Schlesinger, op.cit. p.73)

"The description and condemnation of the character of Diana, particularly in the popular press, is of an extraordinary vehemence. She is variously a bitch, a witch, a slut, a trollop, a tramp, a wanton. The foregrounding of issues relevant to women's lives is obscured by a deeper need to appropriate and contain the threat of female sexual autonomy. Through its reactionary message that permissiveness, however momentarily pleasurable, will be punished, Darling appears to have made a signal contribution to repressive discourses around female sexuality in the contemporary context of anxieties about the 'permissive society'." (Carrie Tarr, Screen, op.cit. p.64)

ALFIE (1966)

Cert. X. dist. Paramount p.c. Sheldrake p./d. Lewis Gilbert
sc. Bill Naughton, based on own play ph. Otto Heller ed. Thelma
Connell a.d. Peter Mullins m. Sonny Rollins 114 mins.

With: Michael Caine (Alfie), Shelley Winters (Ruby),
Millicent Martin (Siddie), Julia Foster (Gilda),
Jane Asher (Annie), Shirley Anne Field (Carla),
Vivien Merchant (Lily), Eleanor Bron (Doctor),
Denholm Elliott (Abortionist), Alfie Bass (Harry),
Graham Stark (Humphrey), Murray Melvin (Nat),
Sidney Tafler (Frank).

The sexual adventures of young East-Enders Alfie. Enjoying an affair with the married Siddie, Alfie abandons Gilda, the father of his child, before moving on to a relationship with a rich American widow, Ruby. Gilda decides to marry Humphrey and Alfie ends up in hospital where he finds an obliging nurse, Carla. Once out of hospital, he also pursues a relationship with Lily, the wife of one of his fellow patients, and then with Annie, whom he encourages to move in. When this doesn't work he asks her to leave. Meanwhile, Lily is pregnant and Alfie arranges an abortion. Chastened by the experience, Alfie wanders through the city where he witnesses his son's christening. He returns to Ruby but she has found another lover.

"When you see seven women in one film putting up the performances of their young or middle-aged careers, it is unusual enough to rouse a cheer. The fact that this happens in a British film deserves two cheers. And the fact that one man is the equal of all of them, in acting and expertise, will get three hurrahs from filmgoers of at least one sex. Lewis Gilbert's tremendously exuberant and enjoyable new film, Alfie, calls up such mixed emotions of artistic pleasure, national pride and sexual satisfaction in me this week." (Alexander Walker, Evening Standard, 24/3/66)

"And da birds! You've never seen such a lot in one pitcher and the rougher Alfie treats 'em the more they like it ... Michael Caine ... he's a lad and no mistake." (Cecil Wilson, Daily Mail, 23/3/66)

"I'm not going to turn up my nose at the verbal film, especially when it is very nearly at its best as here. So very nearly. The piece to my mind is fatally flawed by the central character being at odds with the theme. While the text is superficially avant-gardish, with racy dialogue and an anti-hero who appears to be successfully defying society, it is basically old-fashioned. After enjoying Alfie's anti-social antics for half the film, it is an awful let-down to be read what amounts to a moral lecture." (Patrick Gibbs, Daily Telegraph, 25/3/66)

"There's a lot of ripe and bawdy comedy at first. And, as Alfie moves toward his inevitable come-uppance ... the joke is made to turn a bit sour. But not nearly sour enough. The flip, forgiving attitude the film adapts towards Alfie's outrageous heartlessness simply can't be pitted against the very real trail of tragedy he leaves in his wake." (Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 26/3/66)

"The rake's progress is running downhill by the end of the film, but Alfie manages to be philosophical. He hasn't been trapped by domesticity, and he's still his own man. It is Caine's triumph that he not only makes Alfie believable but likeable..." (Hollis Alpert, Saturday Review, 27/8/66)

"You can't point the moral of The Rake's Progress and expect to keep the arcadian atmosphere of fun and frolics." (Isabel Quigly, The Spectator, 1/4/66)

"Alfie's self-engineered come-uppance reminds us of Joe Lampton's in Room at the top ... or the heroines at the end of Darling. Alfie is several moves further on into fantasy, but all three figures are consumers in a consumer-orientated society. ... The fantasy dimension of Alfie chimed in so well with the hedonistic mood of the era ... that this ... plus the variegated sex ... made it into an enormous box-office success." (Alexander Walker, Hollywood England, op.cit. p.308)

TO SIR, WITH LOVE (1966)

Cert. A. dist. Columbia p.c. Columbia p. John R. Sloan, James Cavell
d./sc. James Clavell, after novel by E.R. Braithwaite ph. Paul Beeson
ed. Peter Thornton a.d. Tony Woollard m. Ron Grainer 105 mins.

With: Sidney Poitier (Mark Thackeray), Christian Roberts (Denham),
Judy Geeson (Pamela Dare), Suzy Kendall (Gillian Blanchard),
Lulu (Barbara Pegg), Faith Brook (Mrs Evans), Geoffrey Bayldon
(Weston), Edward Burnham (Florian), Gareth Robinson (Tich),
Graham Charles (Fernham), Patricia Routledge (Clinty),
Fiona Duncan (Miss Phillips), Adrienne Posta (Moirra Jackson),
Ann Bell (Mrs Dare).

Unable to work as an engineer, Mark Thackeray, from Guyana, accepts a teaching post at an East London secondary school. His colleagues, with the exception of Gillian, are mostly cynical and incompetent, while his pupils are surly and indifferent. By abandoning the textbooks and providing a more 'relevant' education he slowly wins the pupils' respect. Even the toughest, and most recalcitrant of them, Denham, is awed into respect when Thackeray defeats him in a boxing match. Thackeray is offered an engineering job, but, after the school-leavers dance when his pupils present him with a gift, he decides to continue teaching.

"The problems that face teachers during their first terms at tough co-ed schools are becoming a bit of a bore ... This week it is the inferior but well-intentioned To Sir With Love ... Poitier emerges as a miracle worker who almost overnight turns his tough class of layabouts and scrubbers into well-manicured ladies and gentlemen. Life is not like that. As a result it is difficult to treat the film with the respect it obviously seeks."
(Clive Hirschhorn, Sunday Express, 10/9/67)

"If the film pretends to social realism by its frequent allusions to race prejudice, broken homes, ill-equipped classrooms and so on, its solutions have all the facile optimism of the most utopian folk-songs."
(MFB, October 1967, p.156)

"Good old-fashioned sentimental nonsense." (John Russell Taylor, Times, 7/9/67)

"The children have turned out to be no threat after all, they were only pretending to be independent. The audience goes home, red-eyed and consoled: in the cinema at least, the young still know their place."
(Robert Robinson, Sunday Telegraph, 10/9/67)

"After a second viewing ... I can see more clearly why James Clavell's screen version of To Sir With Love comes over as such an appalling phoney. Its snobbery toward the children ... its over-sentimentalising of the teacher ... its angling for the American market, and its American tourists' view of Cockney life and language are irritating enough. But its silliest transgression is its up-dating of the action to cash in on the pop scene ... By over-simplifying social and racial attitudes of 17 years ago and attributing them to youngsters who at that time hadn't even been born, James Clavell ... has made a nonsense film."
(Nina Hibbin, Daily Worker, 4/9/67)

"To Sir With Love ... earns good marks for treating Mr Poitier as a human being and only incidentally as coloured, and for having its heart in the right place." (Sean Day-Lewis, Daily Telegraph, 8/9/67)

"Poitier isn't allowed to get the girl (or even a girl) in the end ... The suggestion of a breaching of these barriers is present in To Sir With Love ... A female member of the staff is obviously attracted to him, and even more obvious is the adoration of a pretty sixteen-year-old pupil. But Poitier ... while insisting on all his elemental rights as a human being, draws a firm line in matters of romance. This renunciation is meant as one more example of his dedication to righteousness ... but it's an easy way out ... for his screenwriters, who become peculiarly race-conscious while seeming to promote both tolerance and idealism." (Hollis Alpert, Saturday Review, 8/7/67)