Shaken, Not Stirred: Espionage, Fantasy, and British Masculinity During the Cold War

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ABSTRACT

SHAKEN, NOT STIRRED: ESPIONAGE, FANTASY, AND BRITISH MASCULINITY DURING THE COLD WAR

by Anna Rikki Nelson

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This project seeks to define and explore the development of Cold War British masculinity and national identity in response to decolonization. Following World War II, Great Britain experienced a time of political and cultural rebuilding. This project argues that following World War II, Britain had to renegotiate gender and national identity within the context of decolonization, the rise of the welfare state, and Britain’s diminished role in global politics, and the tensions within gender and national identity were expressed in Britain’s interest in espionage narratives both real and fictionalized. British spy novels by Ian Fleming, Desmond Cory, and John Le Carré dominated fiction, and the real-life drama of the Cambridge Five captivated the news media. The James Bond films of the 1960s were the negotiating of the new British masculinity and American masculinity on the silver screen. This project builds on and bridges gaps between the historiographies on espionage, popular culture, gender, and empire. The cultural impact of James Bond is well documented by Jeremy Black and James Chapman. Black draws connections between the popularity of James Bond and Cold War foreign policy, and Chapman analyzes the cultural impact of the James Bond films. This project seeks to look beyond Chapman and Black and present a new analysis of how the British man developed into the British Cold War Hero represented by the James Bond films.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair and advisor, Dr. Allison Abra, for her endless support of this project. I often think she believed in me and, in this project, far more than I ever did. Dr. Abra was the source of guidance when I was lost and often a shoulder to cry on when I wanted to give up. I often feel like Dr. Abra supported me when no one else did. I would also like to thank my other committee members. Dr. Andrew Ross’s advice through the writing process of several chapters was often encouraging and helpful. Dr. Heather Stur supported me throughout both my graduate and undergraduate career. It was on her advice that I pursued my masters in history, and I am forever grateful for her support. Last, but far from least, I want to thank Dr. Brian LaPierre. Dr. LaPierre was unable to sit for my thesis defense, but it was not for lack of trying. Dr. LaPierre did, though, participate in my comprehensive exams and oversaw much of my course work both as an undergraduate and graduate student. As an undergraduate student, Dr. LaPierre’s teaching style inspired my love for the classic university lecture, and I modeled my lecture style after my experiences in his classroom. I do not think I would have been successful in graduate school as a student or as a teaching assistant without his support.

I want to thank my fellow graduate students Tracy Barnett, Rob Farrell, and Nick Schaefer for their support and their patience with my endless rants on James Bond. I especially want to thank Olivia Moore. I would not have completed my thesis without our weekly thesis workshops. I also want to thank the History Department and The University of Southern Mississippi. Southern Miss gave me the opportunity to pursue my passion, to travel, and to teach.
DEDICATION

This thesis would not have been possible without one person. Justin Baggett was both the inspiration and editor for my project. Two years ago, late one evening, Justin suggested watching a James Bond movie after we shared a few glasses of wine. Halfway through the film, Justin commented that he never understood why American men related to John Wayne because he always personally wanted to be James Bond. He then commented that he assumed it was because he related more to European men than American men. I laughed and told him all that sounded like a thesis project, and he dared me to write my Master’s thesis on James Bond. Consider this challenge accepted. Justin then read every word, sentence, paragraph, page, and chapter that I wrote for my thesis. I am reasonably sure that he read my thesis more times than I did. He was always the first to tell me when an idea was not working or when something needed to be reworked. I’m sorry for ruining James Bond for you, Justin.

I also want to thank my family. My siblings, Joshua Nelson, Kaitlin Hare, and April Berryhill, are all tired of hearing about James Bond but still humor me. Throughout my graduate school experience, a multitude of changes have occurred in my family. My siblings always were able to provide me with needed distractions when I was drowning in work. I also want to thank a very special friend, Michael Rapier. When I grew particularly fatigued with graduate work, Michael was always there to share supper and wine and Game of Thrones with me. To quote the theme from *Golden Girls*, Michael, “thank you for being a friend!”

Last, but far from least, I want to thank my parents, Ricky and Tammy Nelson. The best thing they ever did was throw their nineteen-year-old daughter in a pea patch.
one summer in the Mississippi heat. After picking peas under the beating sun and shelling them until my fingers bled, I appreciated every moment I spent reading and writing. They encouraged my love of reading and learning, and without their love and support, I would not have made it as far as I have. I don’t think many parents would be as comfortable as mine were with their youngest daughter running off to Vietnam, France, or to live across the country. They always supported my adventurous spirit. Thanks mother and daddy! I love you both very much.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandmother, Christine Fines Taylor. I wish you were here to see what your grandbabies can do.
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CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

In 1970, Simon Winder, as an impressionable ten-year-old boy, saw the film *Live and Let Die*, featuring Roger Moore as James Bond, in a small suburban English cinema. Winder watched James Bond crouch behind a gravestone in a black turtleneck sweater and reveal a large pistol, a white woman scantily clad and tied to a post, and a black man dressed in animal skins laughing maniacally while wielding a poisonous snake. James Bond jumped from behind the gravestone and shot all the black voodoo worshippers, saving the white woman. The film profoundly impacted Winder by opening the golden doors of sex and death. Everything in the film was magical and glamorous, the villains were brutal and cunning, Bond was witty and decent, the locations were exotic, and the women were gorgeous. The rest of Winder’s teenage years were spent devouring the Bond books and films over and over, while he and his friends spent every waking moment pretending to be their hero: James Bond.

Years later, as a father of ten and twelve-year-old boys, Winder excitedly sat his sons down to view the very same James Bond film. Winder was excited to share an important part of his childhood with his own children. As the film unfolded, however, Winder watched with the eyes of a father and a grown man, and he was horrified. Bond was ridiculous to the point of being campy, unnecessarily violent, and far too sexual for his children. Winder no longer recognized the hero of his childhood.\(^1\) Winder’s story demonstrates an important part of the James Bond phenomenon: Bond was and is always

a product of his time. The fictional spy often reflects cultural, social, and political anxieties that seem all-consuming in the moment, but are often no longer relevant years later.

This thesis explores the origins of James Bond, and the prevalence of a multitude of other espionage narratives, in the period from the late 1940s to early 1960s. In this period, Britain grappled with its identity. As a result of decolonization, the establishment of the welfare state, and the slowed economic recovery from World War II, Britain experienced cultural anxieties that were manifested in espionage narratives. The spy narratives about World War II and the early Cold War demonstrated that the British public had a national interest in espionage, but during the 1950s and 1960s, Britain also used espionage narratives to renegotiate ideas of nation and gender. As real-life stories of spies demonstrated the anxieties experienced by British citizens, spy fiction grew to dominate popular British literature, culminating in Ian Fleming creating James Bond. The Bond series proved to be so popular that it provoked a response from other authors. As Bond’s popularity grew, American film studios funded the effort to take the Bond stories from the page to the big screen. Hollywood altered Bond’s character in a way that made him more popular in the United States, but the films’ creation indicates a cultural export from Britain to the United States. Bond was connected with *Playboy* magazine through the author who created him, and the Americans began exporting Bond films and culture back to Britain, resulting in an exchange that exemplified the relationship between Britain and the United States during the Cold War.

Though he would become the ultimate Cold War masculine ideal, the fictional spy James Bond was not the only representation of espionage in post-war Britain. The
British media and public focused on its victories during World War II and praised the espionage program during the war in an effort to shape the memory of the war in popular culture. While initially, British spy stories were popular in film and in biographies, - as exemplified by wartime agent Odette Churchill the popularity of these stories waned throughout the 1950s. By the end of the decade, World War II stories no longer enchanted the British public unless they were highly dramatized, such as *To Carve Her Name with Pride*, demonstrating a desire for drama over nostalgia. In newspapers, stories of Cold War espionage dominated increasing amounts of column space, and these stories initially reflected an important facet of public life in Cold War Britain: loyalty. The cases of Klaus Fuchs, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and the disappearance of diplomats Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean drew British interest. As the cases developed in the news media, the spies were criticized initially for their disloyalty, but as the decade drew to a close, the stories also began to focus on more salacious elements of each case. In the early 1950s, newspapers derided Klaus Fuchs as a Communist who should not have retained his citizenship. However, at the end of the decade, newspapers smeared Don MacLean for possible infidelity, abandonment, and homosexuality. The coverage of these cases grew more salacious in order to satisfy the desire for drama in the British public.

While these real-life espionage cases unfolded, espionage fiction grew in popularity in literature. While a number of fictional spies such as Johnny Fedora and George Smiley were popular at the time, James Bond surpassed them all in popularity and became a phenomenon. Ian Fleming created James Bond in 1953 and went on to publish several novels and serialized stories until his death in 1964. Bond’s popularity was due to Fleming’s creation of a character saturated in fantasy. James Bond had an
excess of everything that was not available to the average Briton at the time: luxury cars, luxury clothing, luxury casinos, and an endless supply of sexually available women. Bond inhabited a world of excessive indulgence but also never wavered in his loyalty to Britain, thus making Bond the ideal Cold War British man. The popularity of Bond in literature was best demonstrated by the fact that he drew a response from other authors. Desmond Cory created the spy Johnny Fedora before James Bond existed. As Bond surpassed Fedora in popularity, Cory attempted to adapt his stories to the Bond phenomenon by over-sexing his characters. However, no matter how objectified the women became in Fedora’s stories, he never surpassed Bond in popularity because he did not embody the element of British loyalty needed to be uniquely British. Bond also incited a reaction from John Le Carré, who created the anti-Bond, George Smiley, in the years after Bond’s rise to fame. Smiley was everything that Bond was not, and Le Carré, in creating Smiley, hoped to create a more “realistic” spy. While George Smiley was popular with select crowds, he never reached the national fame of James Bond because he not only lacked the important aspect of loyalty to the British state, but he also lacked the more fantastic elements of Bondian stories.

In the 1950s and 1960s, James Bond became the image of the heroic man in Britain and the United States based on his appeal to both British and American masculine ideals. Bond was born and surged to popularity in Britain in a time of cultural anxiety. Many spies and spy characters rose to prominence in Britain in the era following World War II, but to Britons, James Bond exceptionally represented the importance of loyalty to Queen and country for the British man. When Hollywood translated the Bond stories to
film, Bond modeled the sexuality embraced by American metropolitan masculinity also represented by Hugh Hefner and John F. Kennedy.

Bond’s cultural significance is further revealed by the fact that he achieved prominence and popularity in America as well as Britain. As Ian Fleming developed James Bond’s character, he began to search for people interested in producing a film based on the Bond novels. Fleming’s early attempts were unsuccessful due to many Hollywood studios deeming Bond “too British” for American cinema. But then in 1962, Canadian producer Harry Saltzman and American producer Albert Broccoli bought the rights for the Bond novel *Dr. No* and produced a film featuring Sean Connery as James Bond. A new and different Bond was born through American cinema. In order to appeal to American audiences, Broccoli and Saltzman strategically cast Sean Connery in order to give Bond “more grit,” and the Bond films responded to American audiences’ demand for more sex and violence in film. Bond’s display of hyper-heterosexuality was often contrasted with the homosexuality or asexuality of his villains, thus furthering the idea that sexuality was closely linked with American masculinity during the 1960s. At the time, a strand of metropolitanism demonstrated by Hugh Hefner and John F. Kennedy developed in American masculinity, and Bond appealed to this type of gender construct.²

Bond’s overwhelming presence in the American men’s magazine, *Playboy*, also reflects the success of the Bond series. As the magazine covered Bond more extensively, the magazine circulated more widely in Britain. Bond initiated a cultural exchange between Britain and the United States that helped insulate Britain from Americanization during

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the Cold War. Even in the films, as Bond’s character was changed to be more American, he always retained his loyalty to Britain and Britishness and, therefore, always retained his status as a British man.

**Literature Review**

This thesis builds on and bridges gaps between the historiographies of espionage, popular culture, and gender. First, historians have shown that the masculine gender expression is understood as both culturally constructed and psychologically internalized. Graham Dawson contributes a psychological understanding of masculinity as manifested during the height of the British Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Dawson’s work pre-dates the time frame of this particular project, but his idea of “imagined masculinities” is applicable to any study of gender and empire. James Bond, like Dawson’s example of Lawrence of Arabia, fits the model of the imagined masculine heroic archetype necessary for the gender development of young boys of the British Empire. Dawson approaches the subject psychologically rather than historically, but he is able to answer the valuable question of how men, on a personal level, establish their own gender identities. Dawson’s application of psychology coupled with cultural analysis aids in a larger understanding of gender identity as a social and psychological construct.

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Historians of empire have closely drawn the connection between empire, gender, and national identity, but the impact of decolonization on the metropole is a relatively new concept within the historiography of empire. Originally, historians adhered to the minimal impact thesis, which stated that British culture and society at the metropole were not affected by decolonization because the impact was contained to the periphery of the empire, within the colonies. Cultural historians pioneered a shift away from the minimal impact thesis, and many now argue that decolonization had an indelible impact on the culture of the metropole. This thesis also argues against the minimal impact thesis; Britons experienced cultural anxieties around national identity and gender at home during decolonization, which were resolved through the fantasy of the world of James Bond.5

Masculinity is also constructed through popular culture. During World War II, for example, British government propaganda focused on the necessity of national service and

patriotism to the cultural understanding of British masculinity. Sonya Rose demonstrates how World War II shaped British masculinity, and her work reveals the connections between national identity, patriotism, and male gender expression. Rose argues that the physical uniform of a British soldier to that soldier’s masculinity, and how the uniform came to be symbolic of a man’s own gender identity through his service to the British nation.\(^6\) After the war, the absence of a uniform during the Cold War (as related to the lack of military engagement)\(^7\) coupled with the physical damage the Blitz inflicted on the country, the establishment of the welfare state and thus the redefining a man’s place to care for his family, the collapse of the British Empire, and the reliance on American loans for economic support led to cultural anxieties of gender. Rose also reveals the tie between empire and national identity. World War II revealed an unprecedented openness within the definition of “British” in order to include the entire empire in the war effort. The post-war years did not experience this same inclusiveness.

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Wendy Webster also offers a brief analysis of Cold War British masculinity. Webster focuses on the impact of decolonization on race relations in Britain (with the influx of refugees from the newly decolonized areas of Africa and India). Webster specifically analyzes how the tensions in race relations impacted women of color in Britain, and she argues that decolonization actually led to a heightened nationalism within British culture that excluded the people from the former British colonies. Webster notes that, in this context, there was a crisis of white British masculinity with the demise of the British adventurer and the end of his exertion of his power abroad.\footnote{Wendy Webster, \textit{Imagining Home: Gender, Race, and National Identity, 1945-1964} (New York City: Routledge, 1998), 68.} Webster engages specifically with masculinity in her discussion of the colonial wars. She describes the colonial wars as British gender ideals under siege.\footnote{Wendy Webster, \textit{Englishness and Empire: 1939-1965} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119.} The guerilla tactics the former colonies used against the British during the colonial wars were described as a war against white British women, and British men were expected to defend the besieged women. The loss of colonial wars and independence movements in its colonies, therefore, were tantamount to a cultural emasculation. British men were not able to defend their empire, and by extension, their women.\footnote{Webster, \textit{Englishness and Empire}, 182.} Espionage and the creation of James Bond as the international man of mystery were opportunities for Britain to exert its power abroad without the physical state of an empire.

Webster demonstrates that the gender anxieties in Britain were a result of decolonization. Through the act of espionage, British nationalism re-entered the lexicon
for British masculinity, which was imperative for rebuilding British prestige during decolonization. As a result of decolonization, slowed economic development, and a shift in Britain’s place in the global power structure, the British imperial adventurer could no longer be the model of the British man. Ian Fleming’s James Bond replaced the British imperial adventurer, such as Lawrence of Arabia, as a masculine archetype.

During the post-war years, American masculinity was as much in flux as British masculinity, but the tensions occurred for different reasons. Historians Heather Stur, Andrew Huebner, Richard Slotkin, and Susan Jeffords explore American masculinity in the 1950s and 1960s, and most historians connect tensions within American masculinity with one event: the Vietnam War. American masculinity was often tied to two images, the frontiersman and the soldier. Slotkin used John Wayne as a masculine archetype that embodied the frontiersman much like Dawson used Lawrence of Arabia as an archetype for British masculinity. Slotkin argues that American masculinity relied on individualism and the idea of taming the wild frontier. Huebner and Stur explore American masculinity based on warfare. The Vietnam War complicated the image of a soldier as the masculine ideal because the war was unpopular, and draft resistance was high. Stur also explores how sexual violence inflicted by American soldiers on Vietnamese women complicated American masculinity by tying it to sexual dominance. Throughout the post-war years, masculinity and sex increasingly grew intermixed. Elizabeth Fraterrigo and

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11 Webster, Imagining Home, 67.
13 Heather Stur, Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Andrew Huebner’s The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era,
Steven Watts explore how, during the sexual revolution, hyper-heterosexuality was connected with masculinity by exploring the development of the playboy lifestyle within the pages of *Playboy* magazine. Both historians argue, to a degree, that the playboy lifestyle was a safe rebellion from the masculine norm by encouraging sex while staying within the boundaries of heterosexuality.¹⁴ James Bond fit the image established by Hugh Hefner, which was why he was popular in the United States.

However, decolonization was not the only global change Britain confronted in this period – the country also dealt with the rising political, military, and cultural influence of the United States. Historical works on the Americanization of Europe largely focus on France and Germany because these countries experienced large amounts of Americanization during the Cold War. Britain, though, experienced a more complex cultural exchange with the United States through the British invasion. For example, on film, James Bond was a hybrid of American and British masculinity that exchanged from Britain to the United States through the novels, but from the United States back to Britain through the films. The James Bond films also created an opportunity for playboy culture to be exported to Britain. However, other European cultures did not have as equal of a cultural exchange with the United States during the Cold War. Uta Poigier analyzes the infiltration of American culture into East and West German youth culture during the post-

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war years. Richard Ivy Jobs and Kristen Ross discuss French youths’ internalization of American culture after World War II. The manufacture and exportation of British cultural iconography in the British Invasion insulated Britain from the wave of cultural subversion from the United States.

Two prominent historians have specifically tackled the James Bond phenomenon: Jeremy Black and James Chapman. Black connects Ian Fleming’s novels and their popularity with actual Cold War politics, and argues that the James Bond films were the product of Cold War politics and shifted alongside Cold War policies. By tracing the James Bond story arcs through the geopolitics of Britain, Black is able to demonstrate how policy impacts culture. While Jeremy Black analyzes the social and political implications of the James Bond films, James Chapman offers a full cultural analysis of the films by analyzing film reception and how each film varied in production and creative design; he explains how the James Bond films demonstrated every trend in fashion, filmmaking, and music. Each movie encapsulated the height of popular culture of the year the film was produced. Most importantly, Chapman pays close attention to the connection between James Bond and British nationalism, which will be important to later studies on the importance of patriotism to British masculinity.

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Crucially, Black and Chapman heavily rely on the Bond films rather than the novels. The James Bond films only began production during the early-1960s, while the novels covered the time of period of the cultural crisis of the 1950s. The films were released when the new British man was already culturally established through espionage in literary culture and media during the post-war years. The James Bond on film was the realization of the British man and Cold War hero already established by the espionage novels, but the films also changed Bond in order to appeal to an American audience.\textsuperscript{19} This thesis will explain how Ian Fleming’s creation of James Bond and the creation of other fictional spies was the manifestation of cultural and gender anxieties sustained by decolonization and the loss of the empire.

Research on real-life espionage, such as analyses of World War II espionage and work on the Cambridge Affair, remains distinctively military and political, with little analysis of the cultural impact of the real-life acts of espionage. Christopher Andrew and Keith Jeffrey have produced works analyzing the creation of MI5 (Military Intelligence Section 5) and MI6 (Military Intelligence Section 6), respectively. Christopher Andrew discusses the creation, purpose, and actions of the intelligence agency. Andrew’s goal was to de-mystify MI5 during a time when little reporting was done on the actions of the government agency.\textsuperscript{20} The information Andrew provided on the importance of British intelligence revealed why the British public lionized their intelligence gathering abilities, thus espionage became ingrained in British popular culture.

\textsuperscript{19} Chapman, \textit{License to Thrill}, 200.
Keith Jeffery also offers a contribution to the body of work on espionage in Britain by focusing on MI6’s actions during World War II, when espionage crucially contributed to the war effort. Jeffery seeks to demystify the actions of British military intelligence during World War II, especially after the post-war years, when the British public romanticized espionage during the war (as evident through the consumption of British war-time spy biographies from the 1940s).\(^\text{21}\) Jeffery focuses on the actions of Bletchely Park and the role of Project Enigma during the war.\(^\text{22}\) Jeffery, like Andrew, gives a broad narrative of the founding and actions of British military intelligence without any key cultural analysis.

The spy agencies that Jeffrey and Andrew analyze were pivotal in fighting the Cold War. During World War II, Great Britain and the United States entered into a diplomatic relationship that defined Britain’s political role during the Cold War. Due to Britain’s superior experiences at espionage and its own colonial connections that were maintained during decolonization, the Americans often consulted Britain on political and military missions within Europe and within former British colonies.\(^\text{23}\) The “Special Relationship”\(^\text{24}\) was visible within popular culture in the James Bond novels and films. James Bond often worked with the American spy Felix Leiter when Felix failed at his own missions. The Britons prided themselves in their spy abilities. The Special


Relationship also renewed Britain’s place within the geopolitics of the Cold War when the empire was no longer a global power.  

All of these historiographies (military, popular culture, gender) explore distinct, narrow characteristics of how British Cold War culture developed. As a result of its near-annihilation during World War II, decolonization after the war, and the establishment of the welfare state that redefined how British society functioned, British society experienced a cultural crisis. The spy-mania that gripped Britain during the 1950s was no coincidence; the cultural conflict and anxieties within British culture manifested in espionage literature during the Cold War. This project seeks to bridge these fields by linking the military and political act of espionage to British culture and British masculinity during the Cold War.

Sources and Methodology

This thesis heavily relies on sources from contemporary popular culture in order to best prove the connections between espionage, popular culture, and masculinity. Chapter One utilizes popular spy biographies and films about World War II in order to analyze the type of gender expressions lionized by the British public and to chart the

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changes that occurred in how Britain told wartime espionage stories. Spies such as Odette Churchill went on to have successful government careers and became immensely popular during the post-war years. Violette Szabo became a British national hero with the release of the book *To Carve Her Name with Pride* with the film by the same name.

The British public’s fascination with espionage also extended beyond World War II., however. British newspapers from the 1950s reported on the Cold War espionage stories of Klaus Fuchs, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and Guy Burgess and Don MacLean. Beginning in 1955, the news media discovered that Soviet spies infiltrated the British government beginning in World War II in an event the British media deemed “The Cambridge Affair.” This project will analyze the media coverage of the Cambridge affair, the Rosenbergs, and the case of Klaus Fuchs and interpret the gendered and nationalistic rhetoric that was used to describe the events. Several of the reported spies, whom the media referred to as the Cambridge Five, were rumored to be homosexuals by college friends and colleagues, which added to gendered discourse. British newspapers expressed the connections between nationalism and patriotism with masculinity; traitors could not be true British men.

Ian Fleming not only created James Bond, but unleashed *tour de force* of literature. The Bond novels represented the fantasy that Britons desired in order to escape the tumult of their own society. Desmond Cory created stories about spy Johnny Fedora for years before Fleming picked up the pen, but later bowed to the superior popularity of Bond by making his stories appeal more to the themes he saw as popular in the Bond novels. John Le Carré attempted to slow the popularity of the fantastical Bond series and
suggests that spies are not figures that should be categorically lauded as heroic regardless of their loyalty.

Finally, the project will analyze James Bond on film from 1962-1971. The Bond films portray the adaption of Bond to American society by the casting of Sean Connery and James Bond’s heightened sexuality. James Bond’s sexuality in the films was more pronounced as a result of American cinema norms and the beginning of the sexual revolution in the United States, led by Hugh Hefner and *Playboy* magazine. The success of Bond in America was demonstrated by the popularity of James Bond and Ian Fleming in *Playboy*. The magazine and the company then took a larger role in the James Bond films, thus creating the cultural exchange that prevented Americanization of British culture. In the films, Bond also retained his Britishness through his never-wavering loyalty to the British state and to British commodities. The Bond films demonstrated that Britain found its place in the new Cold War power structure.

**Chapter Summary**

This thesis is composed of three chapters. Chapter One, entitled “Heroes and Villains,” examines the popularity of World War II spy biographies and the media reports of cold war espionage during the years 1946-1959. This chapter discusses the media coverage of the Cambridge Five, the arrest of Klaus Fuchs, and the Rosenberg trial and execution. By analyzing how the British public felt about instances of real-life espionage, this thesis offers gendered analysis of these events and discuss how these events shaped British femininity and masculinity. This chapter also argues that British spy stories shifted during the post-war years to being more scandalous and designed to entertain. Odette Churchill was portrayed as an average woman doing extraordinary deeds, and ten
years later Violette Szabo was portrayed as an extraordinary woman doing extraordinary deeds. In the newspaper coverage of espionage stories, the newspapers focused on Klaus Fuchs’s work as a gifted scientist, but in the coverage of the disappearance of Don MacLean and Guy Burgess, the papers focused on the possibility of the men being gay and on MacLean’s failure as a father and a husband.

Chapter Two, entitled “Stranger than Fiction,” analyzes how spy fiction shaped a new masculinity through the creation of a new imagined hero. This chapter will trace the development of fictional spies created by Desmond Cory and John Le Carré in relation to the creation of James Bond and his rise to notoriety. This chapter analyzes the reception of the novels by the British public. John Le Carré and Desmond Cory represent the different responses to Bond in literature. Cory embraced the popularity of James Bond and adapted his character Johnny Fedora to be more like Bond while John Le Carré’s character of George Smiley was often described as the anti-Bond. Ian Fleming left an impact on Literature that resonated with other authors.

This chapter also analyzes how post-war gender ideals were not class-specific in British culture. The heroes created by Ian Fleming, John le Carré, and Desmond Cory represented men from different social classes. James Bond’s overt expressions of wealth and status identified him as a clear member of the upper class, while Le Carré portrayed George Smiley as a member of the middle class through his modest home and bourgeois family life. Importantly, the gender ideals of the Cold War were not class specific, meaning that wealth did not make the British hero and British man, loyalty did. The unifying characteristic of spy fiction was loyalty, a trait with which all men could identify.
Finally, this chapter also analyzes how each author’s wartime service in intelligence influenced the creation of their fictional spies. Notably, John Le Carré and Ian Fleming created characters that were the opposite of their wartime experience. Ian Fleming was essentially a paper-pusher for the British navy whose fictional creation glorified the glamour of a spy in action. James Bond was an aggressive hero. John le Carré worked as a spy who risked his life transferring intelligence for the British government during World War II. Le Carré was well versed in the dangers of espionage, and his character, George Smiley, was the quiet paper pusher who became disenchanted with the empire. Fleming and Le Carré both believed in patriotism and love for one’s country, but articulated those ideas differently based on their own service.

Chapter Three, entitled “From London with Love” analyzes the James Bond films of the 1960s. This chapter argues that the films changed James Bond in order to appeal to American audiences. The changes were subtle: Bond became more sexual and more violent while retaining his own loyalty to Britain. The film makers cast Sean Connery, a Scottish actor, in the lead role, and retained all aspects of British culture as articulated by Ian Fleming, but also added in elements of the prominent American “John Wayne” masculine ideal. The first James Bond film was released in 1962, and the films from that point onward presented the iteration of Bond that became the masculine archetype of the Anglo-American cosmopolitan man. Analyses of the connections between the James Bond films and international politics abound, but the Bond films were also of great importance to the gender and cultural development of Britain. The films of the 1960s reached immense popular success as represented by the sheer number of ticket sales in
Britain and abroad. The Bond films symbolized the cooperation between the United States and Great Britain, and the films symbolized Britain’s new role in the Cold War.

The conclusion, entitled “A Cold War Spectre” discusses the continuation of the Bond film series to the modern day and how Bond films were susceptible to cultural changes in gender and nationalism. The conclusion also analyzes how Bond’s popularity was largely reliant on events that occurred globally. At the end of the Cold War, James Bond parodies were more popular than James Bond. The Austin Powers series mocked James Bond for his hyper-sexuality and ineptitude as a spy. James Bond was only popular during times of political uncertainty. The Bond resurgence occurred after the 9/11 attacks in 2001. The War on Terror saw the renewal of the popularity of the James Bond series. As the United States and Great Britain have grown tired of the constant paranoia of terrorists, more James Bond parodies have grown in popularity.

During the post-war years, espionage permeated British popular culture as a way to ease anxieties of national identity and gender. Britain in the Cold War redefined its culture, resisted Americanization, and then exported its new culture abroad. By creating the spy hero to sustain the imagined masculinities of British men, British culture also created the new Cold War hero. Britain redefined itself through espionage and redefined its place in the world. Britain contributed a defining aspect of Cold War culture, and the British man became a Cold War hero.
CHAPTER II – HEROES AND TRAITORS: REAL LIFE ESPIONAGE
IN POPULAR CULTURE

On January 28, 1947, four-year-old Tania Szabo received the George Cross honor on behalf of her mother, Violette Szabo. The George Cross was Britain’s highest honor to be bestowed upon civilians who performed acts of bravery during a time of war. King George VI bestowed the award on Tania and remarked to the young girl and her grandparents that he was very proud of Violette’s service. Tania wore a beautiful blue dress in a spring floral print. The dress was meaningful due to its connection with the occasion. Tania’s mother Violette served as a British spy against Nazi Germany and Vichy France during World War II. While on her first mission, Violette bought the dress for her then-infant daughter while in Paris during a fit of loneliness. Violette perished during her service to her country, but her memory survived the war, and she was honored as a national hero. Newspapers covered not only the young girl receiving the award, but stories of Szabo’s bravery. The Yorkshire Post on December 18, 1946 led its front page with the headline “G.C. Mother’s Gun Fight with Nazis! Tortured and Shot but She Avenged her Husband!” and the Hartpool Northern Daily Mail wrote “Even the Nazis Admired Her!” on the same day.26 These stories ran the day the George Cross recipients were announced, and the stories highlight Violette’s bravery and beauty, and almost every story mentions her child and husband. Later, the popular book To Carve Her Name with Pride, published in 1956 and authored by R. J. Minney, and the film by the same

26 “G.C. Mother’s Gun Fight with Nazis! Tortured and Shot but She Avenged her Husband!,” The Yorkshire Post (Yorkshire, UK), December 18, 1946. And “Even the Nazis Admired Her!,” Hartpool Northern Daily Mail, (Hartlepool, UK), December 18, 1946.
name would even more strongly emphasize Violette’s near super hero-like story. Violette’s story grew increasingly fantastic, but the early World War II espionage cases were much humbler.

Stories of espionage dominated British media during the post-war years, but as the realities of the Cold War sank in, espionage narratives changed. As the dust settled over Europe following World War II, and the geopolitical structure of the world began to settle into Cold War bipolarity, stories of spies who betrayed the Anglo-American alliance became both increasingly popular and increasingly lascivious. The stories of spies also increasingly revealed an important theme for the Cold War that was unimportant to spy stories in World War II: loyalty. In the World War II stories, loyalty to Britain was assumed from its servants, but an increasingly complex world meant that loyalty in Britain’s servants was no longer a foregone conclusion. Whether these stories of espionage focused on World War II spies whose stories “must be told” or the paranoid newspaper articles about Cold War Soviet spies constantly running through British news print in the immediate post war years, British society was consumed with espionage. These espionage stories acted as outlets to express cultural tension within British society. The 1950s in Britain witnessed moments of intense nationalism and nostalgia for the empire while the empire began a slow decline. Britain also experienced a time of great economic instability resulting from the recovery from World War II. 27

These events and a number of others led to the increasing apathy within British society that created an environment that led to the generation of angry young men who

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sought out literary characters such as James Bond to fulfill a fantasy. Wendy Webster discusses how the moments of nationalism that occurred in Britain often had ties with specific moments that created a nostalgia for the past. She points to the coronation of the queen, which Frank Mort also indicates as an important conservative moment during the post-war years, as a time when Britons were more nostalgic for the empire. Webster also indicates the climb of Mt. Everest and the visit of colonial royalty as instances when Britons expressed interest in keeping the empire when it was declining.

Mort also analyzed a series of sexual scandals that rocked Britain in the 1950s. Mort lamented the characterization of the 1950s as a decade of quaint simplicity when it was a decade in Britain full of sexual tension and social turmoil. The Cambridge Five case demonstrated that accusations of homosexuality were not only used to increase newspaper interest by speculating on a sexual scandal but also as a tool to further vilify Don MacLean by insinuating he was a sexual deviant.

In the post-war years, Britain grew more interested in espionage narratives, and the public increasingly wanted more fantastic, dramatic stories. The evolution of real-life narratives of spies demonstrated that Britain, as it redefined its national identity, wanted that identity in espionage narratives, but it also wanted those narratives to be more romantic and more adventurous. The real-life narratives reflected cultural shifts as often

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28 For more information on changes in British society related to sexuality and gender, see Frank Mort’s *Capital Affairs*. John Ramadan discusses the disillusionment of the empire and the disenchantment of British young people with Britain’s World War II victory in his article “Refocusing the People’s War: British War Films of the 1950s” in the *Journal of Contemporary History*.
29 Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 92-118.
30 Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 182-217.
31 Mort, *Capital Affairs*, 74.
as fictional stories in film and literature. These cultural tensions were especially prevalent in narratives of espionage, which were persistently prevalent in film, biographical works, and newspapers. These real life stories of spies indicated two issues: first, Britain tried to re-evaluate its role in new Cold War politics and culture; second, British identity changes along with its political status, and Britons explored the meaning of both being British and being men and women. Real-life espionage narratives both glorified the past through stories from World War II, and revealed contemporary anxieties through cases such as the international coverage of the Rosenberg trial, the Klaus Fuchs case, and the slow release of information on the Cambridge five disappearances.

Odette and Violette: The Shift in World War II Spy Narratives

Though Violette’s bravery was the first one highlighted in newspapers, the story of Odette Churchill was told through book and film far earlier. Odette and Violette’s narratives sharply contrasted each other. Odette’s story was released first as a biography and as a film, and she was alive and able to control her own narrative. Odette took strides to enforce the idea that she was not special, and that she did what she considered to be her duty and service to her country by spying for Britain. She also spoke out in order to make sure the world knew what the Germans did during the war. Odette was focused on providing a factual narrative that shaped the memory of World War II immediately following the war. Violette, in contrast, was not alive to control her narrative, and her biography and film were released long after the British public grew disinterested in stories of realistic World War II spies. As a result, Violette was cast as a national hero, and her story emphasized the romance in her life. While Odette’s story focused on duty and service, Violette’s story focused on romance and adventure.
The book *Odette* was published in 1949 and a film by the same name was released in 1950, but the newspapers were telling Odette’s story even earlier, especially because she married a fellow spy. Odette was born Odette Marie Celine Brailly to French parents in 1912. Odette’s father served and died in Verdun during the First World War, and his memory later influenced her to join the Special Operations Executive (SOE) during World War II.\(^{32}\) The Special Operations Executive was in charge of British espionage during World War II. They ran operations in France meant to disrupt the Nazi occupation. These operations included destroying railroads and bridges and passing information on to the British military of Nazi occupied areas.\(^{33}\) Odette married an Englishman named Roy Sansom, and she moved to England in 1931. After her move, she considered England her home.\(^{34}\) Odette was the first women recruited to the SOE during World War II to work as an undercover agent in France where she acted as a courier. Odette was captured by German forces, interrogated, tortured, and imprisoned at Ravensbruck Concentration Camp. She saved herself from being shot by claiming she was related to the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.\(^{35}\) When she returned, she divorced her husband and married English spy Peter Churchill, whom she had met on her mission in Cannes.

Odette’s story was made for newspaper coverage. She was often described as beautiful, a dutiful wife, a loving mother, a hero who protected her country, and she fell


\(^{34}\) Tickle, *Odette*, 28.

\(^{35}\) Tickle, *Odette*, 272.
in love with another spy and lived happily ever after. The story was full of drama that captivated the British public. Odette was a dutiful mother who loved her country while Violette was a passionate woman fighting for love. After the war, Odette fought to make sure all the stories from the SOE were told because “these were stories that must be told.”

When Odette and Peter married in February 1947, the Lancashire Evening Post ran the headline “War Romance!” with the story “Miss Odette Sansom, first woman awarded the George Cross and one of Britain’s best secret service agents of the war was married at Kensington register office today, to Captain Peter Churchill, her commanding officer, whose life she saved.” The story continued by describing the scars Odette wore from her interrogations by the Gestapo and how, even under extreme duress, she refused to betray her husband and lover. The newspaper described the story as a love story to defeat all odds. The Hull Daily Mail published a story entitled, “Today’s Bride was Gestapo victim!” which emphasized her place as a British hero by being described as “one of Britain’s best secret agents” and her love and sacrifice for her husband. The article expressed the post-war expectations for women to be wives and mother and also reiterated the World War II concept that Britishness was derived from service.

In 1947, Jerrard Tickell published a lengthy biography, *Odette*, on Odette that was immensely popular. Odette permitted the publication of the book and advised Tickell on developing the content. Tickell focused on how ordinary Odette was in writing his

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38 For more information on Post-war gender roles and the re-assertion of motherhood as primary to a woman’s gender role, see Wendy Webster’s *Englishness and Empire* and Jordanna Bailkin’s *The Afterlife of Empire*.
biography. He emphasized that Odette was not an exceptional child, but actually a very sickly child. Just before her eighth birthday, Odette mysteriously went blind. The small child with a love for music and horses could not see her beloved animals or see the keys of the piano. Her mother spent months guiding the child around by hand until she took Odette to an herbalist who healed Odette. After regaining her sight, Odette fell ill with rheumatic fever.

In the early spring, Odette caught rheumatic fever and spent most of the summer in bed. At least she could see and it was a consolation to watch through the window, the ever-changing pageant of the sky. When the fever fled at last, she was left weak and partially paralyzed. Again the doctors shook their heads. It was, they said vaguely, a question of time and, no doubt, Mother Nature-in her infinite wisdom and in the years to come would achieve what was, alas, past the power of human hands. One must be patient. Patience is poor comfort for a child whose hands were itching and eager to clap and whose feet wanted to run and jump with other children.\(^{39}\)

Odette was an ill child cured mysteriously by an herbalist healer. In both the book and the film, Odette emphasized that she was an ordinary woman simply doing her duty to her country. The message emphasized the national unity in Britain during World War II.\(^{40}\)

Much of the beginning of the book was devoted to Odette’s struggle with her motivation for serving in the SOE. Tickell asserts after the war that her motivation for serving was that she owed it to her children, and because she loved England. Tickell wrote of Odette and her children, “Odette looked at her three daughters. In their veins ran the strong mixture of French and English blood. She saw clearly, in that transparent

\[^{39}\] Tickell, *Odette*, 27.

\[^{40}\] For more information on British identity during World War II and the inclusiveness of the empire, see Sonya Rose’s book *Which People’s War*. The unity did not last in the memory of the war, which John Ramadan discusses in his article “Refocusing the ‘People’s War’: British War Films of the 1950s” in the *Journal of Contemporary History*. 

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moment, where ultimate duty lay.” According to this narrative, Odette felt led by her role as a mother to English children to serve as a protector of the country as well.

Tickell also wrote of Odette’s love for England, a country that finally accepted her despite her French heritage. On the evening that Odette chose to join the SOE, she looked upon the English countryside and contemplated what she chose to fight for:

She gazed her fill at the wintry countryside and at the declining sun. She realized at this moment how dear these acres had become to her. She had recently been in the proximity of death and she knew that she too would one day die. With all her heart she wished her body could in some way be dedicated to these most beloved fields.  

Tickell asserted that Odette served out of her role as a mother and for the love of her country because this was the office narrative asserted by the war office. John Ramadan explores how the British government attempted to shape the memory of World War II through film and literature, and Tickell’s sources were donated by the war office, as stated by Tickell himself in the book’s acknowledgements.

The film *Odette* was released in 1950 and directed by Herbert Wilcox, starring Anna Neagle as Odette, and Trevor Howard, Marius Goring, Bernard Lee, and Peter Ustinov. The film was officially endorsed by Odette’s commanding officer during the war and was released with the thanks of the British government. The film was released in both the United States and the United Kingdom, but it was far more popular in the UK. The box office sales in Britain came to £269,463, and the film was the fourth most

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41 Tickell, *Odette*, 41.  
42 Tickell, *Odette*, 41.  
43 Tickell, *Odette*, xi.
popular film in the UK in 1950 based on sales. Odette herself advised the film with her husband and attested to the film’s authenticity.\(^{44}\)

The film opens with credits that thank Odette, her husband, Peter, the admiralty, and the war office for its assistance with making the film, followed by a forward by the director of the spy agency Odette served in, known as The Firm, who attests to the film’s complete accuracy. The film constructed a specific post-war narrative and memory of World War II, which was typical of war movies immediately following the war such as *High Earners*, *The Wooden Horse*, *They Were Not Divided*, and *Morning Departure*. Parents used war films to teach their children about the war and the reason for the war, and these films were an attempt to recapture the past. For these reasons, World War II films often attempted to reinforce traditional gender roles of men as soldiers and women as mothers (which is strongly prevalent in the book).\(^{45}\) When the film *Odette* was made, Britain was still infatuated with war movies from World War II, and those films captured not necessarily wartime culture, but what post-war Britain wanted to enforce in its own culture. This is the reason the film asserts Odette’s normalcy. When in the office during her recruitment for the SOE, Odette says she was “but an ordinary woman and a mother.”\(^{46}\)

The film also portrays Odette as the symbol of morality. Throughout the movie, Odette refuses cigarettes from every person from her fellow spies to the Nazis who captured her; always saying “I do not smoke.” She refuses glasses of wine and cognac


\(^{45}\) Ramsden, “Refocusing the People’s War,” 41.

\(^{46}\) Tickell, *Odette*, 75.
with “I do not drink.” Odette is often contrasted with her fellow spy, Arno, who was loud and often swore, smoked, and drank. Odette was portrayed as superior to Arno because Arno was messy, and his lapses in judgement often led to panic for Raoul, who was Odette and Arno’s superior. Odette was the stoic British woman who was never panicked, upset or uncertain. Odette never held a gun in the movie, but Arno constantly begged to remain in France and threatened people by pulling out his gun.47

The film also invokes religious imagery often. Odette said of the Nazis “why are they so afraid of God?” during her captivity at Ravensbruck, and she was often portrayed praying. When she heard her death sentence, Odette looked to the cross engraved on the cell wall. The film invoked the idea that Britons were Christian and that their war cause was chosen by God. At the end of the film, when Odette was liberated from the concentration camp, the Nazi woman who guarded Odette’s cell begged Odette for protection. She told Odette that she was a mother with three children, and Odette reminded her that she too was a mother. Odette only left the woman only with the words “have you forgotten how to pray?”48

As the 1950s continued, British people increasingly grew disinterested in war movies. The differences between Odette and Violette Szabo indicate a shift in gender roles during the 1950s. Violette’s story was largely told by newspapers at first, which focused on her role as a mother and her heroism. In 1956, RJ Minney published To Carve Her Name with Pride and a book was made into a film in 1958. To Carve her Name with

47 Odette, directed by Herbert Wilcox (1951; London: British Lion Films), streaming.
48 Tickell, Odette, 275.
*Pride* was a very different film from *Odette*. Violette’s character was unrealistically heroic and romantic. While Odette could control her own narrative, Violette was dead, and other people who remembered her service told her story out of the feeling that the world needed to know it.

In 1958, the film *To Carve her Name with Pride* was made based on RJ Minney’s book of the same name. The movie was directed by Lewis Gilbert (who later directed several James Bond films). Gilbert obviously has a flare for the dramatic because *To Carve Her Name With Pride* was markedly more dramatic and over-the-top than *Odette*. British people were uninterested in war movies by the end of the 1950s, and the filmmaker was trying to appeal to new attitudes that wanted more drama than commemoration. The film starred Virginia McKenna as Violette, a role for which McKenna was nominated for a British Academy of Film and Television Award (BAFTA) for Best Actress.49

Unlike Odette, Violette was portrayed as anything but traditional. In the book by RJ Minney, Violette was the ultimate woman, ultimate hero, ultimate Briton. He described her as “… not dominating, assertive, vain or egocentric - extraordinarily enough she was not, though so many of those deeds are marked by heroism were. She must have enjoyed, one feels, the notice her beauty attracted, but she did not seem, outwardly at any rate, to be flattered by the attention of men. She seemed to take it as normal and met them on terms of unself-conscious equality, without any coyness or

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posturing or finesse.” Violette was beautiful but modest. She was a natural spy because she “hated domesticity, she cheerfully undertook distasteful chores and eagerly volunteered for work that she knew would be exacting and perilous.”

Violette fell in love with a French Foreign Legion soldier named Etienne Szabo. Both the book and the film portray a whirlwind romance between the two, and Violette and Etienne get married in London during the war while Etienne was on leave. The couple also conceived their daughter, Tania, while Etienne is on a later leave of absence. The book and film also portray Etienne’s death in Africa at the hands of the Nazis as Violette’s motivation for her wartime service; this assertion was repeated in newspaper articles covering the awarding ceremony of the George Cross in 1946.

Espionage stories from World War II were often stories of British heroism meant to invoke national pride. Immediately following the war, though, films that prominently featured women’s contribution to the war cause were rare. Odette and Violette’s stories were special because they were espionage stories. Spies who served during World War II were considered stories that needed to be told before they were lost. The women spies during the war, who were prominently featured also indicated changes in British society in the post-war years. Odette and Violette were spies, but they were wives and mothers first. As their stories were released to the public, however, their stories diverged into two

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50 R. J. Minney, To Carve Her Name with Pride (Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Books, 2013), loc 45.
51 Minney, To Carve Her Name with, loc 53.
52 “Even the Nazis Admired Her!,” Hartpool Northern Daily Mail, (Hartlepool, UK), December 18, 1946.
differing narratives; Odette was an ordinary woman who was a dedicated servant of Britain, and Violette was a tragic figure with incredible combat abilities in a romantic love story. Odette and Violette adhered to post-war gender standards and the image of British national identity as white and from the metropole.

Espionage in the News: The Cases of Jules and Ethel Rosenberg, Klaus Fuchs, and the Cambridge Five

While the cases of Odette and Violette represented how Britain remembered its wartime spy heroes in the immediate postwar, by 1958, espionage stories were more focused on Cold War paranoia than British victory in World War II. Espionage was celebrated, feared, and viewed as a form of titillating entertainment. The newspapers were often full of espionage cases during World War II and well into the Cold War. Newspapers from the post-war era were full of stories featuring captured American spies in Germany or Soviet spies in Latin America. The Cold War was a war fought by espionage, and contemporary newspaper coverage highlighted how aware the public was of this fact. 54

Three espionage cases attracted media and public attention in the late 1940s and early 1950s: the American Rosenberg trial, the case of the German double agent Klaus

Fuchs, and the disappearances of Guy Burgess and Don MacLean. These three cases offered insight into how Britons at the time negotiated British identity, loyalty, gender roles, and sexuality. The stories were not simply meant to inform, but often were meant to entertain. Britons increasingly consumed these real life spy stories as spectacles. The Rosenbergs were characterized as both traitors and victims, the newspapers questioned whether Fuchs deserved to be called a British citizen, and the reports of the disappearing diplomats largely focused on MacLean’s abandoned pregnant wife.

The cases of Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs were closely related and both connected with leaking information about atomic research to the Soviet Union. The information leak about the Manhattan Project began during World War II and increased immediately following the war. Early cases of espionage focused on how and when the Soviet Union received information on the atomic bomb created by the United States and Great Britain. Newspapers in Britain covered both cases extensively. Whereas Fuchs’s case led to a discussion of British identity because Fuchs was a British citizen, dialogue on the nature of espionage followed the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Klaus Fuchs was born and raised in Germany, but fled the country before World War II due to his political identification with Communism. Fuchs fled to Britain, where he received his Ph.D. and was granted British citizenship. Fuchs was one of the leading physicists who worked on the Manhattan Project to develop the atomic bomb. Fuchs began passing information on the British atomic bomb project to the Soviet Union in 1941, and began working on the Manhattan Project in 1944 and 1945, where he
continued passing information to the Soviet Union. In January 1950, Fuchs publicly admitted to spying for the Soviet Union.\(^{55}\)

The media coverage of the Fuchs case focused on the immediate details of the case, Fuchs’s national identity as a British citizen, and the rocky relationship Britain had with the United States in the post-war years. Immediately following Fuchs’s admission, the newspapers focused on his arrest and trial. The front page of the *Yorkshire Evening Post* on February 9, 1950, featured a brief article providing an update on the Fuchs trial. The article was a simple statement on the fact that Fuchs’s father insisted on traveling to Britain in order to testify on behalf of his son.\(^{56}\) The Fuchs trial was a brief trial, and Fuchs was found guilty of breaching the Official Secrets Act and sentenced to thirteen months hard labor. At the time of the trial, the Soviet Union was still classified as a British ally, therefore Fuchs was given the maximum sentence possible for his crime.\(^{57}\) The newspaper coverage, though, grew more intriguing after the Fuchs case was decided in court and Fuchs’s status as a British citizen was questioned.

After Fuchs’s prosecution, the newspapers questioned Fuchs’s future. The *Hull Daily Mail* featured comments from Dr. Hans Bethe that speculated that Fuchs would continue to work on nuclear research work for Britain and the United States. Bethe

\(^{55}\) Background information on Fuchs is not pertinent to this project, which focuses on the newspaper coverage of Fuchs’s arrest. For more information on the Fuchs Case and on background information on Klaus Fuchs, see the FBI files available at https://vault.fbi.gov/rosenberg-case/klaus-fuchs.

\(^{56}\) “Father Wants to Testify for Dr. Fuchs,” *Yorkshire Evening Post* (Yorkshire, UK), February 9, 1950.

\(^{57}\) Fuchs appealed his sentence, which the newspapers covered. The *Dundee Evening Telegraph* and the *Western Daily Press* published brief articles updating on the status of the Fuchs appeal on March 2 and March 3, 1950.
described Fuchs as “thoroughly repentant” of his crimes of espionage.\textsuperscript{58} Fuchs’s work appeared to not be valuable enough to protect his citizenship, though. In December of 1950, the newspapers exploded with debate over whether or not Fuchs deserved to retain his citizenship and “remain British.”\textsuperscript{59} In December, the Deprivation of Citizenship Committee began proceedings to consider revoking Fuchs’s citizenship. Fuchs made representations to the Home Secretary arguing that his citizenship should not have been revoked. Fuchs was not present in court and had no representation.\textsuperscript{60} In a letter written in his defense, Fuchs stated “I cannot expect the Secretary of State to accept an assurance of loyalty from me.” He also stated that his “disloyal actions ceased in 1949” before he was suspected of disloyal activities. Fuchs argued that he should retain his citizenship because he “loyally cooperated” with M.I.5 and the FBI. Fuchs finished his statement with “These facts show that in making my confession and in my subsequent actions I was guided by my convictions and loyalties, and that they show clearly where my loyalties are.”\textsuperscript{61}

Fuchs’s statement revealed an important aspect of British citizenship, nationalism, and identity exclusive to the Cold War: an emphasis on loyalty. In trying to defend his British citizenship, Fuchs referenced his loyalty as his defining characteristic as a British citizen. He openly admitted that his actions prior to 1949 were disloyal, but he

\textsuperscript{58} “Fuchs to Work for the West?” \textit{Hull Daily Mail} (Kingston Upon Hull, UK), July 06, 1950.

\textsuperscript{59} “Klaus Fuchs Pleads for chance to Remain British,” \textit{Dundee Courier} (Dundee, UK), December 21, 1950.

\textsuperscript{60} “Fuchs’ British Nationality,” \textit{Dundee Evening Telegraph} (Dundee, UK), December 20, 1950 and “Fuchs Pleads to Stay British,” \textit{Yorkshire Evening Post} (Yorkshire, UK) December 20, 1950.

\textsuperscript{61} “Klaus Fuchs Pleads for chance to Remain British,” \textit{Dundee Courier} (Dundee, UK) December 21, 1950.
maintained that because he was, before and during his time of arrest, loyal to Britain, he
deserved to maintain his British identity. Fuchs’s confession was not forced; he freely
confessed to his crimes out of loyalty to his country. Sir Hartley Shawcross commented
to the committee that he found Fuchs’s admission “queer” and not in line with, what
Shawcross perceived, to be Fuchs’s Communist ideology. Shawcross argued that the
dominant part of his mind accepted Communist doctrine without question while the other
part of his mind realized that Communism was wrong. Shawcross’s statements revealed
that Communism as an ideology was incompatible with British identity. Communists
were “othered” in British society much in the way that Linda Colley discusses Catholics
being incompatible with British identity during the 18th century. “Othering” is creating an
identity around not being a particular identity, either religious or political. In the Cold
War period, the “other” was Communism.62 The newspaper speculated that Fuchs’s oath
to Britain during his naturalization was meaningless when he already had an oath to
Communism.63 Within the context of the Fuchs Case in 1950, British identity relied on
loyalty and was completely incompatible with Communism. As the next chapter will
show, this idea was further asserted in spy literature like the James Bond series, where
Bond’s biggest part of his British identity was his loyalty to queen and country.

The Fuchs case also revealed tensions between Britain and the United States when
newspapers reported on comments made by American congressmen when Fuchs was
arrested. In an article released on February 9, 1950, M. R. Werner writes of comments

62 Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation 1701-1837 (New Haven, CT: Yale
University Press, 1992), 11.
63 “Klaus Fuchs Pleads for chance to Remain British,” Dundee Courier, December
21, 1950.
made by American congressmen that “would have received censure” in Britain. Werner indicated that the American statements were a “trial by publicity” which was illegal in Britain. Werner also criticized the American comments from military officials that blamed the British government for Fuchs’s crimes. Werner connects the hasty American comments with competing oil interests between the United States and Britain. All of these comments indicate that Britain was uncomfortable with American global supremacy after World War II, and that Britain found American intrusion into British affairs disrespectful. Britain in the post-war years was continuing to find its place in the Cold War dynamic and as a secondary power to the United States and the Soviet Union.

While Britain dealt with Fuchs’s espionage, British newspapers also covered a high profile espionage case in the United States: The Rosenberg Trial. Klaus Fuchs’s arrest led to the arrest of the Rosenbergs in the United States. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were an American married couple with connections to the Manhattan Project. Both of the Rosenbergs were Communist sympathizers and spied with Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, and Ethel’s brother David Greenglass. The Rosenberg case was dogged with claims of antisemitism, but both Rosenbergs were found guilty in 1951 and executed in 1953. Though an American case, the British media followed the trial and execution closely due to its connection with British espionage cases. The media coverage highlights British tensions with the United States and Britain’s concerns of anti-Semitism in the aftermath.

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64 “Klaus Fuchs leads to anti-British U.S. Comments,” *Yorkshire Post* (Yorkshire, UK), February 9, 1950.
of World War II, but the case also highlights the increasingly salacious nature of espionage stories.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1950, newspapers reported the arrest of the Rosenbergs in connection with information gathered from the arrest of Klaus Fuchs. The \textit{Lincolnshire Echo} announced that the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested Julius Rosenberg as a fourth suspect based on Klaus Fuchs’s statements, and the newspaper identified Rosenberg as a married man and his work with Pitt Engines Products Incorporated as co-owner and operator. The newspaper also noted that Julius Rosenberg was dismissed from his position as associate engineering inspector in 1945 by the American War Secretary due to suspicions of Rosenberg being a Communist.\textsuperscript{66} At the time, Julius’s wife Ethel was not under suspicion.

Following the arrest and investigation, British media was relatively quiet on the Rosenberg case. Interest in the case picked up once the Rosenbergs were found guilty and sentenced to death. British newspapers exploded in 1953, leading up to the Rosenbergs’ executions with debates around the penalty for espionage. British newspapers reported in February 1953 that the US court of appeals granted a stay of execution in order for Julius and Ethel to petition the supreme court to hear their case. The \textit{Dundee Courier} reported

\textsuperscript{65} The Rosenberg Case was one of the biggest American spy cases of the twentieth Century and debates continue over whether or not Ethel and Julius knowingly committed espionage against the United States. For details on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the trial, and their execution, see the digitized FBI files on the case at \url{https://vault.fbi.gov/rosenberg-case}.

\textsuperscript{66} “G-Men Arrest Fourth Spy Ring Suspect,” \textit{Lincolnshire Echo} (Lincolnshire, UK) July 18, 1950.
that President Eisenhower denied one appeal, and the Supreme Court was the last hope for the Rosenbergs.\textsuperscript{67}

The \textit{Yorkshire Post} published several opinion pieces on whether or not execution was the proper punishment for espionage, and the vast majority of contributors agreed that execution was the proper punishment for the Rosenbergs’ crimes. A contributor named as W. L. A. agreed with the presiding judge, Judge Kaufman, when Kaufman called the crimes “worse than murder.” W. L. A. also stated that the American justice system worked in perfect order, and that the Rosenbergs endangered both the United States and Britain with their actions.\textsuperscript{68}

When approaching the date of execution in June, the British newspapers reported protests among the British people against the executions. The \textit{Hartpool Northern Daily Mail} reported protestors demonstrating outside of Winston Churchill’s home, marching to Downing Street in London, laying in the street and on the rails, and carrying signs. When Big Ben struck 1:00 am, the protestors held a moment of silence to honor the Rosenbergs. The newspaper reported that over 500 telegrams from across Britain were sent to the Prime Minister to plea on behalf of the Rosenbergs.\textsuperscript{69} The reports from Hartpool reveal that Britain was divided on the penalty for espionage rather than the act itself. The Britons imprisoned and stripped Klaus Fuchs of his citizenship, but debated on whether or not it was right for Americans to execute the Rosenbergs. Months later, the

\textsuperscript{67} “New Respite for Rosenbergs,” \textit{Dundee Courier} (Dundee, UK) February 17, 1953.

\textsuperscript{68} “Worse than Murder,” \textit{Yorkshire Post} and \textit{Leeds Intelligencer} (Yorkshire, UK and Leeds, UK), February 17 1953.

Portsmouth Evening News reported statements made by Dr. Ralph Lapp that the secrecy around the bomb project did not help Britain, the United States, or the Soviet Union, and the cases of Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs amounted to nothing more than a paranoid witch hunt.\textsuperscript{70} The newspaper coverage of the Rosenbergs only increased, though, when the story was particularly dramatic. British newspapers gave little coverage to the trial itself, but reported on the arrest, the connection with Klaus Fuchs, and the execution. The spy cases were meant to both inform and entertain in this respect.

Another espionage case that both informed and entertained the British public was the long developing case of the Cambridge Five. The Cambridge Five was a British spy ring working for the Soviet Union. The initial reports of British diplomats disappearing broke in June of 1951 with the disappearance of Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess. In the 1960s, MI6 discovered Kim Philby to be a spy for the Soviet Union, and in the 1970s, Anthony Blunt was accused of being a member of the spy ring. John Cairncross was accused of being the “Fifth Man” in 1990. The men received the name “the Cambridge Five” due to all five members being recruited in school at Cambridge in the 1930s. The Cambridge Five case was one of the longest unfolding case of espionage during the Cold War, with deep connections within popular culture, especially for authors such as John Le Carré, who based his stories and spies on his real life experiences with Kim Philby.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{70} “Atom Bomb Secrecy ‘A Fiction’,” Portsmouth Evening News (Portsmouth, UK), August 24, 1953.
The disappearance of Guy Burgess and Don MacLean caused a quiet uproar in Britain as a result of their connections within the British government. MacLean worked as the head of the Foreign Office American Department and Burgess worked as second secretary to Washington. The initial reports in the newspapers did not refer to any possibility of the men being guilty of espionage, and insinuated that a “third man” may have written the notes that implied involvement with the Soviet Union which were sent to the men’s families. The newspaper noted that the men went missing in France, and that letters were delivered to the men’s families, specifically their wives and mothers. The *Northern Whig* noted that MacLean’s wife was a week away from delivering her third child and her husband’s disappearance caused her great distress. All of the newspapers that printed stories on the early disappearances referenced MacLean’s pregnant wife. Later that month, officials discovered that MacLean and Burgess were seen boarding a Russian ship to the Soviet Union, leading to rumors of the possibility of espionage. In August, the newspapers continued with the story that the diplomats were missing and assumed to be in the Soviet Union. The newspapers continued to reference Mrs. MacLean and her children.

In September 1955, as the involvement with the Soviet Union grew increasingly clear, the headlines turned towards the scandalous undertone to the case. Melinda

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72 “No Trace of Missing Men,” *Northern Whig*, (Belfast, Ireland), June 9, 1951.
“Mystery of Third Man,” *Yorkshire Evening Post* (Yorkshire, UK), June 8, 1951.
73 “Russian Ship Left Antwerp on June 1,” *Yorkshire Evening Post* (Yorkshire, UK), June 20, 1951. and “Russian Ship may have taken Diplomats,” *Dundee Courier* (Dundee, UK), June 21, 1951.
MacLean was cast as a tragic figure, horribly neglected by her husband. The *Aberdeen Evening Express* ran a long article on MacLean that described him as a “spoiled” man who grew to hate the United States. He was characterized as easily bored and neglectful of his duties as a husband and a father. The newspaper labeled MacLean a Communist and speculated that he had a drinking problem. The newspaper claimed that it was an inherent weakness within MacLean that forced him to turn to alcohol and Communism. He was a poor patriot, a weak man, and a neglectful husband. The *Aberdeen Evening Express* ran an article exclusively featuring Melinda MacLean, headlined “Melinda’s Four Years of Misery!” The article described MacLean as an alcoholic and a homosexual. The newspaper claimed it was MacLean’s homosexual tendencies that led to a mental breakdown in Cairo.\(^75\)

The newspapers, when trying to explain how British citizens could betray their own country, turned to MacLean’s transgression of societal sexual and gender norms to explain his disloyalty by accusing him of being unfaithful, abandoning his wife, and being a homosexual. MacLean and Burgess were different from Karl Fuchs. Fuchs, while a British citizen, was granted citizenship, while MacLean and Burgess were natural born British citizens. Once his involvement within espionage was confirmed, newspapers labeled Don MacLean as gay, mentally ill, a drunk, and a neglectful husband. His wife was cast as a victim of her husband’s weaknesses. MacLean represented everything British masculinity was not during the Cold War. Most importantly, MacLean was not

loyal to his country in his belief and in his actions. MacLean was a Communist, which was also incompatible with Britishness.

As the post-war years continued on, shifts in popular culture occurred in British society. The British cinema turned from highlighting World War II spies as relatable heroes to unreal specters of British nationalism. British society, as it coped with the recovery of the war, explored what it meant to be British. The early reports of espionage in British popular culture focused on spying that occurred during World War II. Odette and Violette were spies against the Germans, and the Fuchs and Rosenberg Cases focused on handing over secret plans developed during World War II. The Fuchs and Rosenberg cases were important because those cases expressed an understanding that Britain and the United States were still at war, but with a different enemy and the war would be waged in a different way. The new enemy was a former ally: the Soviet Union, but specifically Communism. Karl Fuchs and the Rosenbergs were threats because they were Communists, and therefore they could never truly be loyal citizens of Britain and the United States.

The initial breaking of the Cambridge Five case revealed traitors among British citizens, and those traitors were labeled as neither true Britons nor true men in order to explain how a British citizen could betray his country. The more salacious details also revealed that people were interested in espionage both with fear and with great curiosity. Whereas the media had originally only reported on the politics of accused spies, as they had with Klaus Fuchs’s Communist beliefs, by the time the newspapers reported on the Burgess and Maclean case, they also reported the scandalous rumors surrounding their sexuality.
Spying was accepted as the way Britain would fight the Cold War, but it was also sexy entertainment for the masses. Framed through the real-life stories of both contemporary and wartime spies, the British public also increasingly consumed espionage in popular culture, especially in fiction and film. As cases of spies within the British government broke, Britishness shifted from the World War II-era identity that included as many people as possible willing to fight for their country despite differences, to a new Cold War nationalism based on loyalty to Britain and its ideals. Communist sympathizers could not truly be British, nor could homosexuals. Most importantly, British people demanded more salacious accounts of espionage. Real life was not enough anymore, the British people demanded fantasy.
CHAPTER III - STRANGER THAN FICTION: JAMES BOND, FANTASY, AND LITERATURE

Real-life espionage stories showed the British public had an appetite for accounts of espionage and the more salacious the better. As newspaper coverage of spies became increasingly prurient, spy fiction also increasingly reflected Britons’ desires to consume more turpitude and drama in espionage narratives. In 1953, Ian Fleming attempted to come to terms with the monotony of his life by creating his own fictional world of perpetual sex, luxury, and adventure.\(^76\) Fleming introduced his protagonist, James Bond, in a haze of stale cigarette smoke and sweat, walking away from a table of men gambling away millions in a high stakes casino in the novel _Casino Royale_. As Bond walked away, he said he knew when he was at the point of exhaustion that created mistakes, and James Bond never made mistakes.\(^77\) Fleming created a man full of certainty with access to everything from women to money. Though James Bond was a spy, the novels were truly about luxury and sex. The James Bond novels occurred during continued rationing and economic uncertainty; therefore, Bond was the ultimate fantasy. The fantasy of James Bond drew on hyper-sexuality, hyper-masculinity, and extreme nationalism and wealth. James Bond was not the only spy in literature at this moment; however, Desmond Cory and John Le Carré shaped their spy characters in response to the Bond phenomenon, demonstrating that the presence of Bond profoundly impacted the genre of spy fiction.

\(^77\) Ian Fleming, _Casino Royale_ (Las Vegas, NV: Thomas and Mercer, 2012), 1, Kindle ebook.
James Bond represented the tensions around the state of the empire and in gender roles as Britain coped with the loss of its empire and recovery from World War II. Bond represented pro-imperialism with the ease of which he traveled through British colonial holdings, and he represented a gender identity built on British commodities as demonstrated by Bond’s clothes, cigarettes, and cars. The spies and worlds created by prominent authors Desmond Cory and John Le Carré represented, respectively, an embrace and rejection of the excess Bond represented once Ian Fleming’s novels peaked in popularity. Desmond Cory embraced Bond and adapted Johnny Fedora to be more like Bond and marketed his novels as “the thinking man’s James Bond.” John Le Carré pushed back against the Bond fantasy. His spy, George Smiley, was a henpecked pencil-pusher from the middle class. Fleming had an impact on literature, and his creation was powerful because, in the moment when Britain demanded more salacious stories, James Bond was a fantasy where any outrageous story was possible. Bond could and did have sex with any woman he wanted, he had access to outrageous amount of money, and Bond drank expensive alcohol while eating expensive food.

In a 1966 interview, John Le Carré criticized James Bond as being part of an imaginary world and "nothing but a male fantasy." While this is true, the male fantasy is an important aspect of Graham Dawson's soldier hero theory. Graham Dawson uses Kleinenian psychological theory to demonstrate the importance of fantasy in the construction of gender identity, in which a boy uses imagined markers to distinguish

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himself from one trait or another. Fantasy, then, was important for supplying gendered traits. Simon Winder’s story about seeing the James Bond movies as a ten-year-old boy demonstrated how Bond influenced one individual’s gender identity. Winder was enchanted by the Bond movie and went on to consume every piece of James Bond media he could get his hands on. As an adult, Winder excitedly shared the same Bond movie with his own children because the film had such an impact on his own childhood. The James Bond fantasy had a profound impact on Winder’s own gender development and shaped how he viewed British men.

Graham Dawson used the example of the adventure of T. E. Lawrence and the experiences of boyhood play to demonstrate this fact. James Bond met the same requirements as T. E. Lawrence as a male fantasy that leads to constructed gender identities, demonstrating that certain cultural artifacts are influential in the creation of gendered identities. When Ian Fleming created James Bond, he not only created a character, but he also created an entire world with closely defined gender roles and global British superiority. James Bond being “nothing but a male fantasy” is the reason for his cultural importance. Bond as the fantasy of the Cold War hero led to the creation of a British Cold War masculinity. Most importantly, Bond’s masculinity was not simply an identity, Ian Fleming also managed to commodify the image and the fantasy of James Bond and that commodity was then exported abroad through James Bond merchandise.

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79 Graham Dawson explores the psychology of boyhood play and gender development in chapters nine and ten of his book Soldier Heroes. Dawson offers a psychological approach to gendered historical analysis.

80 Winder, The Man Who Saved Britain, xi.

81 Dawson, Soldier Heroes, page 43.
and films. While Bond may not have represented Le Carré’s masculinity, the Bond novels were popular enough to have created a new soldier hero in British masculinity. The moment was brief, but it was profoundly important because it was exported abroad and influential elsewhere.

Literature is analyzed two ways by historians and literary critics: the intent of the author, and how readers interpret the literature. The authors, Desmond Cory, Ian Fleming, John Le Carré, were all products of a society shifting from World War II to the Cold War, a society that was coping with the creation of the Welfare State, a society that was dealing with an identity crisis created by the collapse of the empire.

The British spy novels built on popular British fiction genres of mystery and suspense novels, but they were also heavily influenced by real-life incidents such as the Cambridge Five incident. Concurrent to the fall of the empire, Britain also experienced social and political shifts. In the early 1950s, the British government changed hands from the Labour Party to the Conservative Party. The Labour Party formed a government from 1945-1951, and participated in the wartime coalition during World War II. During the party’s tenure, the National Health Act was passed, leading to universal healthcare throughout Britain. Political and social historians have extensively documented the changes to the political and social landscape of Britain and the impact of these changes on British national identity, but these events also had a cultural impact. As politics shifted from the progressive Labour party to the traditional Conservative party, many Britons looked back on the British Empire nostalgically.82 What it meant to be a Briton and what

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it meant to be a British man changed. The romanticization of the empire and desire for escapist fiction led to the establishment of James Bond as the Cold War British hero.

Ian Fleming and James Bond: Creating a Fantasy

In 1964, Ian Fleming gave an interview to the American gentleman’s magazine *Playboy*. It would prove to be one of the last interviews Fleming gave before his death in August of that year. In the interview, Fleming opened up about his personal life, the creation of James Bond, and what James Bond meant to him as a British man. In this interview, Fleming discussed his background and the inspiration for the Bond series. Fleming was born in 1908 to a privileged family, and he received an education with the intention to someday join the military as a professional soldier. However, Fleming did not complete his term at the Royal Military Academy and left without a commission; he attended Eton from 1925 to 1927. Fleming claimed that he did not approve of the mechanization of the military and refused to be a “glorified industrial worker.”

During World War II, Fleming served as a naval intelligence officer, and James Bond was largely based on Fleming’s experiences during the war. Ian Fleming did not approve of the mechanization of the military as a result of his very traditional image of a soldier (Fleming’s own “soldier-hero” complex). For Fleming, a real soldier and a real man was trained as a soldier and did not work merely as an industrial worker, regardless of the service he provided for his country. Fleming’s view of masculinity was strictly that of a man who idealized soldiering, a view that was common among British men of the

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time. James Bond was written to embody the type of soldier that Fleming thought was needed for the Cold War. Bond was not an industrial worker; he was a trained killer who excelled in combat. Bond exchanged the traditional military uniform for a tuxedo and his rifle for a more easily concealed handgun. Bond was the new superior soldier and definition of masculinity, but, most profoundly, Bond’s adventures were brimming with sexual and financial excess that became important to the series. Fleming’s creation symbolized everything the average British man could not have in the post-war British economy. James Bond’s appeal was that he was a fantasy.

Ian Fleming described his relationship with James Bond as a love-hate relationship in his _Playboy_ interview. The aged author admitted that James Bond would have made a terrible spy, but Fleming did not write James Bond to be a spy. Fleming created the new British man and hero by creating a British spy who was elaborately garish with money, women, and patriotism. Fleming intended upon accuracy in the beginning, with James Bond’s name chosen from a book written by American ornithologist, James Bond. Fleming chose the name because it was flat and boring. Bond’s boring name was the only real attempt at accuracy on Fleming’s part of making Bond a spy. Fleming created a character that embodied the fantasy of British masculinity during the Cold War, and James Bond became a cultural icon as a result.

What elements of British culture and masculinity did James Bond exhibit within the novels? Physically, Vesper Lynd in _Casino Royale_ described Bond as simply tall,
dark, and handsome, but with a “cruel mouth.” According to Ian Fleming, Bond physically resembled the American singer Hoagy Carmichael. Fleming, having fought the Nazis in World War II, intentionally avoided the Aryan characteristics so beloved by Nazi Germany. Bond’s physical description was intentionally uninspired; Fleming wanted to capture the fantasy that the everyday man could be extraordinary. Bond was physically relatable, thus making him as internationally appealing as a British gentleman.

Gender identities did not develop within a vacuum with these novels. In order for James Bond’s masculinity to be noticeable, Fleming also developed a specific vision of femininity to contrast with Bond’s masculinity. Women in the James Bond books, though, were noticeably flat, boring, and totally without personality. The only two female characters with strong personalities were Vesper Lynd (a villain) and Miss Moneypenny. Vesper was equally deadly as Bond, but her weakness as a woman leads to her own suicide when she allowed herself to be forced to spy for the Soviets. Though Vesper had more character development, Fleming still hyper-sexualized her, as he did most women in the books. Fleming described one of Vesper’s meetings with Bond in *Casino Royale*,

He had remembered her beauty exactly. He was not surprised to be thrilled by it again.

Her dress was of black velvet, simple and yet with the touch of splendour that only half a dozen couturiers in the world can achieve. There was a thin necklace of diamonds at her throat and a diamond clip in the low vee which just exposed the jutting swell of her breasts. She carried a plain black evening bag, a flat object which she held, her arm akimbo, at her waist. Her jet black hair hung straight and simple to the final inward curl below the chin. She looked quite superb and Bond’s heart lifted.  

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88 Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 49.
Fleming intentionally focuses mostly on Vesper’s physical appearance and standard beauty because women in the Bond books were exclusively meant as sex objects. Even Vesper, a fellow agent meant as an equal to Bond was hyper-sexualized.

“M” was the leader of the British government’s spy agency, MI6, and Miss Moneypenny, M’s secretary, had a special place in the Bond universe. Fleming described her in a similar way to Vesper, by focusing largely on her appearance, beauty, and sexuality, but Miss Moneypenny’s sexuality was developed differently from most of the women within the Bond universe. In *Casino Royale*, Fleming remarked, “Miss Moneypenny would have been desirable but for eyes which were cool and direct and quizzical.”\(^8^9\) Moneypenny’s sexuality was hindered by her intelligence. The special agents did not find her sexual because she knew too much. Both Vesper and Moneypenny were reflective of a new wave within the women’s rights movement that emphasized sexual liberation. The rise of a new conservatism strongly criticized the hyper-sexualized female characters of the Bond stories.

Bond’s masculinity was intrinsically tied to his weapon. In *Dr. No*, the MI6 armurer, Major Boothroyd, emasculated Bond by mocking his weapon of choice. Bond originally carried a Beretta .25, but Bond’s boss, M, changes Bond’s gun after an exchange with Major Boothroyd:

‘Morning, Armourer. Now I want to ask you some questions.’ M’s voice was casual. ‘First of all, what do you think of the Beretta, the .25?’ ‘Ladies’ gun, sir.’ M. raised ironic eyebrows at Bond. Bond smiled thinly. ‘Really! And why do you say that?’ ‘No stopping power, sir. But it’s easy to operate. A bit fancy looking too, if you know what I mean, sir. Appeals to the ladies.’

\(^8^9\) Fleming, *Casino Royale*, 17.
'How would it be with a silencer?'
'Still less stopping power, sir. And I don’t like silencers. They’re heavy and get stuck in your clothing when you’re in a hurry. I wouldn’t recommend anyone to try a combination like that, sir. Not if they were meaning business.'

In the exchange, the armourer labeled Bond a “lady” for his choice in weaponry the weapon was imperative to Bond’s masculinity. Bond took the armourer’s recommendation and went with a heavier gun. Simply put, knowledge of weapons was part of Bond’s masculinity as a soldier, and the exchange exemplified the necessity. Bond decided to carry a larger gun with more widely available ammunition. Bond’s masculinity was not challenged due to the size of his gun, but his masculinity was challenged due to his ignorance of the quality of weapons. The situation was not simply an instance of bigger the gun, bigger the man, but an example of the best man could be torn down as a poor soldier if he did not have the proper knowledge of weapons.

Indulgent alcohol consumption in the Bond books also played a big part in the construction of British masculinity as encouraging indulgence during the post-war years. Throughout the Bond books, male characters participate in social drinking. Bond’s signature cocktail, the martini, is an American creation, but Bond’s preference of a vodka martini demonstrated Bond’s sophistication. Bond preferred an English drink, traditionally made with English gin, but with Russian vodka. Through Bond’s drink preference, he demonstrated the adaptability of British culture and masculinity. The martini was remarked as being “quite strong” and dry, a very masculine drink with an

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international twist. Though Bond never backed away from indulging in a cocktail, he rarely drank to intoxication, indicative of restraint, another aspect of British masculinity.

While James Bond and all the respectable agents of MI6 demonstrated restraint, enemies often demonstrated lack of restraint. In *From Russia with Love*, Bond’s potential executioner, Donovan Grant, was a crazed madman, but Fleming makes a point to also describe Grant’s severe drinking problem. Alcohol was not the only vice that required restraint; British men were also to exhibit restraint in their desires for women. In *Dr. No*, Bond remarks critically of Dr. Strangeways’s disappearance as perhaps he was carried away with a relationship with his secretary and disappeared with the woman. Bond was critical of this relationship because the consequences had the potential to inflict harm on MI6. Lack of control with women was also a trait of many Bond villains. In *Casino Royale*, Le Chiffre was known for his inability to control the women who worked in the many brothels that he owned.

Bond also met with tragedy in the one instance where he grew too emotional as well. In *Casino Royale*, Bond’s weakness for beautiful women was revealed through the betrayal of Vesper that nearly cost him his life. Once the villain of the plot, Le Chiffre, was killed for losing too much money for the Russian agency SMERSH, Bond was badly injured and tortured by the Russians. During his recuperation, Bond fell deeply in love with Vesper Lynd and considered leaving Her Majesty’s Secret Service and running

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93 Fleming, *Dr. No*, 24.
away with her.\textsuperscript{95} Vesper, though, acted as the unwilling double agent for SMERSH, and as a result of the information that she fed the Soviets, Bond nearly died and Vesper committed suicide. Vesper represented Bond’s greatest weakness: women and emotional ties. The moment that Bond did not control his emotions, did not restrain himself, and let his guard down, it nearly cost him his life and the security of MI6. Bond’s great moment of weakness asserted the importance of restraint within British masculinity. Restraint and control were common themes of British masculinity. Sonya Rose mentions the same qualities in British masculinities of World War II, but Ian Fleming reinterpreted the theme of restraint for the Cold War, and he found a place for an old concept within a new gender identity.\textsuperscript{96}

British masculinity as articulated by James Bond also greatly relied upon success and money. In the books, Bond and all the MI6 agents perpetually had plenty of money. Even in \textit{Casino Royale}, when Bond gambled away millions of francs in Monaco, he never ran out of money, and he always won his lost funds back.\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Live and Let Die} opened with a description of mass luxury: “From the moment the B.O.A.C. Stratocruiser taxied up to the International Air Terminal at Idlewild, James Bond was treated like royalty.”\textsuperscript{98} In \textit{Dr. No}, the villain Strangeways lived among the wealthiest British people in Jamaica.\textsuperscript{99} In Fleming’s world of James Bond, wealth and power was intrinsic to British masculinity, and the flaunting of wealth was also a large part of being a man.

\textsuperscript{95} Fleming, \textit{Casino Royale}, 138.  
\textsuperscript{96} Rose, \textit{Which People’s War}, 151.  
\textsuperscript{97} Fleming, \textit{Casino Royale}, 2.  
\textsuperscript{98} Fleming, \textit{Live and Let Die}, 1.  
\textsuperscript{99} Fleming, \textit{Dr. No}, 2.
during a time of austerity in British society. Wendy Webster emphasizes the importance of material goods to British society when material goods grew scarce, and James Bond embodied the cultural attraction of massive consumerism\textsuperscript{100}.

The validation of male peers made male-male relationships intrinsic to Bond’s masculinity and the interpretation of that masculinity into British culture. In the Bond books, men with military backgrounds were viewed much more masculine than men without. M, especially, was very critical of men without military backgrounds as somehow lacking an important aspect of masculinity. In \textit{Dr. No}, M remarked that his chauffeur always tended to his passenger before taking care of his own needs. M remarks that “he’d always see the men right first” and “they didn’t come like that anymore.”\textsuperscript{101} M’s judgement of a man was through the lens of the military, where soldiers watched out for other soldiers. The mark of a real man was military service. Strangeways’s male friends were all veterans, and Bond’s relationship with M was indicative of a military man and a superior. Male relationships were rarely competitive if the friendship was built on a base of military service.

James Bond also reflected the rising popularity of British brands. Fleming gave Bond a preference for British brands of everything from cigarettes to cars. In his \textit{Playboy} interview, Fleming mentioned Bond’s preference for certain brands was the result of two factors: Fleming’s own personal taste and the desire to portray British goods as superior. Bond smoked gold-ring"d cigarettes of Balkan and Turkish tobacco mixed for Bond by

\textsuperscript{100} Webster, \textit{Imagining Home}, 67.
\textsuperscript{101} Fleming, \textit{Dr. No}, 12.
Morland’s of Grosvenor Street.\textsuperscript{102} The tobacco in the cigarettes was a reference to the tobacco trade that was profitable to British trade at the height of the British Empire, and the fact that the cigarettes were made specifically for Bond by a London-based company was reflective of the importance of British culture to the Bond books. Ian Fleming said in the \textit{Playboy} interview that, though Bond’s preference in cigarettes made him a terrible spy, Bond’s representation of British culture was more important to Fleming than his skill as a spy. Bond’s loyalty to British goods and British culture were representative of Bond’s loyalty to Britain over-all. Loyalty was an important aspect of British nationalism and British masculinity. Bond was more of a vehicle of British culture and masculinity than an agent of espionage.\textsuperscript{103}

Bond’s preference in cars was also distinctly British. Ian Fleming gave Bond a Mark II Continental Bentley in \textit{Moonraker}. In \textit{Goldfinger}, James Bond drove the recognizable Aston Martin that became iconic of the Bond image. Fleming’s vehicle choice was a reflection of his own love for British cars. Fleming believed that British automobiles were superior to other cars, and Bond, in this sense, was a reflection of Fleming’s taste. As a result, British cars increased in popularity across the world, thus further associating British culture with unattainable goals of money and success. Bond’s taste in vehicles also reflected his own masculinity. Bond preferred fast cars with sex appeal that were British-made. Through Bond’s own taste, British goods became intrinsic

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{102} Ian Fleming, \textit{Playboy} Interview, 100. \textsuperscript{103} IBID}
to British masculinity. The increase in popularity of those goods was indicative of the spread of British culture and the establishment of a cultural empire.\textsuperscript{104}

One of the most important aspects of Bond’s character was his patriotism. Fleming’s Bond had no loyalty to any person, especially after his betrayal by Vesper in \textit{Casino Royale}, but Bond always maintained a loyalty to Britain and the British Empire. Fleming called Bond’s loyalty and courage as two of his “few perceptible virtues.”\textsuperscript{105} Bond was not a political man; all he knew was a genuine love for his country. Bond’s loyalty to his national service only wavered once in his tryst with Vesper, and his disloyalty nearly cost him his life. Bond’s nationalism was an example of Dawson’s soldier-hero complex, as articulated in the Cold War. Bond was the typical British hero with a great love for the British Empire, and his love for the empire was directly connected to Bond’s masculinity.\textsuperscript{106} British masculinity was intrinsically tied to British nationalism, and during the Cold War, Bond represented a new wave in British nationalism that placed Britain as an important actor in Cold War politics. Though Britain’s nationalism waned during the post-war years, Bond exemplified a revival in British confidence.

Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, James Bond captured a nationalistic moment in British culture. Once the Bond movies were released, Ian Fleming’s hero launched a global phenomenon with very little to compare. James Bond was no longer simply a British hero; he became the hero of the West during the Cold War. His image

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{104} IBID
\textsuperscript{105} Fleming, \textit{Playboy Interview}, 101.
\textsuperscript{106} Dawson, \textit{Soldier Heroes}, 233.
\end{quote}
was adapted to American audiences, and the Soviet Union created characters that were counter to Bond’s image. The next chapter explores the James Bond movies and their impact, as Bond became a global phenomenon.

Desmond Cory and Johnny Fedora: Embracing Bond and Imperial Nostalgia

Fleming was not the only author of espionage fiction in this era. Desmond Cory’s fictional spy, Johnny Fedora, better captured the cultural environment of World War II than the Cold War. Once the James Bond series surpassed Cory’s own works in popularity, Cory’s characters and writing styles changed with the popularity of the James Bond franchise. Though Cory’s novels never reached the mass popularity of those of Ian Fleming or John Le Carré, the differences and similarities between the three authors reveal changing cultural attitudes towards gender and empire during the shift from World War II into the Cold War.

Sources regarding Desmond Cory’s background were scarce beyond his own mentions in the author biographies in his novels. The name “Desmond Cory” was the nom de plume for Shaun McCarthy. Cory was born in Lancing, Sussex in 1928, and he served as a commando in the Royal Marines during World War II. His background was not unlike the backgrounds of both Ian Fleming and John Le Carré, except that Cory did not serve in intelligence in any capacity. Cory’s early novels tended to reflect his World War II experiences through the construction of Johnny Fedora’s character and in the creation of Johnny’s enemies. These novels feature Fedora facing off against ex-Nazi spies attempting to engender a new Nazi movement outside of Germany. However, the

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series changed as Cory began to market himself in the 1960s as the “intellectuel’s James Bond,” showing obvious deference to the popularity of the James Bond series.

Much like Ian Fleming, Desmond Cory was very well educated. Immediately after World War II, Cory enrolled in St. Peter’s College, Oxford, where he studied English literature, graduating with honors in 1951. Cory’s education background and eventual career choice separated him from other espionage authors, and the difference is reflected in Cory’s writing style. While Le Carré and Fleming drew upon their own military careers, Cory designed his hero based on other figures important to popular English literature, such as Sherlock Holmes. Cory completed his Ph.D. at the University of Cardiff, in Wales, and he then pursued an academic and literary career. Cory traveled extensively throughout his career as an academic. In 1953, he settled for an extended period in Spain. He initially taught at the University of Cardiff but would go on to teach at several other universities and to serve as an advisor to the Ministry of Education.

While Ian Fleming focused on building an image of James Bond and the world that James Bond occupied, Cory focused on pushing the plot of the novel. Ian Fleming and John Le Carré did not simply tell stories; they built worlds and societies within their novels that reflected their own criticisms and praises of British society and politics. Desmond Cory’s characters contained little social commentary because Desmond Cory did not participate in the literary act of world building.

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108 McCarthy, interview, Ostara Publishing.
Desmond Cory had a degree in English literature, and he often compared Johnny Fedora’s adventures to other British literary characters. Critics described Johnny Fedora as the “thinking man’s James Bond,” and Cory’s novels focused heavily on the intellectual elements of espionage by portraying Johnny reasoning his way out of tough situations rather than on action and romance. The Johnny Fedora novels read much like mysteries and crime novels rather than the highly glamorized James Bond novels.  

Johnny’s background demonstrated the increased inclusiveness of British identity during World War II, but his lack of a familial connection with the British Empire meant he was not a relatable British hero during the Cold War. Johnny was born of an Irish Mother and a Spanish Father. Fedora’s parents were involved with the Irish Republican Army and with the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. As a result, the enemies of the Republicans killed his parents when Johnny was a child. Therefore, like Bond, Johnny Fedora was an orphan. Johnny was driven throughout the whole series by the desire to avenge his parents’ death, while James Bond was driven through simple patriotism. 

Johnny’s patriotism for Britain, specifically, was important because it showed that he identified with Britain despite not being born to British parents. Johnny had every reason to share in Spanish or Irish patriotism as a connection with his biological parents, but Johnny identified as British and fought for Britain. Johnny was also very well-traveled; he lived extensively in the United States, and parts of American culture were

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109 McCarthy, interview, Ostara Publishing.
important to Johnny’s character; for example, Johnny’s ability to play jazz piano, a skill he learned while living in Chicago, became pivotal to the plots of several novels, specifically *Undertow* and *The Secret Ministry*.\(^{111}\) Johnny’s international origins contrasted with the distinctly British origins of James Bond. Johnny deeply identified with American, Spanish, and Irish culture, but chose Britain for his loyalty. While Johnny may have identified with Britain, the British public did not see Britain in Johnny.

In the novel, *The Secret Ministry*, Cory avoids directly describing Johnny’s appearance. In the book, Johnny’s boss, Jimmy, remarks on Johnny’s accent by saying “Curious accent old Johnny had… American tough-guy slang that always seemed about to slip into a brogue, and yet never did.”\(^{112}\) In the same novel, Johnny’s appearance is described in the very beginning of the novel as “A tall, thin man, with a cadaverous face and the mournful eyes of a spaniel.”\(^{113}\) Johnny’s appearance, when remarked upon, is often described as mournful, or sad, like Johnny was a tragic character doomed to a life of espionage. Johnny Fedora stood in stark contrast to James Bond, who kept his good looks and reveled in his espionage work. Fedora’s description also reinforced the idea that Fedora was not quite British, as contrasted with Bond’s distinct Britishness.

Johnny’s appearance is not pivotal to his character (unlike James Bond’s dashing good looks), which is obvious by the fact that Johnny Fedora changes his appearance by plastic surgery.\(^{114}\) In the Fedora novels, Johnny’s ability to physically fit in almost

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\(^{111}\) Cory, *Undertow*, Chapter Three: Murray, kindle ebook.

\(^{112}\) Cory, *Secret Ministry*, Chapter Two: The Men From the Ministry, kindle ebook.

\(^{113}\) Cory, *Secret Ministry*, Chapter Two: The Men From the Ministry, kindle ebook.

\(^{114}\) Desmond Cory, *This Traiter Death*, (London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1952), kindle ebook, Chapter Three: Murray.
anywhere is a tool that he utilized to fight against the Nazis and the Soviets. Johnny is not British because he embodies specific physical British qualities, he was considered British based on his birth and his commitment to fighting for Britain.

In the Johnny Fedora novels, Johnny does not fight for queen and country; he fights for vengeance and money. British Secret Services did not employ Johnny directly. Instead, he was contracted into his jobs. Johnny was paid handsomely for his work, and the money was Johnny’s main motivating factor. At the end of Secret Ministry, Johnny narrowly alluded death and solved the case he worked. When he reported to his boss, the man urged Johnny to take a break, which Johnny refused. He refused to quit because Johnny’s actions were fueled by his desire for vengeance.115 The Johnny Fedora novels, perhaps, shied away from hyper-nationalistic elements due to their enemy in the beginning of the series: Nazis, who were a racialized nationalistic party. The Johnny Fedora novels did not contain traces of nationalism until the later series when Johnny matches wits with Soviet spies. At this point, though, Desmond Cory was not only drawing on current events within British media, but he was also drawing on the success of the James Bond novels. Johnny Fedora only cared about the empire when caring about the empire was a popular public sentiment.

The women in Cory’s novels initially reflected the femininity idealized during and immediately after World War II. The women of McCarthy’s novels were strong, capable, independent, and often assertive career women rather than sex objects. Le Rossignol in This Traitor, Death — Hitler’s beautiful and highly accomplished spy—

115 Cory, Secret Ministry, 159.
nearly killed Johnny Fedora until a female character rescued him. Women were often equal to Johnny’s skill and prowess; in *Secret Ministry* Davida helped Johnny search for the Nazi spy, and she was portrayed as being just as smart, if not smarter than, Johnny Fedora. She helped Johnny gain information throughout the story once he encountered her at a local blues club. In *This Traitor, Death*, another woman, Marie-Andree, assisted accused Nazi Antoine in his escape from charges of espionage. Marie was a reporter, and while she was described as attractive, McCarthy focuses more on her skill as a reporter and her necessary role in the success of Antoine’s escape and in aiding Johnny. Unlike the Bond novels published after Cory’s books, women in the Desmond Cory novels were strong, well-developed characters. In the Bond books, women existed purely as sex objects to be acted upon by Bond. In *From Russia with Love*, the description of the Russian spy Tania focused more on her lithe, youthful, beautiful body and her stunning face. The first time Bond met Tania, she offered herself to him sexually, and Fleming described Bond as “feeling his body losing control.” Tania’s role in the book was merely as a sex toy for James Bond rather than developing any personality or plot of her own. Once Bond reached popularity, though, the women characters in the Cory novels changed. Cory used more sexual language to describe them.

The Johnny Fedora novels are odd, though, in that they embody very little description of gender dynamics at the time when compared to the James Bond novels that Ian Fleming produced much later. Johnny was created during a time when gender dynamics were more fluid as a result of changes in women’s roles during World War II.

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116 Cory, *This Traitor Death*, Chapter Two, kindle ebook.
117 Fleming, *From Russia With Love*, 183.
As women took on more roles in factories and took jobs outside of the home, gender roles became more ambiguous due to women performing what was classically characterized as men’s work. These roles extended into the immediate post-war years, but historical events such as the election of the Conservative party and the Queen’s coronation heralded a return to stricter gender roles.\textsuperscript{118}

However, in the novels featuring Feramontov and the Soviet Union, McCarthy’s female characters were more sexualized. In \textit{Undertow}, Feramontov surveys his female lab assistant, and Cory uses highly sexualized language to describe the young woman. In the later novels, Cory’s female characters exude more sexuality, but the characters do maintain their importance to the story, and they continue to be portrayed as strong, independent women.\textsuperscript{119} The shift between the female characters in Johnny Fedora’s books was indicative of changing gender roles during the post-war years and of the effect of the popular success of James Bond. The British public was attracted to the sexualization of women, and Cory changed his characters as a result of Bond’s success with more sexual women.

Much like James Bond, Johnny Fedora smokes tremendously. Throughout all of the Fedora novels, though, smoking was not a gendered activity. In the Johnny Fedora novels, nearly all the characters smoke, and Johnny does not have a preferred brand of cigarettes. He also routinely offers cigarettes to female characters in a gentlemanly way. Often, Johnny makes this gesture to connect with a woman in order to interview her. In the Johnny Fedora novels, women smoke just as often as men, meaning, unlike in the

\textsuperscript{118} Webster, \textit{Englishness and Empire}, 92.
\textsuperscript{119} Cory, \textit{Undertow}, Loc 213 of 2494, kindle ebook.
James Bond novels, smoking was not a part of Johnny’s gender identity but more of a cultural indicator. The gendered difference in smoking occurs when Johnny offers the cigarette. Women, such as Davida in *Secret Ministry*, often smoked when anxious.\(^{120}\)

The peculiarities of Johnny’s gendered identity and the revelation of his own patriotism were revealed through McCarthy’s choice in Johnny’s reading preferences. In *Secret Ministry*, after a particularly long day, Johnny settles in with a book to relax. Johnny admitted that he was not much of a reader, but he was a particular fan of Jane Austen. McCarthy writes,

“He liked her characters, the world they lived in, the things they said. Especially he liked her women. He thought that the greatest argument against the emancipation of women was that women were no longer like that...you could go up to one of Austen’s dames and say ‘see me? I’m Johnny Fedora, one of the best men in British Intelligence. I’ve killed the Lord knows how many Germans and I’ve bust a spy ring single-handed, not to mention a blackmail gang an’ a sabotage group an’ various other things not worth mentionin’ that you won’t be able to get out of hearin’ about later. Look me over, kid, I’m hard to get.’ And what would she do? Raise an eyebrow and walk off arm-in-arm with the local curate. It wasn’t any use.”\(^{121}\)

Johnny liked Jane Austen’s women because the women were strong-willed and not easily impressed by bravado and masculine bragging. In this anecdote, Cory showed not only that he believed restraint and modesty as ideal masculine traits, but he also revealed independence and intelligence as the ideal of femininity.

Cory appears to have had little desire or comment on the state of the British man or British nationalism. Johnny often makes disparaging remarks about feeling like an

\(^{120}\) Cory, *Secret Ministry*, Chapter Three: Davida, kindle ebook.  
\(^{121}\) Cory, *Secret Ministry*, Chapter Six: Driver.
outsider in England. Johnny Fedora is an interesting paradox where he’s not quite British, not quite Irish, not quite Spanish, and not quite American. Johnny Fedora is the international man, not a British man using his Britishness to his advantage, and Johnny’s masculinity was not reliant on his national identity. Johnny does not have a particular attachment to being British, and his identity as a man was not reliant upon his love for queen and country. Ian Fleming developed the interconnectedness of Britishness and masculinity in his James Bond novels as the result of a conservative turn in British politics, the segregation of gender roles after World War II, and a renewed nostalgia for the British Empire as the empire fell.

Johnny did not pass with ease from country to country because he was British; he passed easily because he was very internationally ambiguous. At the time, nationalism was also not directly connected to British masculinity. Johnny’s identity as a man was not dependent on him identifying as a British man. Masculinity at the time was more reliant upon Johnny’s own personal understanding of the concept, and he expresses his masculinity through his habits, such as drinking. In the Bond novels, James Bond preferred a British drink with gin and American style cocktails. Prior to Bond, Johnny Fedora drank whiskey, American whiskey. His beverage of choice was the result of his time spent in Chicago, not of an interesting tie to the country he served. Restraint was also less of a part of Johnny Fedora’s character. While James Bond drank cocktail after cocktail without inebriation, Johnny often drank too much, and he often regretted his drinking habits in the morning. Much like James Bond, Johnny Fedora worked himself to
the bone. At the end of the first novel, his boss recommends that Johnny take a vacation. Johnny says he will, but it is understood that Johnny does not take vacations.\footnote{Cory, \textit{Secret Ministry}, Epilogue.}

Despite the fact that Fedora was very loyal to Britain, his definition of patriotism no longer reflected British ideas of how its citizens self-defined their national identity. As decolonization occurred, national identity turned inward, toward the metropole, and British national identity was increasingly defined racially. Fedora could not be the British hero because he was not British enough. Johnny Fedora did, though, represent the shift from World War II gender and national ideals to Cold War ideals. Fedora also demonstrated that Ian Fleming made an impact on the literary world by inciting a response from other authors.

\textbf{John Le Carré and George Smiley: Anti-Bond, Anti-Empire}

John Le Carré created his spy character as a response to the extreme fantasy that Ian Fleming had made of espionage fiction. John Le Carré, née David John Moore Cornwell, was born in 1931 in Poole, Dorset. Le Carré, like Desmond Cory, had a background in literature before beginning his professional writing career; Le Carré attended Sherborne School at the University of Berne where he studied German literature for one year. He then attended Lincoln College, Oxford where he earned a first-class honors degree in modern languages that served him well in his career in espionage. Le Carré briefly taught at Eton from 1956 to 1958, and he was a member of the British Foreign Services from 1959 to 1964. He first served as Second Secretary in the British Embassy in Bonn and then as Political Consul in Hamburg. Le Carré began his writing
career in 1961, but reached literary fame in 1964 with his third George Smiley novel, *The Spy who Came in From the Cold*. By the time John Le Carré came to prominence, the James Bond phenomenon was well established, but Le Carré represents a response to the impact Bond had on British culture.

Le Carré’s career with MI6 greatly influenced his creation of the George Smiley character much in the way that Ian Fleming’s career as a spy during World War II influenced the creation of James Bond. These two men’s experiences, though, led to the creation of two very different spies. John Le Carré had the career that Ian Fleming imagined for his James Bond character, but Le Carré’s response to his own services more resembled the “British grit” of Desmond Cory’s novels. This was due to Le Carré’s view of espionage work and politics writ large. Based on his own experiences, Le Carré viewed espionage as dirty work with little glitz and glamour. It was a career surrounded by deception, violence, and death. Espionage destroyed both innocent and guilty men, and Le Carré created a character that would best embody this perspective. Fleming’s stories were about a super spy who was the epitome of the British man, the soldier hero, and the romantic woman’s man, and Le Carré presented what he considered a more realistic character.

George Smiley was no hero. In most of the early books, Smiley found himself repulsive, and the spy despised his career. As a man deeply critical of conservative politics and a man who critiqued the romanticization of the British Empire, John Le Carré was not creating a British hero; he wanted to force Britain to come to terms with the dirtier aspects of British nationalism. John Le Carré’s novels and the character of George Smiley was a direct response to the popularity of James Bond, an open criticism of
British Nationalism and hyper-masculinity, and led the way for a new, anti-Bond movement. Smiley, while popular, never made the cultural impact that James Bond did. Films based on the Smiley novels came much later, at a different cultural moment for Britain, and popular culture contained fewer references to Smiley than they did of James Bond. Smiley was not excessive, therefore, he was not as popular. George Smiley represented a response to James Bond, not the creation of a new cultural icon.

Le Carré discussed the idea that George Smiley was the anti-James Bond in an interview in 1966. Five years after the first George Smiley novel was published, John Le Carré claims that the comments around George Smiley being an anti-Bond or an anti-hero were attributed long after the publication of his works by the British media. Le Carré may not have written Smiley to be in the anti-Bond, but the British public interpreted the character in that way. Le Carré wrote what he knew from his own experiences; he based George Smiley and his plots on his own observations of the world and of the events during the Cold War, especially the Cambridge Five scandal. John Le Carré based the mole in *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* on Kim Philby, and Le Carré witnessed how Kim Philby’s betrayal impacted MI5. Philby betrayed Le Carré, and was one of the reasons by Le Carré left the service. In an interview with journalist Jon Snow in 2011, Le Carré describes Philby as an in general “bad lot.”123

While Le Carré based his spy on his experiences in MI5 and MI6, he refused the description as the anti-Bond because Le Carré believed that James Bond was also based

on Ian Fleming’s own observations of the world, but Fleming’s perspective was different from Le Carré’s due to his economic background. Le Carré believed James Bond reflected a world of upper-class privilege. In physical description, George Smiley was the opposite of James Bond. Smiley was older, short, and pudgy. Smiley’s ex-wife often referred to him as “toad” based on his physical appearance.\textsuperscript{124} Smiley fell into intelligence work through his language studies at university. His advisor referred him to British intelligence once Smiley showed great proficiency in languages. George Smiley was also a married man to a rather over-bearing wife. In the novels, he was described as often quite henpecked, and his wife Ann eventually leaves him for a young Cuban man.\textsuperscript{125}

George Smiley’s prowess as a spy was not based on luck or sophisticated good looks; Smiley’s success relied on his intelligence. In \textit{Call for the Dead}, he quickly realized that a man had invaded his home, and to escape the situation, Smiley posed as a delivery boy. In later novels, when George Smiley played a supportive role, he acted as a controller, or a puppet master, to the events around the main character.\textsuperscript{126} George Smiley was especially adept in interviewing people. He was able to extract information from a person in interrogation with little to no persuasion. In Le Carré’s second novel, George Smiley was described to “have the cunning of Satan and the conscience of a virgin.”\textsuperscript{127} Unlike James Bond, George Smiley grappled with the morality of his job in espionage. In

\textsuperscript{125} Le Carre, \textit{Call for the dead}, 42.
\textsuperscript{126} John Le Carre, \textit{The Spy who Came in from the Cold}, (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), ebook, Chapter Two.
the first novel, he quit his job due to the unabashed careerism that motivates many of his colleagues.

John Le Carré, who published long after Ian Fleming had achieved massive popularity for his James Bond novels, focused on espionage within the metropole, and his characters rarely left Britain, and when they did, they stayed in Western Europe. All of Le Carré’s characters were white, further exemplifying that during the Cold War, British citizenship was racialized and often excluded racial others from outside of Europe. George Smiley’s masculinity differed from James Bond and was indicative of changes that were occurring within British society. The hyper-nationalism of the 1950s was abating, and George Smiley embodied the criticisms of Britain’s participation in Cold War scuffles. While James Bond characterized a romanticization of manhood with his dashing good looks, witty one-liners, and disposable women, George Smiley was meant to be a more realistic impression of the British man. Smiley was a moral man, who strongly believed in right and wrong, and he often hated espionage for its tendency to kill innocent people.

Le Carré explains his motivations for writing espionage fiction throughout several interviews conducted following the publication of new novels and films based on Le Carré’s work. Through the theme of espionage, he attempts to represent the paradox of war: to kill for peace, to murder the individual in order to protect the collective. The George Smiley novels are more morality plays in the guise of espionage fiction focusing on the war that happens within the human mind rather than the external war between East and West. Earlier authors kept their plots grounded in the idea that communists were the enemy. Le Carré thought the Soviets were victims of politics run amok and even
attempted to visit the Soviet Union, but he was denied. Le Carré rejected Bond’s dramatic fantasy stories, and created a character ground in the gritty reality of the Cold War.\textsuperscript{128}

Conclusion

Three authors created three spies; each spy embodied the different life experiences and expectations of their authors. One of the spies, James Bond, grew to have a cultural impact well beyond Britain. Bond’s impact was not only the result of the character itself, but also how Fleming’s series approached issues of gender, class, and empire. Simply put, Bond triumphed as the premier spy character because Fedora was a relic of the World War II past and Smiley was too realistic. Ian Fleming created the cold war British hero with the creation of James Bond, and Bond succeeded as the dominant Cold War hero because he appealed to the fantasy of excess. Fleming’s spy was more about luxury than actual espionage. The Bond books were full of stories of exotic locations, beautiful women, and expensive clothes, food, and alcohol. The Bond series was a fantasy, and, according to Sean Connery, Bond’s popularity was because of the fantasy that it portrayed during a time of economic hardship in Britain.\textsuperscript{129}


CHAPTER IV – FROM LONDON WITH LOVE:

JAMES BOND AND HOLLYWOOD

An iconic scene: Honey Ryder, with sun bronzed skin and damp, bleached blonde hair, exits from the surf in a tiny white bikini. She sweetly hums a meaningless tune while analyzing two large conch shells. A man lying out of sight stirs. He is tall, dark, and handsome. In a panic, he swiftly reaches for his gun and remains alert until he sees her. The man, James Bond, drops his tense demeanor. He grins seductively and sings the next verse of Honey’s song. To Bond, Honey Ryder is no longer a threat; she is the prey.

The scene in question is one of the most culturally referenced movie scenes in modern cinema, and originates from the first James Bond film, Dr. No (1962). It is telling that the most iconic scenes from the James Bond series rarely ever feature the world-renowned spy. Quite often, iconic James Bond movie scenes actually feature women. The Bond girls have grown to be as culturally relevant as James Bond himself with the success of the Bond films.

Bond’s adaption from literature to film led to necessary changes in his character in order to appeal to an American audience. While Britain loved Bond’s luxury, travel, and patriotism, Americans were attracted to Bond’s sexuality. In the Bond movies, James Bond’s life was still very luxurious, and his sexuality was more emphasized. The films tied the glorified consumerism of the 1960s with the sexual liberation of the era.

The Americanization of Bond did not omit his British characteristics; it simply enhanced

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130 Dr. No, directed by Terence Young (1962; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2012), DVD.
characteristics that Americans found more appealing. The casting of Sean Connery also reflected an appeal to American masculine traits of rugged individualism. The tremendous marketing for the Bond series by Playboy magazine is evidence of this fact. By increasing James Bond’s sexual appeal on film, he was more appealing to the American audience by appealing to the playboy lifestyle.

Historians Jeremy Black and James Chapman both noted the changes in Bond’s sexuality in the films and the increase in violence. In the Bond films, there is more action such as the fist fight in From Russia With Love between Bond and the SPECTRE spy. The scene did not occur in the novel but was placed in the films. Bond was also far more sexual in the films than in the novels. Black draws important connections between sexuality and hero/villain complexes, but when Bond is placed within an American context, his violence and sexuality take on another meaning. Bond was not made to be hyper-sexual simply as an expression of his masculinity and heroism, but the sexuality and violence occurred exclusively in the films because the films were Hollywood produced. The violence and sexuality were added American characteristics.

The American preference for Bond as a sex figure is evident in the cultural products that associated themselves with Bond: specifically, Playboy magazine.

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134 *From Russia With Love*, directed by Terence Young (1963; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2015), DVD.


136 Streitmatter, *Sex Sells!*, 36.
American popular culture also adored the women of the Bond movies, referring to them as the Bond Girls. The women were Bond’s expression of his sexuality and, therefore, just as important as Bond himself in popular culture. Bond’s sophistication, elitism, and pro-imperial attitude made Bond appealing to the British audience, but his sexuality and tendency towards violence drew Americans to him. Bond’s sexuality came at a time when Hugh Hefner was building his own model masculine product: *Playboy* magazine. *Playboy* created a sexuality that rejected traditional values of sex within marriage, but also embraced consumerism and traditional views of success as the key to sex.  

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Broccoli wanted someone who appealed to both British and American audiences.\textsuperscript{140} The films changed Bond’s character to be grittier, more easy-going, and far more sexual. In Fleming’s last interview with \textit{Playboy} magazine, Fleming lamented that James Bond was not a very good person. He described Bond’s only redeemable qualities were that he was “patriotic and brave.”\textsuperscript{141} As Hollywood changed Bond, Fleming grew increasingly out of love with his own creation. For Ian Fleming, James Bond became a Frankenstein’s monster: a force that he created but could not control.

Saltzman and Broccoli had many ideas for casting James Bond in the films. Ian Fleming’s preference was difficult to locate. Biographers, historians, and film enthusiasts all suggest different actors for the author’s choice. Originally, Saltzman and Broccoli wanted Cary Grant to play James Bond, but Grant refused to sign on for more than one film. The producers knew from the beginning that the Bond franchise would be multiple films and wanted continuity with the main casting. Other actors (all British), were considered, but the producers finally agreed on Sean Connery. He was not as suave and sophisticated as Ian Fleming envisioned, but Saltzman and Broccoli thought that Connery’s grittier persona would appeal to an American audience while still retaining British viewers.\textsuperscript{142} Fleming was not a fan of the casting, and Sean Connery grew to hate playing the character. By the 1970s, Connery feared he would be typecast as a womanizer or as a spy. In 1962, Sean Connery signed on for a minimum of six Bond films. Saltzman and Broccoli were confident that they would make a hit.\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{140} Pearson, \textit{The Life of Ian Fleming}, Introduction, Kindle ebook.
\textsuperscript{141} Fleming, \textit{Playboy}, 100.
\textsuperscript{142} Pearson, \textit{The Life of Ian Fleming}, Introduction, Kindle ebook.
\textsuperscript{143} Pearson, \textit{The Life of Ian Fleming}, Introduction, Kindle ebook.
The Bond films occupy a peculiar space in studies of film genres. Essentially, the James Bond films created a new, mixed genre. James Chapman places Bond within four different possible genres: the British imperialist spy thriller, the cliff-hanger adventure serial, the modern Hollywood action movie, and the “Bondian.” Chapman argues that, while Bond could fit into multiple genres, Broccoli and Saltzman created a new genre with the James Bond films that was later utilized by other film makers. The Bond films are a mix of American and British cinema. The films were far more sexual and violent than the novels because American audiences in the 1960s gravitated towards films with more sex and violence. Eventually these aspects became hallmarks of American cinema though the actors, writers, and producers of the Bond films were mostly British or Canadian. The Bond films were a test of putting British culture on film and convincing Americans to watch it.

Luckily, at the time, British culture in the United States exploded. The 1960s saw the height of the British invasion in music, with the popularity of bands like The Beatles and the Rolling Stones. The United States was infatuated with British culture and swinging London style, but Bond was appealing to a different demographic than The Beatles. The audience for these British bands consisted of teenage girls, the audience for James Bond largely consisted of young men in the 20s, likely getting started in their careers or in college. James Bond entered American popular culture at the perfect moment, when British culture was the height of fashion. Though the films sought to

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144 Chapman, Licence to Thrill, 15.
145 Streitmatter, Sex Sells!, 36.
146 Bill Harry, The British Invasion: How the Beatles and Other UK Bands Conquered America (Surrey, UK: Chrome Dreams, 2004), 13.
capitalize on the British Invasion and retain aspects of Britishness, many changes were also made to incorporate more American culture into the stories.

The presence of American culture is especially noticeable in the first Bond film, *Dr. No*. In the movie, when Bond switches guns from the Beretta to the Walter PMK, M mentioned that “the CIA swears by them.” In the novels, the armorer suggests the PMK and refers to the Beretta as a “woman’s gun.” In *Dr. No*, Felix Leiter, the American CIA agent, met James Bond at the airport in the Jamaica. In the novel *Dr. No*, Leiter did not even appear, and a Jamaican contact met Bond at the airport. The film also made a point to show that James Bond flew to Kingston via New York, arriving by Pan Am. While the film incorporated as much American culture as possible, James Bond did assert his authority over Felix. While discussing the case, Leiter mentioned that “limeys” were touchy over his checking for radio interference in Jamaica. Bond, in response, insisted that the case was his territory. Bond told Felix that Crab Key was his responsibility, saying “it’s my beat.” Bond essentially told Felix to let the British authorities take care of the case.\textsuperscript{147} By dismissing the American CIA agent, Bond asserted political power over his American counterpart. This moment was an assertion that Bond was a British character, and Britain played an important role in policing the world.\textsuperscript{148}

Another instance of Britain asserting its authority over American and Soviet powers occurs in the film *You Only Live Twice*. In the film, when the American spacecraft was attacked and stolen in the middle of a spacewalk, the Americans angrily

\textsuperscript{147} *Dr. No*, directed by Terence Young, DVD.  
\textsuperscript{148} For more information in the politics and James Bond, and how Cold War policy often shaped the James Bond films and novels, see Jeremy Black’s work *The Politics of James Bond*.  

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accused the Soviets of being responsible. The meeting between the Americans, British, and Soviet representatives was took place in a large conference room. The Americans sat at a desk on stage left and the Soviets sat at another desk on stage right. The British sat in the center and acted as mediator between the two super powers. The Americans, in full fiery passion, accused the Soviets of stealing their spacecraft and astronauts and called the action an “act of war.” The Soviets protested their innocence, and demanded to know why they would even want the American spacecraft, and declared the Soviet Union as a kind, and “peace-loving” country. The Britons, in the middle of the heated debate, instructed the Americans to explain what the Soviet Union would have to gain from stealing a spacecraft, and declared the Americans too hasty in their assumptions. In this case, the Britons broke with their ally and protected the Soviets from American rage. The Britons acted as the true peace keepers, and this scene demonstrates how Britain perceived her power during the Cold War. Britain was a peace-keeper without which, two hot headed superpowers would have destroyed themselves and the world.\textsuperscript{149} In response, the Americans and the Soviets put Britain in charge of finding and punishing the person responsible for the missing spacecraft. Britain became the protector of both the United States and the Soviet Union. This scene was important for what it represented. The Americans were powerful, but Britain asserted dominance over the situation. In this case, Britain would once again save the world both from SPECTRE and from the Americans and Soviets.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{149} You Only Live Twice, directed by Lewis Gilbert (1967; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2015), DVD.
\textsuperscript{150} You Only Live Twice, directed by Lewis Gilbert (1967; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2015), DVD.
While the James Bond films retained many British characteristics, the films also adapted to American culture in one obvious way: James Bond became far more sexual in the era when America was in the throes of the sexual revolution. The sexual revolution was a period of time in the 1960s that saw the increased liberation of women and a greater embrace of sex as a natural part of the human nature to be embraced. Nudity and sexuality was more explicit in popular culture, especially on stage and in film.\footnote{David Allyn, \textit{Make Love Not War: The Sexual Revolution, An Unfettered History} (New York: Routledge, 2016), 5.} The British spy wielded his sexuality as much as a weapons as he did any Beretta or PMK. In the films, sexuality was utilized in many aspects, but mostly to represent both hero and villain. Bond was practically the only man who seduced women in the series. He was a classic womanizer and completely irresistible to any person of the opposite sex. Bond’s heterosexuality marked him as a hero as much as Bambi and Thumper’s homosexuality and Dr. No’s asexuality marked them as villains.\footnote{Jeremy Black goes into great detail documenting homosexuality and asexuality in the Bond villains with his book \textit{The Politics of James Bond} in chapter six.} \footnote{Streitmatter, \textit{Sex Sells!}, 30.}

Historians and film critics have noted in the past that American films of the 1960s displayed a noted increase in both sex and violence. The Bond films were not excluded from this phenomenon. Most critics of the Bond films attacked James Bond’s overt and hyper sexuality on the screen. In the novels, Bond was a sexy character with many romantic interests, but the films played up that sexuality. The best examples of James Bond’s character adaption to be more sexual on screen were how he was introduced to audiences in the first two films.\footnote{Streitmatter, \textit{Sex Sells!}, 30.}
The first Bond film was *Dr. No* (1962). Originally, Broccoli and Saltzman wanted to begin the Bond series with *Casino Royale*, but Ian Fleming already sold the rights to the film before Saltzman and Broccoli approached him. *Dr. No* was the lowest budget Bond movie, but earned a lot of money at the box office, thus launching James Bond into a film phenomenon.\(^{154}\)

The film opened with what would become the typical Bond opening sequence. A theme song, developed by Monty Norman and performed by John Barry and an orchestra, played over footage of a man walking into the sights of a gun who then turned and fired his own weapon. The sights were awash in red. Silhouettes of scantily clad women filled the screen. The Bond theme formula reoccurred through nearly every Bond film (without considering the renewal of the franchise with Daniel Craig).\(^{155}\) The opening credits always featured the silhouettes of nude women, some with images from the film projected on them such as in *Goldfinger*. The opening credits invoke the sexuality of the films. The Bond movies were not exclusively about James Bond, but they were also about the women he chased. The Bond girls became as essential to the films as James Bond himself because they demonstrated his heterosexuality, and Bond’s sexuality contrasts with the homosexuality or asexuality of his enemies.

The opening sequence of the films referenced the heightened sexuality of the films, but another important moment also was charged with sexual tension: when the audience finally met Bond for the first time. In *Dr. No*, Bond was not the first man on the


\(^{155}\) *Dr. No*, directed by Terence Young, DVD.
screen. The film actually opened in Jamaica with the kidnap and murder of an agent simply known as Mr. Strangeway. The audience did not meet Bond until several minutes into the film. After Mr. Strangeway was killed, the film moves forward to a casino scene. In the casino, several people were gathered around at a card table playing a round of baccarat. The camera focused on a beautiful woman. She was exquisitely dressed in a red evening gown, and her long dark hair was well styled. During the game, Bond addressed Sylvia first by saying “I admire your courage, Miss…uh?” and she responds with “Trench. Sylvia Trench. I admire your luck, Mr…?” and Bond responded with what became one of the most iconic lines in cinema history: “Bond. James Bond” as he lit a cigarette. Sylvia then asked Bond if he would like to “raise the limit” with her voice full of double entendre. Bond responded with “I have no objections.” During the conversation, Bond slowly smoked the cigarette, often letting it dangle from his lips. Bond received a message in the middle of the game and he excused himself. Sylvia followed him, while commenting “it is too bad you have to go, just as things were getting interesting” with a seductive stare. Bond asked Sylvia if she “played any other games” with a glance that implied his question meant more than card games. Sylvia and Bond scheduled a rendezvous for the next day, but she later appeared in his hotel room. 156

The scene introducing James Bond was important for many reasons, but mostly because it immediately established what the audience should know about Bond: he was rich, he was a gambler, he was smoker, and he was irresistible to women. The dialogue between Sylvia and James was full of flirtation and double entendre. Bond seduced

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156 *Dr. No*, directed by Terence Young, DVD.
Sylvia with a simple introduction, and she threw herself at him as a result. Bond never had to ask women for sex. He was such a masterful lover and man that women sought him out for sex. If he implied sex, the women he encountered were more than happy to oblige. The very first time the film audience met James Bond, he was doing what he did best: seducing women.

*Dr. No*’s budget was less than a million dollars, but the film grossed six times that amount. Another Bond movie was inevitable after the first film’s runaway success.157 The next film that went into production was *From Russia With Love*. The second Bond film employed the same producers, director, and cast as the previous film. *From Russia With Love* repeated the Bond formula in the plot, but the film also revealed SPECTRE as the true villain, rather than the Soviet Union. The film also revealed, to an even greater degree, Bond’s heightened sexuality.158

The film introduced Bond to the audience in *From Russia With Love* in a similar way as *Dr. No*. The audience met the Bond girl before they met Bond. In the instance of *From Russia With Love*, the Bond girl was, once again, Sylvia Trench. Bond was obviously on a getaway from work and he lounged in a boat on a sunny day by a river with a beautiful woman. Bond and Sylvia lounged in a boat on the river. As Bond checked a bottle of wine that he chilled in the river, Sylvia seductively ran her finger along a scar on Bond’s back and inquired if it was a souvenir from another jealous woman. He replied with “yes, I’ve not turned my back on one since,” and turned to kiss Sylvia

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158 *From Russia With Love*, directed by Terence Young, DVD.
passionately. The intimate couple was then interrupted by a message for Bond from MI6. As Bond spoke on the phone with Moneypenny, he told the secretary that he would be back at the office soon. Sylvia was upset because she “hasn’t seen him in months!” Sylvia attempted to seductively unbutton Bond’s shirt until he violently slapped her hand away and told her to behave, much like a parent scolding a petulant child. Sylvia sulked until Bond relented and gave her an hour and a half. As the scene faded to black, the audience overheard Bond seductively growl at Sylvia “now…about that lunch.” In this instance, the audience first saw Bond on screen in the second film with Bond doing what he did best on film: seducing women.159

The plot of From Russia with Love was very basic. The CIA was after a device used to decode spy messages from the Soviet Union. SPECTRE used the situation as a ruse to capture and kill Bond by planting their own agent as a Soviet contact. Predictively, the plan fell apart, the Soviet plant Tatianna died, and Bond escaped.160 The movie contained even more scenes expressing Bond’s hyper-sexuality and sexual appeal than the previous film, Dr. No.

Another revealing scene that expressed Bond’s appeal to women occurred in the Roma camp where Bond arrived to gather information about getting the decoding device from the Soviet Union. Bond and his colleague were entertained with scantily clad, dancing women while the men drank. The dancer attempted to seduce Bond. After the dancing, two women were brought out of wagons and placed in a circle. The women then fight to the death for the right to marry the chief’s son. SPECTRE interrupted the

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159 From Russia With Love, directed by Terence Young, DVD.
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spectacle and the scene escalated in a bloody, fiery, violent fight scene. In the scene, Bond saved the chief’s life, and the chief declared Bond his son, and gave Bond the two fighting women as a gift of gratitude. The women, in realizing their situation, were elated. Bond chose to keep both women and both women care for his every need. In this situation, Bond was so irresistible that he seduced two women at the same time.  

The early films established Bond as the ultimate sex icon, a master of seduction, and completely irresistible to women. A later film, though, took Bond’s heightened sexuality to a new level. *Goldfinger* was released in 1964, and the film featured the appearance of one of the most notable women in the Bond series: Pussy Galore. Pussy Galore was fascinating due to her own sexuality. The film heavily implied that Pussy Galore was a lesbian. Homosexuality played an important part in the Bond series as an indicator of villainous intentions. In the Bond films, villains were often implied to be homosexual (Blofeld), explicitly homosexual (Bambi and Thumper), or asexual (Dr. No).  

Pussy Galore, played by Honor Blackman, was the “Bond Girl” for the 1964 Bond film *Goldfinger*. *Thunderball* and *Goldfinger* were released at the height of Bondmania in the 1960s. The films were projected to gain returns up to $90,000,000. The formula for the Bond films up to that point changed very little, as a matter of fact, film critics guess that the Bond formula was what made the films massively successful in the first place. The only element added was that the beginning of each film alluded to Bond’s death in some way. *Goldfinger* was the first James Bond film to win an Academy Award,  

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161 *From Russia With Love*, directed by Terence Young, DVD.
and the film opened to largely favorable reviews. The film also led to the sale of several promotional items such as model Aston-Martin cars and several magazine deals for the Bond girls in the film. The film proved to be one of the most commercially successful films in the Bond franchise and began a string of highly successful Bond films.¹⁶³

The plot of Goldfinger was more straightforward than typical Bond movies. Villain Auric Goldfinger attempted to smuggle gold and eventually taint the gold supply at Fort Knox. By ruining the gold supply at Fort Knox and rendering the gold useless for fifty years, the value of Goldfinger’s own supply of smuggled gold would increase, making him a very rich man. The criminal organization SPECTRE had little involvement in the plot of Goldfinger, but the plot of the film was one of strongest of the Bond genre. The film introduced villain Auric Goldfinger and his minion Oddjob. Pussy Galore acted as Goldfinger’s pilot.

Bond first encountered Pussy Galore on a plane after being taken captive by Goldfinger. Originally, Goldfinger wanted to kill Bond, but Bond told him that MI6 knew about his plan to taint the gold at Fort Knox. Bond offered to help Goldfinger prevent MI6’s intrusion into his plan. Goldfinger knocked out Bond with a tranquilizer, and Bond came to on the plane. The first thing Bond saw as he woke up was Pussy Galore’s face. Bond was immediately smitten, as he almost always was with beautiful women, and he asked “Who are you?” and Pussy responds with “I am Pussy Galore.” Bond then said with a grin “I must be dreaming.” Pussy then strongly asserted that her relationship with Goldfinger was exclusively professional. She told Bond that Goldfinger

kept her around because she was “a damn good pilot.” Pussy then told Bond to save the seduction because she was “immune” to his charms. Pussy Galore was also the leader of a group of exclusively women aviators called “Pussy Galore’s Flying Circus,” and the women fly for Goldfinger. Pussy Galore’s refusal of Bond’s advances, her lack of a sexual relationship with Goldfinger, and her association with an exclusively woman group led to many film critics and historians to assume that Pussy Galore was a lesbian.

Later in the film, Bond escapes Goldfinger’s grasp and the spy attempted to eavesdrop on the villain. Pussy caught Bond and overpowered him. She then turned Bond back over to Goldfinger. Pussy worked closely with Goldfinger, and he instructed Pussy to keep an eye on Bond in his absence near Fort Knox. Pussy Galore, dressed in a skintight purple jumpsuit, took Bond’s arm and suggested they “get to know each other socially.” Bond asked her where she hid her weapons, and she responded saying she did not carry weapons after work hours. Pussy and Bond go for a walk where Bond told Pussy that Goldfinger was “quite mad” and would destroy everything. In a barn, Bond solicited Pussy Galore one more time. He called her “quite a girl,” and she claimed that she was the “outdoors type of girl.” When Bond further pushed his advances, Pussy angrily said she was still not interested and turned to leave. Bond grabbed her and asked “What will it take for you to see things my way?” Pussy said “a lot more than what you’ve got.” Bond said “how do you know what I’ve got?” and Pussy responded with “I don’t want to know.” Bond asked Pussy to “grant a condemned man his last request” and in response, Pussy flipped Bond over her shoulder and onto the floor. Bond and Pussy then fought, each taking the upper hand repeatedly. The fight escalated until Bond pinned
Pussy to the floor. When Bond kissed Pussy Galore, she completely gave in to his advances. She returned Bond’s kiss passionately.

After Pussy and Bond’s roll in the hay, Pussy Galore was completely smitten with Bond and betrayed Goldfinger. She reported Goldfinger’s actions to the American Central Intelligence Agency, who replaced Goldfinger’s toxic nerve gas with a harmless substance. With his plan foiled, Goldfinger snuck on the plane with James Bond and Pussy Galore as they attempted to make their escape. Bond and Goldfinger then fought while Pussy piloted the plane. Goldfinger tried to demand that Pussy take him to Cuba, but Bond did not allow it. During the fight, Goldfinger shot a bullet in the plane’s window, destroying the window. Bond was furious over this because he warned Goldfinger not to use a gun on an airborne plane. Bond clung to a seat while Goldfinger fell out of the broken window to his death. As the plane began to crash, Bond took Pussy in his arms as they jumped from the plane with a parachute.164

Pussy Galore was the ultimate expression of the power of Bond’s sexuality. Through the power of his own sexuality, Bond “converted” Pussy from her lesbianism, convinced her to betray her boss Goldfinger, and thus saved the world. Within an American Cold War context, Pussy’s lesbianism was as problematic as her connection with the villain, Goldfinger. During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States experienced the Lavender Scare, as described by David Johnson. During the Lavender Scare, gay men and women were highly suspected of disloyalty to the United States because their closeted lives

164 Goldfinger, directed by Guy Hamilton (1964; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2012), DVD.
made them potential blackmail targets for Soviet spies.165 In the film, Pussy had to be cured of homosexuality before she could be entirely loyal to James Bond. The Lavender Scare extended into Britain, as evidenced by the difference in the perception of Klaus Fuchs in the media verses the possibly gay members of the Cambridge Five, as discussed in Chapter One. In the film *Goldfinger*, Bond’s persuasiveness with women and aggressive heterosexuality ultimately saved the world, which demonstrated how important Bond’s sexuality was to the film series in particular. While in the novels Bond did seduce women and lived the life of a playboy, the films made an expressive point to demonstrate that sexuality on screen. In the case of *Goldfinger*, Bond’s powers of seduction were pivotal to the plot.166

James Bond and Hugh Hefner: A Cultural Exchange

While the filmmakers may have made Bond’s sexuality an important element of the films, Americans were enamored with Bond as the ultimate playboy. The best example of the American embrace of Bond for both his sexuality and his marketing was found in Hugh Hefner’s *Playboy* magazine. Bond neatly fit the image that Americans were infatuated with, as demonstrated by Hugh Hefner and the media coverage of the new American President, John F. Kennedy. Americans embraced young, attractive, sophisticated men who surrounded themselves with beautiful women.167

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166 *Goldfinger*, directed by Guy Hamilton, DVD.

The connection between *Playboy* magazine and James Bond began quite early. The magazine began promoting the novels in 1960, when Ian Fleming published a James Bond short story titled “The Hildebrand Rarity” in the March 1960 *Playboy*. The magazine described Fleming’s visit to Chicago and the *Playboy* headquarters in the “Playbill” section of the magazine. The playbill was a small section at the beginning of the magazine that discussed the construction of that month’s magazine. During Ian Fleming’s visit, he mentioned that James Bond would definitely have a membership to *Playboy* if he were real, and the *Playboy* editors treated Fleming to dinner and a tour of Chicago. Specifically, Fleming wanted to see locations involved with the mafia and gangsters. At dinner, Fleming criticized American food for having too much tomato but praised American beer. Fleming held a deep respect for the United States, but he always considered Britain to be the center of the world. The aspects of American culture that did attract him often involved parts of his own novels: sex, gambling, and alcohol.

In the same month of Ian Fleming’s published short story, Jill St. John posed for *Playboy* magazine for an article that featured her fiancé, a formula one racer. Later, St. John played Tiffany Case in the 1971 James Bond film *Diamonds Are Forever*. Jill St. John became one of many *Playboy* models who later found fame on screen with James Bond, and many of the “Bond Girls” also appeared within the pages of *Playboy* magazine. The *Playboy*-James Bond connection began long before the films began production, but the films deepened that connection by film reviews and promotion.

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special edition magazines featuring the women of Bond, and interview with the men cast to play James Bond.

The international man of mystery was already a literary phenomenon in Britain, but the deep and complex relationship with Playboy magazine and Playboy’s connections with London through the Playboy Clubs indicated the blossoming of an international men’s culture that was necessary for Bond’s popularity. James Bond connected Chicago and London. Metropolitanism as a style of masculinity was growing through the pages of Playboy and other men’s magazines that diverged from the John Wayne-style frontiersman ideal. Bond provided a link between the gentleman’s culture that existed in Britain and a growing population of metropolitan men in America.

Playboy was an obvious place for Ian Fleming to which to turn for marketing and publishing. The magazine was founded in 1953 by Hugh Hefner, and it launched Hefner as an American sex icon, which propelled him into a leading figure of the sexual revolution of the 1960s. Playboy was a revolution in men’s magazines. Not only did it feature the typical nude centerfold, but it also published great literary works ranging from reprinting of Ernest Hemingway to new publications by John Steinbeck and Ian Fleming. The magazine focused on luxury brand items. Articles emphasized how to dress well, eat well, and, especially, drink well.

Historian Elizabeth Fraterrigo analyzed Playboy and the connection between American consumerism and sex during the Cold War. Fraterrigo argued that Hugh Hefner represented a different type of rebellion within American society by encouraging

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men to adhere to traditional notions of success through financial gain and the purchase of consumer goods while also rebelling against social sexual norms. In American society at the time, masculinity was in flux due to tensions around the Vietnam War and the role men played as soldiers and protestors. James Bond fit the image of the playboy figure described by Fraterrigo in her description of the American playboy.

James Bond, with his preference for English cut suits made by his tailor in London and 1953 Dom Perignon chilled to exactly 32 degrees, fit well within the pages of Playboy. Most importantly, though, the magazine emphasized the joy of sex and beautiful women. Playboy represented how sex crazed the United States was in the 1960s at the height of the sexual revolution and swinger culture. Playboy reached peak popularity in the 1960s with over seven million subscriptions to the magazine, making it one of the most-read magazines of the decade. Men who read Playboy loved James Bond, and they also loved sex.

Following Ian Fleming’s 1960 Playboy headquarters tour and short story publication in the magazine, James Bond continued to appear in Playboy quite often. In

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174 Watts, *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American*, 152.
the 1962, Ursula Andress portrayed one of the most famous Bond girls in the series, Honey Ryder. Three years later, Andress posed in the April 1976 issue of *Playboy* magazine. In her pictorial, the editor gleefully recounted his first encounter with Andress when she “emerged from the sea to win James Bond’s heart” in the film *Dr. No*. The editor credits the moment as the birth of the Bond girl and when Andress (a Swiss Actress cast because she looked the part while her lines were dubbed over by a Jamaican actress) “won the heart of America.” Ursula Andress made an impact on the editors of *Playboy*, and the time between her “emergence from the sea” and appearance within *Playboy* was filled with James Bond and *Playboy* crossover.

In 1964, Ian Fleming published a James Bond short story in *Playboy* entitled “Property of a lady.” Towards the end of Fleming’s life, he began to exclusively publish his Bond short stories in *Playboy*, and *Octopussy* was serialized in the magazine. Fleming believed that *Playboy* best reflected the spirit of James Bond, and the magazine readers loved the stories. “Property of a Lady” was published in 1964 in January, and Fleming died mere months later, right before the release of the film *Goldfinger*. Fleming got to see his creation reach international fame before he died.

1965 proved to be an immensely successful year for the Bond franchise and for *Playboy* magazine. While riding the coattails of the success of *Goldfinger*, Eon released another Bond film: *Thunderball*. The combined success of both films (returns reaching 90 million dollars) led to a huge promotional push in *Playboy* magazine. The November

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175 John Derek, photographer. *Playboy*, 1 April 1976. 112.
177 Drew Moniot, “James Bond and America in the Sixties: An Investigation of the Formula Film in Popular Culture,” 27.
issue was completely James Bond themed and featured pictorials with Bond girls and an interview with Sean Connery for the “Playboy Interview.” Connery gave the interview while on the set of *Thunderball.*

When introducing the interview, the editor described the “Bond syndrome.” As the three previous films were hugely popular, they launched everything from merchandise to knock off Bond films and tv series. When discussing Sean Connery, though, the editor made a point to mention that Connery dropped out of school at a young age to help support himself and his family. He described Connery as the “earthy sort and the common man’s man.” The editors used American language of individualism and “grit” to describe a British man, thus demonstrating the nature of Bond’s Anglo-American appeal. In the interview, Connery commented on the success of James Bond. When asked about the success of the novels, Connery commented that he believed the novels were successful because Britain needed the fantasy provided by James Bond during a time of social change and economic turmoil. Bond inhabited a world of economic excess, luxury, and sex. Bond wore the best suits, drank the best wine, ate the best food, and had access to any woman he desired. With all this, Bond was the ultimate fantasy. During the interview, Connery also expressed his immense dislike of James Bond and the fatigue he experienced while playing the spy. Connery grew weary of constantly being identified with James Bond instead of his acting career as a whole. The interview took great steps to frame Connery and and his responses around American grit

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178 Sean Connery, “The Playboy Interview,” 75.
and rugged individualism. Connery’s critiqued the British welfare state, saying that social services made British people complacent.\footnote{Sean Connery, “Playboy Interview” 75}

The November 1965 \textit{Playboy} was completely Bond themed, with a cover that featured Bond girls, an interview with Connery, and a pictorial essay by Richard Maibaum that featured all the Bond girls to date. In the opening section of “James Bond’s Girls,” the author described “Bond Syndrome” as a condition where young men want to live their lives like James Bond. He proclaimed that the syndrome took over America. The author then critiqued the novel version of James Bond and declared Sean Connery’s screen Bond as the James Bond by saying “if women glimpse Bond’s face in their dreams, they see the ski-jump nose and pouting lips, not the book-Bond’s three inch scar and thick black comma of hair falling over the right eyebrow.”\footnote{Richard Maibaum, “James Bond’s Girls,” \textit{Playboy}. November 1, 1965. 135.} Maibaum described Connery’s accent as “less than upper class” and a far cry from the cultivated accent of Eton boys. Connery struck a nerve with American men by identifying with the rugged individualism associated with American masculinity, most often portrayed by John Wayne. The images used in the pictorial consisted of original photography work and stills from the Bond films. The pictorial was entirely focused on the Bond girls and Bond’s sexual escapades. It reveals that the Bond films were more about sex than they were about espionage.

The “James Bond’s Girls” pictorial was revealing because the article captured the real reason why the Bond films were successful. American men identified with the international man of mystery. Men wanted to be Bond and women wanted to be with
Bond. The pictorial described Bond as a man with immensely good luck in gambling, immensely good taste in food and wine, and immensely well dressed, but the same pictorial also described the actor who played Bond with American characteristics. The pictorial also indicated that the film version of James Bond, created by men the author described as American (they were not. Broccoli and Saltzman were Canadian), was the superior version of James Bond. Playboy sought to Americanize Bond with every article and pictorial while also keeping Bond’s British characteristics that Americans liked. Most importantly, by leaving the largest part of the pictorial to be about the women of James Bond, the pictorial revealed Bond’s real appeal to readers of Playboy: sex.

The Bond Girl issue of Playboy was the first of many Bond promotions placed in the magazine. In 1966, Octopussy was serialized in the March and April issues of Playboy. In 1967, the film that the editors of Playboy much anticipated was released: Casino Royale. The film was a satire of the Bond film genre. In order to promote the film, Playboy published a thirteen page pictorial entitled “The girls of Casino Royale” with text by Woody Allen. The pictorial was promoted on the front page of the magazine. The text for the pictorial was humorous, and it most importantly mocked James Bond’s most noticeable (and for Playboy, most important) trait: his womanizing. Woody Allen described “drowning in flesh” when meeting the girls involved in the production. Allen then described all the different “types” of girls used for the Bond film, everyone from “Fang Girls” to “Orgy Girls.” The photos with the pictorial consisted of stills from the film and originally shot, topless photos of the actresses in the film. Allan made a point to indicate that one of the “orgy girls” was a Playboy Bunny for the London club. The film
mocked the massive amount of sex in the Bond films, but Playboy loved the film. For the average playboy, any sex is better than no sex.\footnote{Woody Allen, “The Girls of Casino Royale,” \textit{Playboy}. February 1, 1967. 109-122.}

As \textit{Playboy} incorporated as much of Bond’s world into their magazine as possible, James Bond began to return the favor. In 1969, Sean Connery briefly left the role of James Bond to pursue another project. Broccoli and Saltzman cast George Lazenby in Connery’s place, but Lazenby did not sign a contract for more than one film. He feared that playing Bond would have killed his career because he heard a rumor that the Bond film franchise was dying. Lazenby told Roger Moore later than he considered the decision to be the worst mistake of his career.\footnote{Roger Moore, \textit{My Word is My Bond} (London: Michael O’Mara Books, 2009), 212.} Lazenby played Bond for the film \textit{On Her Majesty’s Secret Service}. In this film, the James Bond films made their first nod to the \textit{Playboy} brand. In a scene in a hotel room, with Bond quietly relaxing on a couch, the audience clearly saw James Bond reading the February 1969 issue of \textit{Playboy} magazine. The cover of the magazine featured a topless Pamela Tiffin clutching a stuffed red bunny.\footnote{On Her Majesty’s Secret Service, directed by Peter R. Hunt (1969; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2000), DVD.} \textit{On Her Majesty’s Secret Service} was the first time that \textit{Playboy} was mentioned in the Bond films, but it was not the last.

In 1971, Sean Connery returned to portray Bond again in the film \textit{Diamonds Are Forever}. In the film, Bond faced diamond smugglers. During the film, Bond proudly commented to his female companion at the time that he was a key holder for the London Playboy Club. The keys to the club demonstrated that Bond was an active member of the
club because the keys were very exclusive, usually only given to wealthy or influential patrons.\textsuperscript{184} By 1971, James Bond and \textit{Playboy} cemented a strong cultural exchange where the magazine appreciated Bond’s excellent taste and sex appeal while the films mentioned the magazine when relevant. The Americanization and sexualization of James Bond was complete. Connery played Bond one more time, in the 1983 film \textit{Never Say Never Again}, but the decision was highly criticized. The film characterized a moment in the Bond films when the franchise attempted to cope with its advancing age.

Bond was part of a larger cultural exchange that happened during the Cold war between Britain and the United States. The James Bond films resonated with something deep within American culture at the time. At the same time, the young, attractive President John. F. Kennedy listed \textit{From Russia with Love} as one of his favorite books, and the Kennedys’ tastes proved to be profoundly influential on the American public.\textsuperscript{185} James Bond, and men like him such as Hugh Hefner, also largely represented the new, young, luxury urban lifestyle of young single men in America. Bond’s expensive taste in wine, food, and women was attractive to the young single men living in the city. Bond was just part of the British invasion of America in the 60s that appealed to young urban men who did not identify with the masculinity of John Wayne.\textsuperscript{186} The Beatles were for teenagers, but Bond was for young adult men.

Bond also characterized all the tensions during the Cold War for both Britain the United States. The telling scene in \textit{You Only Live Twice} was the conference room with

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Diamonds Are Forever}, directed by Guy Hamilton (1971; Beverly Hills, CA: MGM, 2015), DVD.
\textsuperscript{185} Watts, \textit{Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream}, 153.
\textsuperscript{186} Slotkin, \textit{Gunfighter Nation}, 490.
the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. The scene perfectly captured how Britain viewed itself during the Cold War, as the mediator between two great super powers that would thrust head first into destroying the world and themselves without the level head of Britain. James Bond often arrived in the films to clean up the mess made by Felix Leiter. By the time the Bond films were made, Britain and the United States no longer experienced tension with each country’s role in the new world. The films were an expression of the new Anglo-American understanding of the world order.

In the end, Bond was the Cold War hero. He developed in Britain and grew into this image with the American films. Bond as a spy portrayed everything that Britain and the United States valued: patriotism and bravery. Ian Fleming listed the two traits as possibly Bond’s only redeeming qualities. Bond held no socialist sympathies, and Connery even critiqued social programs. Bond was both American grit and British sophistication. He also offered Britain a way to come to terms with their new place in a world without their empire. Bond harkened back to the days of Winston Churchill with his perseverance and patriotism. Even when seducing women, Bond laughingly stated “oh the things I do for England.”

Bond represented a world where Britain was as much in charge with policing the world as the United States. Bond was profoundly influential on young people as well. In the introduction to his book The Man who Saved Britain, Simon Winder described seeing his first James Bond movie in the 1970s (he most likely saw Roger Moore’s Bond). As a young man, he bought rum- filled chocolates and watched the movie half drunk on candy. The film, though, filled Winder with awe. He

\[\text{187 Diamonds Are Forever, directed by Guy Hamilton, DVD.}\]
wanted, needed, to be just like the man on the screen. Winder was infected with “Bond Syndrome” as described by *Playboy*. He wanted to be the man that Bond was.188

The Bond films were popular enough to even provoke a Soviet response. In the 1970s, after Bond was well-established as a Cold War hero figure, a short miniseries premiered in the Soviet Union entitled “Seventeen Moments in Spring.” The series was meant to be the Soviet answer for James Bond. The miniseries featured a young spy, similar to James Bond yet very different, named Stierlitz. The series was set in World War II Nazi Germany, and Stierlitz was a Soviet spy. Though Stierlitz was a spy like James Bond, he held to Soviet values. Stierlitz was fiercely devoted to his wife, never womanized, never smoke, and never drank. Stierlitz was the Soviet Union’s response to the creation of the new Cold War hero of Britain and the United States.

James Bond became the Cold War hero through the films. Ian Fleming created the hero with his novels, but the films brought the hero to life. In order to be the Cold War hero, Bond had to embody both British and American ideals. Fleming designed Bond to be the British hero, but Saltzman and Broccoli reinvented Bond by casting Sean Connery. The film Bond was gritty yet suave, intense yet funny. The most American characteristic that the films gave Bond, though, was his sexuality. The Bond films were just as much about the Bond girls as they were about Bond himself. Bond’s sexuality was a powerful force in the films. The films were often criticized as nearly sadistically sexual, but Connery counters the claim with Bond’s villains being truly sadistic. Sadistic or not,

Bond’s sexuality gave the films their American audience, and the films launched Bond from being British spy to being a Cold War hero.
CHAPTER V – CONCLUSION: THE COLD WAR SPECTRE

The James Bond series is one of the longest running film series of all time, has spawned parodies and spin offs, and launched Bond themed merchandise. Mocking James Bond is just as popular as the character Bond himself. James Bond has appeared in The Simpsons, been referenced in The X-Files, and launched the immensely popular parody series of Austin Powers. The contemporary, long running animated comedy Archer is marketed as a “spy comedy,” and the entire cast is modeled after James Bond characters. Across the Atlantic Ocean, from England to California, when a teenage boy dons a tuxedo, he is likely to glance in a mirror and whisper to himself, “Bond. James Bond.” The film series has the power to launch virtually unknown actors into fantastic stardom. The Bond film theme music has won multiple awards; Sam Smith’s “Writing on the Wall,” written for the 2015 Bond movie Spectre, won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe Award in 2016. The James Bond phenomenon is a powerful force in popular culture. James Bond’s staying power is derived from his adaptability. Much like Ian Fleming created James Bond as a reflection of the cultural tensions he experienced living in Britain during the post-war years, Bond is recreated for every generation. In the 1960s, he was the Anglo-American Cold War Hero based on his appeal to both British and American masculine ideals.

Ian Fleming created James Bond in a world in flux. Britain after World War II still experienced rationing as the government attempted to economically and physically rebuild the country. During that time, the British empire collapsed, and the British public experienced the establishment of social welfare programs. The world was changing, and British citizens had to learn to cope with the changes. In news media, the anxieties over
espionage both during World War II and the Cold War were prevalent. Increasingly, espionage stories reported in news media during the post-war years were more salacious. Initially, stories from World War II focused on the quiet courage of the everyday citizens who chose to participate in espionage, such as the story of Odette Churchill. At the end of the 1950s, World War II spies were viewed as national heroes with unparalleled heroic actions, such as Violette Szabo. The media also focused on the more dramatic aspects of Cold War spying. Newspapers reported on the spying activities of Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs by focusing on their activities as spies. Fuchs and the Rosenbergs were traitors and Communists, but salacious details were avoided. The Cambridge Five case, though, broke much later and the news media focused Don MacLean’s failure as a husband and a father, and the possibility that he was gay. The stories of spies during the Cold War focused on sex and gender rather than espionage. The British public wanted more scandal.

During this time, Ian Fleming created James Bond, who was just as scandalous as the news stories about real spies. Bond represented everything that Britain had anxieties over. In the Bond world, the British Empire, while not politically existent, still had real power in the world. Bond’s British identity was his ticket to unlimited access around the world. Bond was hyper sexual and hyper masculine. He embodied the ideas of loyalty, patriotism, and sexuality that appealed to British men struggling to come to terms with their economic and social problems. James Bond was the balm to the generation of angry young men. The creation of James Bond led to an upheaval in the literary world. Literature responded to Bond in two ways: Desmond Cory embraced James Bond and molded Johnny Fedora to be similar to Bond, and John Le Carre created George Smiley,
the pencil pushing puppet master of the espionage world. Bond’s popularity was enough that it invoked a response in the literary world.

Bond was a powerful force in Britain, but in the 1960s, the creation of the James Bond films by Albert Broccoli and Harry Saltzman brought Bond to America. In order for James Bond to appeal to American men, changes had to be made to Bond’s character. The Bond films focused on Bond’s sexuality, luxury lifestyle, and willingness to get violent for a mission in order to market to an American audience. The Bond films were a massive success, both in the United States and abroad. Americans, in particular, were infatuated with Bond’s sexuality. In the United States, the influence of men like Hugh Hefner and John F. Kennedy indicated a shift in American masculinity that focused on seduction and sexuality. The presence of James Bond and Ian Fleming in the American men’s magazine *Playboy* indicated that America found James Bond as alluring as the women the spy seduced. The men’s magazine not only focused on Bond, but it also focused on the Bond girls, indicating that sex was a driving force in the popularity of the James Bond films in the United States. Through the films, Bond appealed to American masculinity, and cemented his position as the Anglo-American Cold War Hero.

Historians such as James Chapman and Jeremy Black have explored James Bond’s impact on global politics and the film industry, but the James Bond world is ripe for further analysis. James Bond and race deserves a thorough exploration. Bond’s sidekick in nearly every film in the 1960s and 70s was a person of color, and that person almost always died halfway through the film. In the film *You Only Live Twice*, James Bond wears full yellow face in order to infiltrate a fishing village in Japan. The relationship between James Bond and the Japanese men he encountered would make
interesting contributions to the research on the emasculation of Asian men in Western film. The villain sidekick Oddjob, played by Japanese-American actor Harold Sakata in *Goldfinger*, deserves more analysis. He is one of the most popular villains in the James Bond series, but he has very few lines in the actual film.

Other than race, James Bond and gender deserves further research than this thesis project. The portrayal of femininity in the James Bond series is simple. Women in the world of James Bond exist for sex and sex alone. Even women with jobs such as Moneypenny or Pussy Galore were heavily sexualized. Sexuality and James Bond relies on the male gaze exclusively. The implication of lesbianism in the James Bond series is not meant to appeal to women, it is an indicator of villainous intentions or a possibility of Bond to demonstrate the power of his own sexuality.

The continuation of Bond into the modern day makes Bond the perfect example for analyzing cultural changes in both the United States and Britain. Bond movies have been continuously produced from 1962 to 2016. The series is the longest running film series in the world. Bond’s popularity wavered in the 1990s, when the Cold War was over and the film series no longer had Cold War tensions to base the stories. The Bond franchise was “renewed” in the 2000s with the casting of Daniel Craig as the spy. The popularity skyrocketed after the attack on the Twin Towers in New York City on September 11, 2001. With the beginning of the War on Terror, James Bond was needed again. The world became a scary place where, once again, the neighbor could not be trusted. Much like the fear of the neighborhood Communist spy, the War on Terror began the fear of the neighborhood terrorist. Social and cultural uncertainty and anxiety welcomes James Bond and men like him. Bond is a man of action and certainty, and he
calms public fears of an uncertain world. The Bond film series, while popular, is now vastly different from the Sean Connery films. Daniel Craig’s films are darker. Bond is more brooding. The Bond films now are more likely to question the intentions of Bond’s employer, MI6. In the film *Skyfall*, the villain is a deranged former spy. Bond begins to question if MI6 is truly doing good in the world, or if they are creating more problems than they solve. The question feeds on the world’s distrust of the government today, and questions of how much of a role the United States and Great Britain played in the creation of the chaos in the Middle East. Much of the current world events are the result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and conclusion of the Cold War. Once again, a Spectre is haunting Europe, and this time, it haunts the United States too.
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