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Changing Communities on Film: an investigation into representations of community  
between 1910 and 1954 in collections in the Yorkshire Film Archive.

Joanna Louise Starzynski

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

York St John University.

School of Humanities.

July 2021.

**Second Page (Intellectual Property and Publication Statements)**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis analyses representations of community in amateur and professional films from selected collections from the Yorkshire Film Archive between 1910 and 1954; a time of significant social and economic change in the region.

Analysis of what appears on screen is undertaken by employing modes of textual analysis and historical and critical theories, including the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, and Imagined and Constructed ideas of community on a regional and national level.

The thesis first considers definitions of community and problems inherent in providing a simple and single definition. Frameworks employed to develop the analysis of film footage include methodological tools based upon prior research of archival footage and thematic, textual, and historic analysis to examine what is within the foreground and the underlying representations within the footage.

Each chapter then examines the changing representations of people and the environment. However, in addition to that which exists in front of the camera the study seeks to engage with those behind the camera as being equally significant. This research uses the categorisations of amateur, professional and propaganda footage to explore and interpret the film collections. However, the boundaries for these categorisations shift over time and this fluidity in definitions is considered as part of the analysis of change over time. The linear analysis of specific collections allows for comparison and contrast between key facets of community which include class, gender, and ethnicity.

The analysis argues that there is no single definition of community but that communities in Yorkshire and the Northeast change between 1910-1954. The affordability and familiarity of filmmaking grew between World War One and the Post-War period and changed people's knowledge and exposure to filmmaking, reflecting dramatic economic and social changes. These alterations are represented on film, as the increase in filmmaking reveals changes to communities in public and private spheres.

## List of Images in the thesis

These are the sources for the images used throughout the thesis. They have been listed in the order that they appear within the research.

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**Abbreviations**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
BFI.	British Film Institute.
MOI.	Ministry of Information.
YFA.	Yorkshire Film Archive.

## Introduction

This thesis investigates the depictions of community in Yorkshire between 1910 and 1954, using specific collections from the Yorkshire Film Archive. The films being analysed allow this research to gain a richer understanding of communities in Northern England, as the Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA) footage covers Yorkshire and North East England. Yorkshire and North East England are also an important place for filmmaking as the history of film in a global context began in Yorkshire, as the first camera was produced by Louis Le Prince in Leeds in 1888<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, it is only fitting that the legacy and impact of film in Yorkshire is studied during this critical time for Britain between 1910-1954. Yorkshire played an important role in WWI and WWII, from making Munitions in Sheffield to being hit by the first bombardment on British civilians in Scarborough in 1914. This is central to the study, as the relationship between Yorkshire communities, amateur and professional filmmaking and the film archives has not been widely addressed in other research<sup>2</sup>.

The central research question at the core of this thesis is to analyse communities and how they change between 1910-1954 using amateur, professional and propaganda footage primarily from the Yorkshire Film Archive. This thesis aims to understand the formation and representation of community and how this is connected to the economic and social effects of war. Indeed, the research explores how these representations of community are captured and by who they captured as indicative of this change.

The period of 1910-1954 was chosen as it was a time of significant social and political change. Through analysing from 1910 it allows this thesis to provide context prior to WWI. During WWI upper-middle class professional filmmakers dominated filmmaking due to the newness and expensive nature of filmmaking equipment. Before and during WWI it also showed audiences the changing depiction of women. The interwar period allows the audience to see the expansion of amateur filmmakers, as they revealed to audiences the public and private sphere. The ability filmmakers had to travel also expanded in the interwar period that allowed audiences to see how amateur filmmakers depicted the events leading up to WWII in Europe. WWII demonstrates the changes in amateur filmmaking and how it blurred the boundaries between amateur and professional filmmaking. In the post-war period it demonstrates how filmmakers who stopped filmmaking during WWII returned to filmmaking

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<sup>1</sup> Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA)., 2013. "YFA Training Handbook" (Training Handbook, YFA, York)

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

and how propaganda after WWII shifted into public information and political broadcasts in the post-war period. The changes that spanned this context reveal that there were significant alterations in communities which were represented in front and behind the camera.

One of the important initial research parameters to investigate was the definition of community. This was undertaken through viewing a variety of films using a systematic search of community in WWI, interwar period, WWII, and the post war period using the Yorkshire Film Archive catalogue. The signifiers and themes of class, ethnicity and gender emerged from viewing the footage in the archive. Additionally, the key tools to examine what is community such as the *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*<sup>3</sup>, *imagined community*<sup>4</sup> and class-based ideas of community emerged from the footage. These tools arose from viewing communities in archive film footage between 1910-1954, which revealed the fluidity of communities. The concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*<sup>5</sup> can be applied to these communities as they reveal the difference between small grass roots closely bonded communities and mechanical societal larger communities. These communities are also reflected in amateur footage that concentrates on smaller communities and professional propaganda footage that focuses on a more societal level. In addition to this *Imagined Communities*<sup>6</sup> emerged as a concept from viewing the archived footage as patriotism and nationalism ties together contexts particularly through propaganda. Class based ideas of community emerged from archived footage specifically how these divisions in community were represented during WWI and how they changed in the interwar period onwards. This is why these tools are necessary to understand the representations of the multi-faceted nature of community across different contexts.

The main research question is ultimately to explore changing communities between 1910-1954 using amateur, professional, and propaganda films primarily using the Yorkshire Film Archive. By using all three of these perspectives it gives the viewers a wider understanding of communities, instead of just analysing amateur or professional footage which has been analysed in prior research. The research aims to show how communities have change from the differing perspectives of amateur and professional filmmakers and how what they depict differs of this 44-year time period, to the point where the distinction between amateur, professional and propaganda filmmaking becomes blurred alongside the separation

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<sup>3</sup>Cahnman, W. J. 1976. Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 15(6), pp. 839-853.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Verso.

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<sup>6</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Verso.



of the public and private sphere on camera. This thesis interrogates the combined perspectives of who is in front and who is behind the camera, to further aid the understanding of communities and how they change from a wide variety of perspectives. The main research statement is to examine changing communities in Yorkshire using the differing perspectives of amateur, professional and propaganda filmmakers.

This research was carried out using a systematic search of the Yorkshire Film Archive catalogue using thematic analysis to focus upon the theme community during WWI and WWII. What was apparent from viewing the footage over this period was the narrative development of filmmaking between these two periods. The changes in filmmaking that occurred in the interwar and post-war period. This is why it is necessary to include these two time periods within the analysis. In the interwar period there was a large expansion in amateur filmmaking and travel which showed Europe in the lead up to WWII. In the post-war period there was a blurring distinction between amateur and professional footage. Then the post-war period fittingly ended the analysis with the coronation of a new monarch and the end of rationing, which truly marked the end of wartime communities. These time periods were necessary within the analysis as they show to the audience significant social and political changes that can be examined in comparison to WWI and WWII.

The research uses archive film material to investigate the communities that are depicted; by examining the changing representations of people and the environment. It is necessary to open a new line of inquiry to give an insight into the formation of communities, by examining the relationship between film, the filmmaker, and the historical context, primarily through amateur and professional film footage. The construction of amateur and professional films, including who constructed them, how events are depicted and whose perspective the audience is seeing, is the primary tool that illustrates the understanding of communities in this thesis. The changing relationship between amateur and professional filmmakers and footage alters over this historical context to the point where the distinction between amateur and professional filmmaking is blurred. The growth of amateur and professional filmmaking was influenced by the changes in the production and development of film. For example, at the beginning of WWI picture houses became established, and these picture houses showed silent films. It was only towards the end of WWI when cinema was used as a form of propaganda<sup>7</sup>. People became more familiar with films during WWI, and in 1923 16mm film was introduced which made filmmaking more affordable for amateur filmmakers. During WWII

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<sup>7</sup> Eyles, A. 2014. *Cinemas & Cinemagoing: The Rise of the Cinemas*. BFI Screenonline. Available from: <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/cinemas/sect1.html> [Accessed 27th May 2021]

and onwards colour film was available, cinemas became widespread, and national propaganda would often be shown in cinemas, with audiences of up to 30 million a week<sup>8</sup>. Both amateur and professional filmmaking and filmmakers are at the core of this research as is their relationship to the film, which is why it is so crucial to understand the connection between film, the filmmaker, and the historical context as that is where the comprehension of community emerges from.

There are several areas that are focused upon in the analysis of community. One of these areas is imagined community; this<sup>9</sup> is a critical methodology that refers to many people in a nation or region who will not meet or come face to face, but perceive themselves to have similar interests as they identify as being part of the same nation. Depictions of imagined communities are at the centre of this thesis and are shaped by their depictions of communities in local and national propaganda. This was not just in formal propaganda; it can also be in films that have an ideological effect. The imagined community emerges primarily from what is represented in propaganda film footage in WWI & WWII. To what extent the imagined community is influenced by propaganda and to what extent it naturally occurs within communities changes between WWI & WWII. In WWI, the imagined communities were shaped by propaganda, whereas in WWII imagined communities became realised and were increasingly shown in constructed depictions of communities by amateur filmmakers. As a result of this there are differing depictions of imagined communities, they increasingly became constructed and realised in amateur and professional propaganda. The concept of imagined community is explored in more detail in Chapter One.

In addition to understanding national ideas of community, it is also important to consider community on a regional basis as there are elements that may be regionally specific and representative of areas of the UK, including dialect and clothing. These themes are used to interrogate the nature of communities from depictions within the archives. There are also the key signifiers of community which emerge from textual analysis of the film footage. The footage shows images such as people's attire, the language within the intertitles, and the actions of the characters within the films, which are signifiers of class, gender, and ethnicity. These areas transformed at these pivotal points in history alongside the development of film.

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<sup>8</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, B [Benedict]. 2016. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso; Humphries, D.T. 2017. Different dispatches: Journalism in American modernist prose. In: Cain, E. ed. *Literary Criticism and Cultural Theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup>ed. New York: Routledge; Parekh, B. 2001. Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory. *Ethnicities*, 1(1), pp. 109-115.

Using film gives this research a window into the past which is specific to film and dependent on the form of film being analysed. Filmmaking changed from an upper-class pursuit to an activity the middle and lower classes could pursue. This thesis uses these depictions to focus on the communities being filmed, as well as the filmmakers. The filmmakers, who are both amateur and professional, shape and reflect the audience's comprehension of community, and their reflexive relationship is at the heart of this research.

One of the principal aims within this thesis is to investigate the filmmakers who produced the films, as well as to focus on the films that are being analysed and the interplay between these two factors. The filmmakers and what they film is as much an indicator of community as the main signifiers within this thesis. The development and complexity of amateur, professional, and propaganda filmmaking and what these perspectives reveal about community and changing contexts is of critical importance. The footage available in the archives helps to address this question by revealing elements of specific regional communities and how these integrate with the wider community. These aspects of community were not static in their definition and were often open to change depending upon the context. This included class divisions which were more fluid than was commonly supposed as working class, middle class and upper class could be further separated into the working classes including: skilled manual, manual workers, unskilled manual workers<sup>10</sup>, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class and upper class<sup>11</sup>. In addition, by examining amateur and professional footage, this thesis opens a new line of inquiry by investigating public and private depictions of community in the North East and Yorkshire, and how this was influenced by different aspects of people's communal identity. The aim of this thesis is to use this material to contribute to the debate of community, a single definition of community is neither possible nor desirable as the thesis identifies the fluidity of communities, however there are theoretical frameworks for the analysis of community which are used within the research, otherwise the thesis would be impossible. This research uses critical frameworks to analyse communities' that are in flux and transition during half a century.

One of the central issues that is highlighted from examining the footage is the transformation of community and class divisions that emerge from the historical context. For example, class and gender are very much interconnected within certain time periods as

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<sup>10</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. Marketplace: Public Spheres. In: *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>11</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing Social Class Identities in Post-war Britain: Perspectives from Mass-Observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

women's rights developed within a similar time as working-class rights became more open<sup>12</sup>. Similarly, these are both interconnected with the representation of women and the working classes in archival film which became more accessible for all classes and genders in the 1930s<sup>13</sup>. For example, the changes of female voting and working rights were transformed after WWI and so was their role with the camera, because during the 1930s rather than being portrayed exclusively in front of the camera some female filmmakers worked behind the camera to portray what was happening<sup>14</sup>. The class divisions became more complex and refined in their definitions through groupings such as the working classes including skilled manual, manual workers, unskilled manual workers<sup>15</sup>, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class and upper class<sup>16</sup>. These aspects of community are highlighted through their role on film and behind the camera. These elements are central issues in the examination of community and are used to structure the analysis by comparing who was in communities to what was depicted.

Another core theme that has emerged from the footage is ethnicity which will be explored<sup>17</sup>. Ethnicity is a broad term in reference to social groups that have cultural traditions, as opposed to race which refers to individuals who have shared physical or social qualities. What has emerged from the amateur footage in terms of ethnicity that holds significance is how the Jewish community were depicted in Yorkshire. It is the ethnicity of the Jewish community that is examined as they share the same cultural conditions<sup>18</sup>. The effect and changes these wars wrought upon communities are considered regionally and nationally; for example, on a national level the changes that affected the Jewish community in Britain and Europe, on a regional level in Yorkshire how people from the city being evacuated to rural

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<sup>12</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>13</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>14</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>15</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. Marketplace: Public Spheres. In: *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>16</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing Social Class Identities in Post-war Britain: Perspectives from Mass-Observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>17</sup> The initial conception of this thesis was also to explore race and ethnicity, through the prisoners of war and allied nations who came to Yorkshire to support the British Forces. However, there is not much film footage in the YFA that includes the prisoners of war.

<sup>18</sup> People, J & Bailey, G. 2010. *Humanity An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage learning. p. 389; Chandra, K. 2010. *Constructivist theories of ethnic politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Barnshaw, J. 2008. "Race". In: Schaefer, R. T. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Race, ethnicity, and society, Volume 1*. London: SAGE Publications. pp. 1091–3

areas and other aspects of the conflict moulded and altered communities during the war and in post-war Britain<sup>19</sup>. The changes between the rural and urbanised community are depicted and examined particularly during WWII with the changing dynamics of what occurred in cities and evacuees in the countryside.

It is also important to study the relationship between amateur and professional filmmaking and propaganda. One of the crucial debates across WWI, the interwar period, WWII, and the Post-War period involves amateur and professional filmmakers because the role of the amateur and professional filmmaker is constantly evolving. In WWI, the role of the professional filmmaker is clearly defined, whereas in WWII the lines are blurred between amateur and professional filmmaking. This is an integral discussion, because these films shape the audiences' understanding of community, so the evolving depictions of society that are represented in these films and filmmakers influence the audience's understanding of who and what constituted the communities. It is an important point of debate as the nature of amateur and professional changes. This thesis uses amateur footage on a local scale and professional footage on a local and national scale. What emerges from using these types of footage is the differing depictions of community, including the public and private representations of communal identity that have been captured. It also demonstrates the evolving role that propaganda held in both amateur and professional filmmaking, as differentiating between amateur and professional footage became increasingly difficult in the 1940s. The importance of using regional and national footage between WWI and WWII in amateur and professional footage is that the impact of these conflicts touched and affected the lives of people from many diverse backgrounds, not just one specific community or group of people. It is also important to use regional and national footage in the interwar and post-war period, as people's lives, livelihood and people's standards of living were affected as a direct result of what happened during the wars. In addition, these wars also affected filmmaking and the availability of filmmaking equipment, especially in the interwar period when the popularity of filmmaking increased<sup>20</sup>. This in turn reflected communities producing the films and those being depicted, as the availability of filmmaking equipment often dictated the class and gender of people producing the films. Thus, amateur and professional filmmaking crafts the audiences' understanding of communities, which to some extent is shaped by their class and the accessibility of film equipment.

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<sup>19</sup> Calder, A. 1992. Chapter 1: Prelude Munich and the Thirties. In: *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>20</sup> Kattelle, A. 2000. *Home Movies: A history of the American industry, 1897-1979*. University of Michigan: Transition Publishing. p. 334.

This thesis examines amateur and professional footage. It explores amateur films that included depictions of public and private everyday events, and later in WWII includes amateur propaganda films with professional propaganda traits. It also examines professional films such as local and national propaganda. It is important to note that the definition of propaganda and what it represents changes over these contexts. These films include local newsreels, films made by the Ministry of Information (in WWII), films made by local companies that were bought by national newsreel companies or films made by governmental agencies. These films can be found in the repositories of the Yorkshire Film Archive, British Film Institute (BFI), and the Imperial War Museum. These films are beneficial in this research as they were able to increase the comprehension the public held towards WWI & WWII. Most films in this context in the YFA primarily and unconsciously address the themes of class and gender, as they were filmed by well-to-do male directors and after World War One by a small number of female directors<sup>21</sup>. This research is reinforced by primary sources including interviews with relatives of both amateur and professional filmmakers from the YFA. The information regarding who produced and directed the footage is catalogued by the YFA and often reveals the employment, name of the director and producer of the content<sup>22</sup>. For instance, Ernest Symmons filmed many films and newsreels in Yorkshire during WWI and WWII, including *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>23</sup> which acted as propaganda and encouraged people to donate to the City of Hull Great War Trust for dependents of war casualties and soldiers who were disabled during the conflict in WWI. It played upon the fact that the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, had commented that Britain had gone to war over just a 'scrap of paper', meaning the Treaty of London that guaranteed that Britain would protect Belgium's neutrality in the event of war<sup>24</sup>. This was reinforced by postcard propaganda that capitalised upon this statement<sup>25</sup>. Symmons was an upper-middle class businessman who helped found Debenhams and Co in Yorkshire<sup>26</sup> and shot films and newsreels during this period. What this shows about the content of the films and what they depict reveals important information about the nature of community

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<sup>21</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 2001. Morphing history into histories: From amateur film to the archive of the future. *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists* 1 (1): pp. 108-30.

<sup>22</sup> Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA)., 2013. "YFA Training Handbook" (Training Handbook, YFA, York).

<sup>23</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>24</sup> A scrap of paper. 01/01/2006. *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved 4 Dec. 2017, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100449163>.

<sup>25</sup> PRC (Parliamentary Recruiting Committee). 1914. [*Propaganda poster*]. *The Scrap of Paper-Enlist Today*. London: Imperial War Museum.

<sup>26</sup> Robinson, P. 1985. *Story of the Playhouse cinema, Beverley. The home of beautiful pictures*. Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd.

in this context. Another amateur filmmaker who produced films that are in the YFA, from the 1930s, was Lucy Fairbank, a middle class schoolteacher; these films were of various teaching activities and holidays in Yorkshire and in Europe, including *Munich to Innsbruck*<sup>27</sup> that features Adolf Hitler. These films depict the local regional communities in Yorkshire, what the communities were like when British holidaymakers visited other countries and what the difference was between publicly and privately filmed footage. This type of research comparing publicly and privately filmed footage and amateur and professional archived filmmakers has not been widely addressed in the Yorkshire and North East region. Nicholson<sup>28</sup> has conducted research using the YFA, but this concentrates primarily on amateur footage and has been conducted in multiple archives across the UK. Nicholson<sup>29</sup> has examined some amateur filmmakers, including Lucy Fairbank, Charles Chislett and Kathleen Lockwood<sup>30</sup> and their footage in the YFA. This thesis builds upon that research by studying amateurs like Lucy Fairbank and professionals like Ernest Symmons. Nicholson's research is analysed in more detail in the Second Chapter, in the Archiving Methodology Section. Therefore, this thesis builds upon this prior research from a different perspective, making this examination of community by comparing amateur and professional footage in the North East and Yorkshire community, including class and gender, a nuanced understanding of this archival footage.

It is crucial to discuss propaganda's portrayal of imagined community<sup>31</sup> and national identity in comparison to the amateur and professional portrayal of community, and how these integrate with what is within the archives. The definition of imagined community will be examined in more detail in the next chapter. It is also important to consider that the definition of propaganda changes during WWI, WWII, and the post-war period. Propaganda initially persuaded audiences to believe in the war and to participate in it (in a number of ways including enlistment), whereas in the post-war period the aim of propaganda was not to encourage people to enlist but rather to shape their perceptions. The sources being examined include professional propaganda, professional footage, and amateur footage from the YFA. The sources that were distributed as national propaganda, including professional films made

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<sup>27</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>28</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. 3 The Origins of National Consciousness. In: *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

by the Ministry of Information in WWII like *Britain Can Take It*<sup>32</sup>, are significant and useful to this research as professional propaganda was able to increase the understanding and perceptions that were held by the public in this context towards WWI and WWII. This was because, particularly in WWII, there were audiences of up to 30 million who attended cinemas and would have watched national pieces of propaganda<sup>33</sup>. From a national perspective, using films from the Ministry of Information for propaganda builds an important idea of the national imagined community. However, using amateur and professional footage from the Yorkshire Film Archive gives this research a more individual perspective on smaller, more localised communities. This is preferential to analysing only professionally produced film footage that only increases knowledge of national ideas surrounding community and has been studied extensively previously<sup>34</sup>. Previous research has been carried out on class during WWI and WWII by authors including Marwick<sup>35</sup>, Calder<sup>36</sup> and Taylor<sup>37</sup> but without an in-depth consideration of archived film material. Taylor<sup>38</sup>, for example, rigorously examines the role of the national propaganda, but not of archived amateur material. The relevance of this research question therefore is established in the fact that existing papers do not answer the question at the centre of this thesis.

The Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA) is a useful resource that has been used less extensively and not in comparison with national propaganda from an academic perspective in this context. While Southern does analyse 16 films produced by Ministry of Education in the post-war period, these films are from the British Film Institute National Archive, not the Yorkshire Film Archive<sup>39</sup>. The aim of the YFA is to preserve archived footage and has previously been utilised in online research that covers regional and national events, including the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*<sup>40</sup> marking the centenary of WWI. The YFA has also been utilised in academic research in comparison to films from other archives by authors

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<sup>32</sup> *Britain Can Take It!* 1940. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 217.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>36</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>37</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Southern, A. 2016. *The Ministry of Education film experiment: From post-war visual education to 21st Century literacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 116.

<sup>40</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.



including Nicholson<sup>41</sup>, who examines amateur filmmaking using their resources. Nicholson has used films from the YFA and other archives to concentrate upon early amateur female filmmakers who were navigating a predominantly dominated male activity<sup>42</sup>. Most of the female filmmakers from the YFA were female teachers, including Lucy Fairbank and Kathleen Lockwood<sup>43</sup>. They were at the forefront of female filmmaking and engaging with the new technology. Both these women were also members of cine clubs. Additionally, using the YFA as a resource provides an insightful contribution, based upon local communities, regarding professional and amateur filmmakers' understanding of what happened in this context. Although the YFA has previously been utilised in other research, it has not been explored in comparison with national propaganda, nor has the interrelation between amateur and professional filmmakers in this historical context been examined in such detail<sup>44</sup>. Using the YFA's facilities as a resource allows this research to investigate the viewpoint of the regional community in Yorkshire against existing research about the national perception of these events<sup>45</sup>. This helps to provide this research with an insightful impact on how the local Yorkshire community's viewpoint integrates with nationally produced professional film footage, which in turn often acted as propaganda. The complexity of the relationship between amateur and professional filmmaking alongside that of national propaganda is one of the central developments within the thesis. The shifting nature of the professional filmmaker is reflective of community, economic and class relations. This relationship is what contributes to the audiences' understanding of community and is explained in the second chapter within the methodology section.

The first chapter analyses the constructs of community to further contribute to the existing debate around the topic. This chapter investigates historical definitions of community

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<sup>41</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

<sup>42</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British women amateur filmmakers: National memories and global identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>43</sup> As well as a filmmaking couple Betty and Cyril Ramsden.

<sup>44</sup> Although many of these aspects, including gender, class, the filmmaker and its reception, have been explored from an amateur perspective by Nicholson. She has also extensively covered amateur filmmaking from the late 1920s onwards, in her numerous articles and books. Please see some examples below: Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local Lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129; Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British women amateur filmmakers: National memories and global identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>45</sup> Southern, A. 2016. *The Ministry of Education film experiment: From post-war visual education to 21st Century literacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

using Tönnies'<sup>46</sup> *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to distinguish between smaller communities and society. Additionally, the first chapter interrogates class distinctions using Weber's definition, the Great British Class Survey and research from Bourke<sup>47</sup> and Savage<sup>48</sup> that further separate class into smaller categories<sup>49</sup>. It also analyses more contemporary ideas of class such as the Great British Class Survey. This chapter examines the relationship between national and localised ideas of community using Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community*<sup>50</sup>, and how this can be applied to amateur and professional film footage in line with propaganda. This section also examines women, ethnicity, and their role in communities, although this is only analysed to a small extent as much of this examination happens from the third chapter when analysing the archived footage.

The second chapter discusses a variety of methodological techniques and how specific ones including thematic and textual analysis can be operationalised to examine community using themes that emerge from the footage to frame the analysis<sup>51</sup>. This contains a literature review of what previous research has completed in this subject area; what previous techniques have been used to analyse archival data and why the methodological approach of this thesis provides a framework for examining archived film footage. Additionally, the methodology chapter examines propaganda, as well as exploring the nuanced definition of amateur and professional filmmakers, which is constantly evolving depending upon the time period. The methodology is crucial in providing a framework and necessary definitions that provide detail for the later sections of the thesis, as well as outlining what previous research has been carried out.

The later sections of this thesis concentrate on the data analysis of the films and their depictions in a linear fashion. Firstly, the third chapter examines archived film footage in World War I, where most of the filmmaking was restricted to professional filmmakers from an upper-

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<sup>46</sup> Tönnies, F. 1887. *Fundamental concepts of sociology* [*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*]. Trans. C. P. (1940) Loomis. 8th ed. New York: American Book Co.

<sup>47</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>48</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing social class identities in post-war Britain: Perspectives from mass-observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>49</sup> Weber, M. 2010. "The distribution of power within the community: Classes, *stände*, parties", Translated by D. waters, D. Waters, T., Hahnke, E, Lippke, M., Ludwig-Glück, E., Mai, D., Ritzmessen, N., Veldhoen, C., and Fassnacht, L. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 10 (2): pp. 137-52.

<sup>50</sup> Anderson, B [Benedict]. 2016. 3 The Origins of National Consciousness. In: *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

<sup>51</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

middle class background making propaganda films to support the efforts of WWI. It also focuses on the absence of certain roles in filmmaking; for example, women and working classes were often in front of the camera but not behind it. This chapter also examines the changing rights of women and the working classes, particularly at the end of WWI, which in turn led to the rise of the representation of multi-layered communities in the interwar period.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the interwar period. This is where the reflection of community and class begins to expand. The filmmakers and filmmaking community dramatically expanded, including skilled manual working-class men, women, and people from the Jewish community behind the camera. The rising popularity, affordability of filmmaking equipment and of international travel meant that the expanse of communities was not limited to filmmaking within the UK but rather concentrated on select amateur filmmakers, their home movies and holiday films. In addition, many of the holiday films and films abroad pre-empt the looming events that led up to WWII. Therefore, this chapter opens the discussion about different segments of community and how they are represented behind and in front of the camera.

The fifth chapter is on World War II. This is when many amateur filmmakers reduced their filmmaking as their role within the war effort reduced ability to make films. It was also because the rationing of film reels meant that those who made them through this time frame either still had some film from before WWII or had the means to obtain film reels. Some of the amateur filmmakers who produced films in this period focused their gaze inwardly by capturing private family scenes, and either captured war unwittingly or did not capture war. There were other amateur filmmakers whose films crossed the boundary between amateur and professional filmmaking. This chapter emphasises the shifting dynamics between the role of the amateur and professional filmmakers as their roles begin to blur with amateurs producing propaganda and instructional training videos, as well as professional filmmakers. This chapter also analyses professional propaganda on a national scale, depictions of class and the construction of imagined community.

The sixth chapter covers the post war period until 1954. This time frame sees the return of filmmakers from the interwar period with some films that further pushed the parameters between what can be classed as amateur and what can be classed as professional filmmaking. It also emphasises the shifting role of amateur filmmaking more than in the other chapters, as amateur filmmaking crossed the boundary between public and private and amateur and professional more than it had done previously.

The linear progression of these chapters is necessary to mark the progression and transformation of amateur and professional filmmaking, alongside the changing parameters of

propaganda. What is evident throughout the research is the growing and evolving role of communities in Yorkshire, which is contingent upon the changes in society and changing roles within propaganda and archival footage. Therefore, defining what community is, is multi-faceted and complex, and needs to be examined rigorously in relation to what is available in the archive to effectively answer the research question.

## **Chapter 1: Defining Community.**

This chapter discusses the concept of community and how it can be applied to archived film footage. Community as a concept is difficult to define; its referent is multi-faceted and constantly changing. The first aim is to define community from a conceptual level using sociological theories. The second aim is to investigate the specifics of community in the archival footage during WWI, the interwar period, WWII, and the post-war period. The second aim will be to a large extent part of the main analysis of the film footage.

The main concepts, which are central to this thesis and are prevalent in archival footage, are the relationship between community and society, and how changes in society affect communities and how communal changes alter society. This concept will be studied later in the chapter by looking at the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* concepts of Tönnies. One of the key concepts that is pivotal to this research is the idea of the imagined community, and its relationship to how the bonds between communities on a local and national level are represented on screen. The definition of imagined community is explained later in the chapter as this definition shifts over a variety of contexts. This chapter begins by looking at the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* which is also supported by classical and modern theories of community such as classical Marxist and Weberian sociological conceptions of community and more contemporary understandings of community by authors such as Bourdieu and the Great British Class Survey. In particular, what constructed community between 1910-1954, which was a time that was turbulent and ever-changing with two World Wars, the Great Depression and the Post-war reconstruction period. Henceforth, the areas that this thesis concentrates upon in the construction of community and identity are in relation to class, gender, ethnicity, and their role within a rural and urban society.

Firstly, it is important to situate the issue of identity and its relationship to communities to avoid conflating their definition. This mainly refers to the relationship between the individual and the group. For example, many of the films show individuals and there is often a moment where the individuals are identified as part of a larger community group. The analysis then looks for various indicators of the collective group. The issue of identity and community is iterative in its approach; in this way depictions of individual identity become representative of the collective community's views and vice versa. If audiences consider the nature of cinema,

documentary films and cinema, they are often narrative driven<sup>1</sup> and based upon an individual character or a few characters who represent communities or at least the imagined idea of community<sup>2</sup>. The actions of these characters are often signifiers of their role in the community; for example, if audiences consider what is portrayed in professional films to be the views of the collective community that is represented either by characters within the specific community or a singular character, this behaviour in turn is often reflected by family scenes in amateur film. Therefore, this demonstrates the reflexive and iterative nature of communal and individual values. However, this can be perceived to be problematic as the views of an individual are not necessarily reflective of communities in all circumstances, for example, the anti-Semitic<sup>3</sup> views that Hitler held and perpetuated in WWII were not representative of the Jewish community, but there was some element of community or at least the imagined German community that shared or were persuaded to share these views through propaganda. This is important to consider in the wider context of imagined communities. This thesis however combines looking at the national depictions from professional films with what is in the YFA, in order to calibrate an understanding of the local and the national, to try to understand how the individual identity may be reflective of a communal British identity on a larger scale.

There are a set of sociological definitions of community but the communities that they reflect are ever-changing. In creating a definition of community that is suitable and time relevant to this research this chapter is broken into several sections: community and class, imagined community and propaganda, and gender, class and ethnicity. These definitions of community have been chosen as these are the types of community that are revealed in the archival footage that has been used in this analysis. For example, class developed more noticeably in WWI and played a large role in films towards the end of WWI and afterwards. These depictions give us an understanding of who created film footage and for what purpose. The imagined idea of community is important to analyse as it gives us an understanding of how people perceived their idea of community on a regional and national scale; this was also crucial in bringing people together during WWI and WWII. This imagined idea of community is further reflected in amateur propaganda films in WWII onwards from a more constructed sense, as amateur filmmakers reflect what they have seen nationally. The role of gender, ethnicity and community was constantly changing between 1910 and 1954 and greatly impacts

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<sup>1</sup> Zagarell, S. A. 1988. Narrative of community: The identification of a genre. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 13(3), pp. 498-527.

<sup>2</sup> This imagined idea of community shall be discussed later in this chapter in relation to propaganda.

<sup>3</sup> Herf, J. 2005. The "Jewish War": Goebbels and the Antisemitic campaigns of the Nazi propaganda Ministry. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 19(1), pp. 51-80.

our understanding of communities from a regional and national perspective. Therefore, looking at these multiple definitions of community aids our understanding of society and what changes were occurring and can be seen in archival footage.

One of the key theoretical positions of class that applies to this context is that of Tönnies who describes community through the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies created the terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as a conceptual tool that describes two contradicting or dichotomous types, which define each other but are opposites in terms of their characteristics. *Gemeinschaft* refers to community and *Gesellschaft* refers to society. The *Gemeinschaft* is based upon close community bonds and personal grassroots interactions whereas the *Gesellschaft* is based on society on a large scale, more indirect interactions and generally the wider community. In the *Gemeinschaft*, which often existed in more rural societies, relationships are defined by traditional social rules and face-to-face sentimental interactions. The *Gesellschaft* is typified by more modern societies with governmental bureaucracies and larger organisations and impersonal interactions.

These terms have since been adapted by Weber and Durkheim. Weber uses them to refer to his ideal types where the *Gemeinschaft* is an affectional and subjective feeling and the *Gesellschaft* is a rational agreement<sup>4</sup>. Durkheim states that the *Gemeinschaft* is an organic community and *Gesellschaft* is a mechanical one and that one form of social organisation evolves from the other<sup>5</sup>. Essentially Weber and Durkheim re-iterate what was originally stated in that the *Gemeinschaft* is a closely bonded, personal, sentimental, grassroots relationship, whereas the *Gesellschaft* is a more indirect, interpersonal, rationalised, and mechanical agreement. Tönnies' particular approach regarding the relationship between communities and society can be usefully applied to this thesis, as its definition can be adapted across multiple contexts. This theory was chosen because the relationship between society and community is iterative and at the core of this thesis, and can further be related to the relationship between amateur and professional films. Professional footage portrays more of a societal perception of community on a large scale, whereas what is depicted in amateur film often represents community on a smaller scale<sup>6</sup>. Most of the footage that examines ideas of community includes

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<sup>4</sup> Waters, T. & Waters, D. 2015. *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society: New politics on politics, bureaucracy and social stratification*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>5</sup> Cahnman, W. J. 1976. Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 15(6), pp. 839-853.

<sup>6</sup> The relationship between the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is well matched with the changing relationship between amateur and professional film footage and how they interact with communities over this context. This theory was used as it lends itself to the relationship between amateur and professional footage with amateur more of a reflection of the *Gemeinschaft* and professional more of a reflection of the *Gesellschaft*. The *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is used predominantly by Durkheim, Weber and Tönnies in their research when analysing communities. Richards uses the same parameters

the relationship between what is happening historically in society and its effect on community on a local and amateur scale. Hence, the reason why the particular approach and theoretical position have been chosen is because they are relevant to the changing relationship of community that is reflected in archived footage, specifically how events in communities are influenced by changes that are happening in society. This approach is crucial particularly during WWI & II as the relationship between community and society was constantly changing. The same could be said about communities during the interwar period and post-war period, however during WWI and WWII communities in Britain were more transient. This definition of community is problematic in relation to WWII's Ministry of Information, which was a corporate bureaucratic governmental construct that focused on protecting the needs of the people, so this combined elements of what constitutes the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Furthermore, what has previously been discussed is what exactly constituted community, which is made further problematic, as in many cases it was transitory and unpredictable during WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period in terms of: who was in communities; how long they were there; what role they held; what gender they were; and what national beliefs they had. This is why the distinction, changes and growth in society and within communities is at the centre of all these issues.

Additionally, there are visual signifiers which allow the research to delve further into specific YFA communities, including geography, language and ethnicity. These signifiers are important as they allow this research to delve further into specific communities in the YFA, and how these communities are represented in amateur and professional film footage. This impacts upon the reading and reception of the films, as films from Yorkshire may have certain forms of dialect influenced by that region, or in terms of ethnicity there may be events that are part of a culture that impacts upon what each film represents. In addition, people from the same nationality could have varying language and dialect. These people are part of the

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as Weber's *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, when discussing the negotiation between the nation and its people as well the relationship between the state and its citizenry, and between the city and countryside. Richards similarly examines what is on screen as a representation of society. Krutnik also suggests that the distinction in noir cities can be traced back to the industrial revolutions and *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* type communities, however noir cities falls outside the time period and location for this doctoral thesis. Kingsbury is another author who similarly uses the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* when examining World War I propaganda and how propaganda was operationalised to 'enlist' women and children in the war effort.

Please see reference of Krutnik, Kingsbury and Richards:

Kingsbury. C.M. 2010. For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front. In: *Studies in War, Society, and the Military*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. p. 309; Krutnik, F. 1997. Something more than night: Tales of the Noir City. In *Cinematic City*, ed. D. Clarke, London: Routledge. pp. 83-109; and Richards, J. 1997. *Films & British national identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.1-2.



imagined community, where they identify with other people from the same country as part of their own individualised identity; however, the imagined community will be investigated in more detail later in the chapter. In terms of applying this to archived footage this varies from the Received Pronunciation used in films from the documentary movement of the 1930s to regional dialect and different language in propaganda and intertitles from amateur filmmakers of the same time period<sup>7</sup>. For example, these different dialects could be compared using the Received Pronunciation language overtones in Humphrey Jennings' documentary films in comparison to the strong regional accent of Gracie Fields in wartime films<sup>8</sup>. Ethnicity in relation to communities involves both cultural and ethnic factors. For instance, the changing Jewish community in Leeds and Yorkshire that expanded in the interwar period and its unique social practices such as Bar Mitzvahs can be compared to treatment of the Jewish community in Germany. Therefore, when examining community, it is important to consider geography, language, and ethnicity.

The three areas of: class, gender, and ethnicity, are signifiers of community which this section will discuss. This section also discusses the imagined community which is used as a mode of analysis and how it reflects what the audience see on screen. Within these areas of the community, I will ultimately be applying these signifiers and principles as mentioned above, such as dialect and the small bonds within families, and communities, to the analysis of cinema.

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<sup>7</sup> Fox, J. 2006. Millions Like Us? Accented language and the "Ordinary" in British films of the Second World War. *Journal of British Studies*, 45(4), pp. 819-845.

<sup>8</sup> McCluskey, M. 2016. Humphrey Jennings in the East End: Fires were started and local geographies. *The London Journal*, 41(2), pp. 170-189.

## Chapter 1:1: Community and class

One of the primary ways in which community was formed in this time (and is reflected in the YFA) was through class and its different stratifications. This section will firstly analyse classical theories of class from a Marxist and Weberian perspective and then finally look at more contemporary theories of community and how they relate to the research being conducted. These theories are analysed to form a historical basis to help understand the representation of community between 1910-1954 and form a framework for investigating the amateur and professional archival films. These theories of community help to form the basis for a historic framework that shapes the interpretation of the content of the film footage. However, the content of each of the films will form an understanding of community, rather than being based on one historical concept.

Firstly, the key classical definition that applies to community and constructs the community is a Marxist definition of class. This is determined by an individual's role in the production process. The structure of class is defined by two factors that dictate people's place within it; these include those who have the ownership of the means of production and control of the labour power of others<sup>9</sup>. The capitalists or bourgeoisies own the means of production and essentially control the labour power of others. The workers or proletariat do not own the means of production so sell their labour power<sup>10</sup>. Henceforth, class is controlled by people's ownership not by what their income was or what status they held. The petite bourgeoisie is defined by Marx as smaller capitalists who own the means of production, but often work with the proletariat. This petite bourgeoisie is more effectively explained later by Weber. Marx also includes the underclass or the Lumpenproletariat, this class of people are devoid of any form of consciousness and thrive off the lowest layers of society<sup>11</sup>. The basis for class in relation to Marx is determined through people's means to control the production of labour and is separated into those who control the production of labour and those who do not.

This Marxist analysis plays into the historical period in Yorkshire, for example, the class stratification would have been prevalent in manufacturing towns, for instance, Sheffield produced a lot of steel<sup>12</sup>. There was also the rise of the mercantile classes who sold and traded

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Lambert, T. 2018. *A brief history of Yorkshire, England*. A World History Encyclopaedia. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.localhistories.org/index.html>

goods, Debenhams and Co<sup>13</sup> being a good example of this which played a larger role in professional filmmaking. However, this makes it more difficult to apply Marxist class analysis to their labour as merchants. Finally, there was the well-established rural and agricultural community in the Yorkshire region<sup>14</sup>. Although these rural communities are important, they are not that interesting in terms of a Marxist analysis, which indicates why it is important to explore rural communities separately. Yorkshire and the North East must be considered, as there was an enormous industrial importance in the Tyneside region, which had a strong coal mining (and shipbuilding) industry and is part of the wider analysis of communities<sup>15</sup>. These mining communities were both rural and industrial, although they do not feature heavily in the filmmaking of the YFA. This is suggestive that the people working within mining communities did not have access to cameras. Furthermore, something else that changed the dynamics in communities from a Marxist perspective was the Depression, as a lot of the Yorkshire communities and industry suffered badly in the Great Depression<sup>16</sup>. The appliance of a Marxist analysis works effectively from an industrial perspective, but is difficult to apply to a rural and mercantile perspective, and was open to change depending on different economic conditions. If Marxist analysis is considered, it could be said that professional filmmakers are more likely to be the capitalists or bourgeoisie and the workers or proletariats are likely to be amateur filmmakers. However, this stratification is not uniformly applicable to amateur and professional filmmakers, professional filmmakers are not necessarily capitalists and amateurs are not necessarily proletariat. This also changes depending upon the time, as the amateurs and professionals differed from a socio-economic position across these contexts. Therefore, although Marx's structure of class is useful for understanding communities, it places one class in direct opposition to another, which is not the case in this research, as this understanding of class cannot be applied to the archival footage.

Marx's analysis of class stratification is used by Weber<sup>17</sup> who first begins by developing the perception of community that originated from the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, with his three component theory of stratification, by framing it through the lens of class, status and

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<sup>13</sup> Robinson, P. 1985. *Story of the Playhouse cinema, Beverley. The home of beautiful pictures*. Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd.

<sup>14</sup> SA Study Lecture Notes. 2020. *What is the difference between rural and urban community in sociology*. Retrieved 18th March. 2020, from: <http://studylecturenates.com/what-is-the-difference-between-rural-and-urban-community-in-sociology/>

<sup>15</sup> Constantine, S. 2006. Health. In : *Social Conditions in Britain 1918–1939*. Abindgon: Routledge. p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Cook, C., & Stevenson, J. 2013. *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression*. Chicago: Routledge.

<sup>17</sup> Weber, M. 2010. "The distribution of power within the community: Classes, *stände*, parties", Translated by D. waters, D, Waters, T., Hahnke, E, Lippke, M., Ludwig-Glück, E., Mai, D., Ritzimessner, N., Veldhoen, C., and Fassnacht, L. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 10 (2): pp. 137-52.

power; and these interact with the social stratification of wealth, prestige and power. Weber's thesis was written prior to WWI, initially published in 1922, and translated into English during WWII<sup>18</sup>. Henceforth, the date of this definition of community is particularly relevant to WWI & WWII as it is situated within that context. The relationship between the past and present is significant, for example, using contemporary methods to reflect back on the nature of communities is equally as effective as using methods that were situated in that context; because it is in the same time it does not necessarily mean it is contextually correct or adaptable in relation to the film footage. For example, the date of Weber's thesis means that important aspects including ethnicity and gender are not as predominant within this text as their role was within society. Weber defined class and power together. Class is defined as a category of people who have similar life characteristics, economic outcomes and are represented under the conditions of the labour market. Weber separates class into four categories: manual working class, petite bourgeoisie, white collar workers (or middle class), and the upper class. Most of Weber's definitions of class are in common usage, other than the petite bourgeoisie which is perhaps the more obscure stratification of class and refers to the social class who rely upon the sale of their labour for income, for example, a shop keeper who earns and makes a living from their shop would be defined as a petite bourgeoisie. As explained above, the definition of the petite bourgeoisie is a classic Marxist stratification of class, so this demonstrates how methodological methods can be developed and used across different contexts. Weber's stratification of community, although it is useful and appropriate in an urban context, is more problematic as it cannot be applied so easily to rural communities, who are featured throughout the time in archival footage. Thus, analysing community through the division of class demonstrates how communities during WWI & II have a complex construction. Therefore, a modern re-engagement with these questions of class and community through using archival research is critical and overdue.

It is also important to conduct a class analysis of rural communities as most of these definitions apply to industrialised and urban locations, whereas a large part of the Yorkshire community is rural, which makes application of these theories problematic. Rural communities operate on a basis that everyone works in the same kind of labour within the agricultural industry, people live sparsely over a large area, communication is slow and cultural practices and standards are passed between generations. In these areas members within communities are treated as close relations and have close bonds, at least in a stereotyped idyllic setting. Whereas this operates in contradiction to urban communities, where everyone is condensed

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

into one area, has different occupations, urban areas are not perceived to have these same bonds with their communities<sup>19</sup>. Community is already difficult to define as it is stratified by many different structures and locations, but also what is depicted about communities can differ from what actually occurs. Nicholson<sup>20</sup> offers an insight between depictions of the rural and urban community through the amateur films of two filmmakers. This research specifically analyses male filmmakers' cinematic gaze of childhood geographies between 1937–1970, so overall covers part of the time in question and covers the YFA to some extent. This also fits in with the next section of the chapter that examines the idea of imagined communities as these films give us a crafted perception of community. Chislett<sup>21</sup> was an upper-middle class banker and each piece of footage he crafted had a carefully worked script. Chislett made professional and amateur private films. What is first focused upon is how he depicted his own children and children in the countryside in comparison to children in a poor housing area in Leeds. He firstly focuses on his daughter Rachel in his film *Rachel discovers England*<sup>22</sup> which was re-edited for audience purposes and another wartime film of a touring holiday in the wartime Yorkshire Dales. It shows visiting places, having picnics, and depicts an idyllic rural setting, an unchanging countryside. This contrasts quite distinctively with his post war film about St George's crypt called *New Lives for Old*<sup>23</sup> that documents the Parish church trying to alleviate the lack of employment, poverty and poor housing areas in Leeds. This film shows children as signifying images of urban deprivation, playing in the gutter and in crowded family spaces. He shows how people are victims of their urban environment, that their salvation was through the church and the healing quality of the countryside. Nicholson goes on to state that Chislett's children are defined by class rather than spatial differences. Therefore, class can be applied to rural communities as a way of stratifying community in contrast to urban places in these examples, as it is difficult to find a way in which to apply class generically to rural communities, especially in a way that would fit with both rural and urban communities.

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<sup>19</sup> SA Study Lecture Notes. 2020. *What is the difference between rural and urban community in sociology*. Retrieved 18th March, 2020, from: <http://studylecturenates.com/what-is-the-difference-between-rural-and-urban-community-in-sociology/>

<sup>20</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2001. Seeing how it was? Childhood geographies and memories in home, *Area*, 33.2. pp. 128-140.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Chislett, the first filmmaker Nicholson examines, is from the YFA and shall also be examined in this thesis.

<sup>22</sup> *Rachel Discovers England*. 1935-1937. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 695). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1494> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>23</sup> *New Lives for Old*. 1951. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 822). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1742> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

Brookes filmed in Salford in the 1950s, he was a dockworker and worked for his family's news agency, but this did not help his economic situation. His films are slightly out of the time period, but focus on urban scenes. This footage depicts economic decline and worsening unemployment among those on the docks, it shows children in an environment of decay and rehousing schemes. This contradicts with scenes from Chislett and has an immediacy and is rooted with local knowledge, in a relationship with the children and others in this area. His films show different family moments and micro geographies. Brookes' depictions construct a locality of local slum areas that shows a sense of place. It also shows limited domestic space in contrast to the rural sprawl that Chislett depicted. These films further show different ethnicities including black and Asian children who were tolerated by the Whitsun community. The films of Brookes show a nostalgic idea of urban life that was changing under the effects of economic decline and rehousing. This works in contrast to the work of Chislett who had more of an obvious intention as each film was produced with an audience in mind, with the purpose of guiding people through the rural ethos and spiritual guidance of the church<sup>24</sup>. Looking at the research of Nicholson demonstrates a contrast between the rural and urban ideas of community where the rural community is depicted in an idyllic unchanging representation, whereas the urban community is reflected differently on camera since it seems to show urban areas to be slum like, overcrowded, in economic decline and without a sense of community. Although, the sense of community and locality does differ depending on what piece of footage is being viewed and by whom it was directed. To conclude, it is difficult to apply a classical definition of class to the rural community but it seems the best way to do this is to use a refined definition to structure their role within any community, although this is still somewhat problematic in a rural community. Therefore, it is hard to separate rural and urban stratifications of class, but these pieces of film give us an idea of how they compare or contrast.

Another piece of research on community focuses on the benefits of having resources in the countryside during WWI and WWII as local production was weaponised to win the war<sup>25</sup>. This demonstrates how Britain was able to use rural agricultural systems to supply food to people<sup>26</sup>, but it does not examine community in detail between rural and urban. Calder<sup>27</sup> also briefly discusses the movement between urban districts to rural areas during WWII because of the heavy bombing in these areas and that these rural areas were idyllic or at least

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<sup>24</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2001. Seeing how it was? Childhood geographies and memories in home, *Area*, 33.2. pp. 128-140.

<sup>25</sup> Maltz, A. 2015. "Plant a victory garden: our food is fighting:" Lessons of food resilience from World War. *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences*, 5(3), pp. 392-403.

<sup>26</sup> Germany did not use rural and agricultural areas to supply food to people.

<sup>27</sup> Calder, A. 1992. Chapter 2: 'The Strangest of Wars ' September 1939 to April 1940. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

remembered as idyllic. These areas were less heavily populated but seemed to be moving more towards mechanisation of farming machinery to produce things, but the rural community seemed to maintain stronger social bonds than in urban areas. Although the refined definition of class and its stratification does not necessarily apply, a rural community certainly has a stronger, more embedded idea of the *Gemeinschaft* than is relevant in the urban community. Calder's research is discussed in more detail below in this chapter. However, through using this analysis it can be seen how it is not as easy to apply stratifications of class to the rural community as it is to the urban community. This further demonstrates how different modes of analysis are relevant for different locations within localised archive footage.

Although the previous analysis provides an understanding of how class can relate to an urban setting in contrast to a rural setting, it is also important to look at more contemporary perceptions of class such as the work of Bourdieu. In addition to class, Weber's view was that every group is divided into different strata with a definitive lifestyle, but their social power or status can differ from their class depending upon their upbringing and values, and this is primarily contingent upon what social powers people can exert. Bourdieu provides an updated perception of status in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1996)<sup>28</sup>. Bourdieu postulates that people's status is not just defined by their social and economic capital but by their taste or cultural capital, that is culturally integrated through social institutions such as their education or upbringing. Status remains associated with people's class and economic capital, but having cultural capital implies that there is more social mobility than being restricted through their economic capital. On the other hand, Marx's idea of the base and superstructure discusses how economic and cultural capital are closely related. This relationship between the base and superstructure is to some degree reciprocal as the base comprises the superstructure including culture, politics, and roles of the state, essentially all culture is part of the superstructure<sup>29</sup>. Although this relationship is reciprocal, changes in the superstructure can affect the base, but the influence of the base is quintessential and predominant in these relations. This perception of the structure is economically deterministic<sup>30</sup>. Bourdieu's research, however, contradicts economically deterministic theory and other historical theories regarding status and society but was important during WWI & II as class was more transitory than had previously been defined. For example, Bourdieu states that social mobility is linked to people's perceptions of their cultural capital rather than being defined purely by their economic status and power in labour as Marx would define it. Weber

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<sup>28</sup> Bourdieu, P. 1996. Cultural Pedigree. In: *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of state*. Trans. R. Nice, ed. R. Nice. 8th ed. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. p. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Williams, R. 1973. Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. *New left review*, (82), 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

defines political power in relation to party, and the power that could be exerted through modern social systems or political parties. This also had a vital role in this political context within Britain, due to the fluctuating political power of Chamberlain or other Prime Ministers in comparison to the complete power of dictatorship and control of the media that Hitler had through Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda<sup>31</sup>. Although, Hitler was always concerned about the possibility of a popular revolt. What also needs to be considered when examining political power is how power and status help influence people's role in social action and mobility and how this can be used to constitute communities. Additionally, according to Weber's definition of community, wealth and prestige often dictate the class, status, and power that Weber's research describes, and all these conflicting elements constitute what forms and continues to form the common conception people have of the idea of community. However, it is difficult to assert the idea of community in a continually stratified society.

Bourdieu's understanding of community can be built into a more contemporary British setting that interprets the social structure of community in the United Kingdom through examining the results of the Great British Class Survey, which was conducted by the University of Manchester, University of York and London School of Economics in 2013<sup>32</sup>. This investigation of class surveyed 325,000 adults, 160,000 residents, most of whom described themselves as 'white', so similar to archival footage there are racial limitations to this research despite the time differences. There were three different categorisations to define class which were economic capital which amounted to income, cultural capital such as cultural interests, social capital meaning business, personal contacts, friends and family. The framework for using these different categories was developed by using Bourdieu's research on social distinction<sup>33</sup>. The results of the survey revealed seven different classes. The first class being the wealthy elite who were in the top six percent of British society and were often directors of companies<sup>34</sup>. The established middle class have high economic capital, high status with social contacts and their occupations include midwives and police constables<sup>35</sup>. The next category is the technical middle class with high economic capital, high status of social contacts and

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<sup>31</sup> Calder, A. 1992. Chapter 5: Through the Tunnel: October 1940 to December 1942. In: *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>32</sup> Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., & Miles, A. 2013. A new model of social class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey experiment. *Sociology*, 47(2), pp. 219-250.

<sup>33</sup> Bourdieu, P. 1996. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of state*. Trans. R. Nice, ed. R. Nice. 8th ed. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

<sup>34</sup> The wealthy elite had high social capital and prestigious jobs such as chief executive officers and directors of companies.

<sup>35</sup> The established middle class had occupations including electrical engineers, midwives, police constables and special needs teaching professionals.



their jobs include<sup>36</sup> natural and social science professionals. There is also the new affluent workers with good economic capital, poor status and good emerging cultural capital; and their jobs include retail cashiers<sup>37</sup>. Following this is the traditional working class with poor economic capital, few social contacts and emerging cultural capital, their occupations include electrical workers, and van drivers. The emergent service sector is the next category and has poor economic capital but reasonably good household income, as well as low highbrow cultural capital. Their typical jobs include care workers and musicians<sup>38</sup>. Finally, the precariat are the lowest stratum of society, with poor economic capital and low social status, their occupations often include retail assistants and shop proprietors<sup>39</sup>.

The conception of the lowest stratum of class in a more contemporary setting is the precariat which originated from Guy Standing<sup>40</sup>. This is another distinctive form of class that has emerged in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, born out of the precarious labour that predominates the labour market with the emergence of zero-hour contracts. The precariat is a social class that has emerged from the lack of security in their means of production and the nature of their labour. Their labour involves taking part in various time-consuming activities to retain jobs and earnings, like being paid for being on call or for a temporary seasonal job. What defines the precariat is their lack of permanent employment, which has been attributed to neoliberalism. This class is seen as similar to the contemporary idea of the lumpenproletariat, who are the lower stratum of society and are in theory devoid of class consciousness, whether that is the case in reality is another matter. There are limitations to applying the Great British Class Survey to this footage as audiences cannot determine people's occupations, nor can one understand what their cultural interests are from viewing the footage. A large aspect of the British Class Survey is the occupation of people which has changed drastically since 1910 and is more applicable to contemporary society; for example, the technical middle class is a categorisation of class that has developed due to the growth and prevalence of technology. The precariat is also another categorisation that is born out of the contemporary neoliberal society, so neither can be applied to archive footage between 1910-1954 as they are not relevant. Although the Great British Class Survey does provide a useful understanding of community by using Bourdieu's research as a framework, some of the categorisations are strictly not relevant due to technological advances that have occurred as well as the expansion of a neoliberal society. This highlights that society changes over time and that the industrial

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<sup>36</sup> The technical middle class includes radiographers, pilots, natural and social science professionals.

<sup>37</sup> The new affluent class jobs include electricians, postal workers and retail cashiers.

<sup>38</sup> The emergent service sector includes musicians and bar staff.

<sup>39</sup> The precariat's jobs include cleaners, van drivers, and retail cashiers.

<sup>40</sup> Standing, G. 2014. The precariat. *Contexts*, 13(4), pp. 10-12.

world pre-1945 that inspired Marx is no more, not in Britain anyway. Of course, if one analyses the current circumstances of society during the COVID19 crisis the jobs of many people on the lower end of the wage scale that would be considered unskilled have become essential in society and thus hold more prestige for the people who have them. Although class parameters are important and stratification is a useful tool to separate different jobs, times of emergency demonstrate how these class barriers are easy to manipulate and alter.

The Great British Class Survey provides a different understanding and categorisation of class from Weber's and Marx's earlier definition of class, in a contemporary context. However, Weber's initial definition of class can be refined to an extent, when analysing the complexity of class in WWI and WWII, to expand upon the original working class, middle class and upper class. The refinement of these definitions can be usefully applied to archival footage. This refined conception of Weber's understanding of class can be further investigated from a socio-economic basis through using the definitions and examples of the working classes including: skilled manual, manual workers, unskilled manual workers<sup>41</sup>, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class and upper class<sup>42</sup>. Skilled or unskilled workers would usually be classed as manual workers including those working in steel factories or textile workers, although with the reduction of manual labour, low paid office workers are classed as unskilled workers in contemporary society. Skilled manual would be those holding apprenticeships, contractors or those who are classed as tradesmen. The lower middle class consists of labourers in the service industry or retail industry and office workers. The middle class encompasses a large group of society including teachers, managers, architects, doctors, engineers or civil servants. The upper-middle class typically originate from high income families and themselves have high income managerial roles, for example, those who run businesses would usually be defined as being upper-middle class, if not upper class. Finally, the upper class are typically thought of as those from the aristocracy, who have had wealth for many generations, and are often landowners<sup>43</sup>. It needs to be considered that Savage's analysis of class was born out of analysis of the mass-observation archives and questions that were asked to the participants in 1948 and 1990, so this study takes place shortly after the end of WWII and many years later in 1990. Most of the people perceived themselves as middle class, as 50.6% saw themselves as middle class in 1954<sup>44</sup>. These definitions are important to

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<sup>41</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. Marketplace: Public Spheres. In: *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>42</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing social class identities in post-war Britain: Perspectives from mass-observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

be applied to wartime definitions of class within these films and how they integrate with the wider community during WWII. Although these class boundaries were often divided by occupation, the complexity of industrial processes often meant that many class divisions were present in the same factory, for example, within the steelworks. All present were conscious of this and unions were particularly keen to recognise these occupational boundaries formally in pay negotiations and agreed working practices, a phenomenon known as 'demarcation'<sup>45</sup>. Therefore, class can be refined within wartime circumstances as demarcation recognised class distinctions through the labour which was carried out and this will be analysed within the archived films. Using this type of class distinction makes it easier to distinguish between the classes through their occupation. It is difficult to differentiate the different types of classes, however, using class boundaries such as people's occupation and their attire is one way in which it is possible to distinguish their occupation. This is made more complicated by people in uniform as it is difficult to distinguish class when people are wearing the same attire, as they may have come from different occupations before being in uniform. These factors help to describe how it can be problematic in some ways to distinguish class and this will be explored later in the chapters.

These roles and the conflicting values of class, status and party are highlighted through the social and changing distribution of people and wealth during WWII in Calder's *The People's War*<sup>46</sup>. Calder examines the stratification of class and what role this played, especially with the evacuation and stratification by class of evacuees in the Blitz. Calder describes the stark stratification of class through hygiene standards and the mixed status of the evacuees. For example, Calder describes how 'one and a half million were decanted into the countryside'<sup>47</sup> and 'the official evacuees came disproportionately from the poorest strata of urban society'<sup>48</sup>. Whereas the wealthier people made their own private arrangements and Calder notes how the poorest had headlice and lacked proper toilet training. In this way communities can be perceived as fragmented due to their social actions, but all united in one cause, in this case the defence of Britain against its enemies<sup>49</sup>. According to Weber's definition of class and status, the evacuees were from the poorest areas and were transported to the more middle-class countryside that caused these classes to mix. This contradicts the stratified idea of class and status that Weber describes. Therefore, the transitory nature of the evacuees

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<sup>45</sup> Shor, F. 1996. The IWW and oppositional politics in World War I: Pushing the system beyond its limits. *Radical History Review*, 1996(64), pp. 74-94.

<sup>46</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 38.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> Titmus, R. M. 1950. *Problems of social policy*. London: Longman.

during WWII changed the stringent stratification of class within communities, as the evacuation caused people from different classes and status to mix. As a result of this, communities in this context were united through their support of the war effort rather than their social status and the *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* worked in unison, at least in theory. The aims of society and communities were both united, at least on an official level, as the aim was to defend Britain and gain victory in the war for both society and communities (at least this was what the propaganda stated)<sup>50</sup>. It is worth noting that the political party and affiliation during WWI and the divide between class and status of the rich and poor were due to the political power and orientation of the government. Prior to WWI the political nature of society was *Laissez Faire* whereby minimal governmental interference meant that the divide in class was large; however, the government adopted a more interventionist attitude during WWI to help the people, as a consequence this also changed the role and division of class within society<sup>51</sup>. There was a trend towards more intervention prior to WWI that was often identified with Lloyd George, but this was limited, met with extreme reluctance, or resisted until the government desperately needed to intervene. So immediately, the connection between community and society through the political power of the party and integration with those of class and status encouraged the bond between the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to strengthen. This also reflected the change in government from Prime Minister Asquith, who believed in *laissez faire*, to David Lloyd George, who was an interventionist, as reflected through the introduction of DORA and compulsory conscription from 1916 onwards. Therefore, class boundaries are not necessarily rigid and can shift over time or under pressure of other events.

According to Marwick<sup>52</sup> the war reaped positive results for British society by improving the social conditions for many working-class people, which under normal governmental rule would have taken significantly longer. For example, the working week for the working class was markedly reduced after WWI, working hours decreased from 55 to 48 hours per week, and there was a reduction of servants in middle class households, which had previously been a symbol of middle class status. This was importantly due to one factor, the increased idea of community during WWI that united to defeat the enemy at war. Marwick's research is important to use for this thesis; although Weber provides an interesting grounding using class, status and party, Marwick's analysis of class operates in the similar parameters that can be seen within the footage of the YFA. While the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are important in

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<sup>50</sup> Keegan, J. 1989. *Everyman a soldier*. In: *The second world war*. New York: Penguin Books.

<sup>51</sup>Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

structuring communities, rather than being based upon these ideas, Marwick's<sup>53</sup> research is focused more upon the Weberian ideals of upper, middle and working classes which in some respects provides a more grounded basis for the examination of how class integrates with community than class, status and party. All three elements of class, status and party cannot necessarily be determined from examining the archived film footage, even though there may be one or two elements such as class that can be determined from the footage and used to understand community. Some elements of community in relation to class, status and party are also present in Marwick's research. The same is the case in this thesis as it is not restricted in having to describe all three elements of the Weberian community concept. Weber's conception of community includes class, status and party, whereas this research uses different aspects of this theory to understand the role of class within communities. For example, from viewing an archived film it might not be possible to determine the political power or party of the people in front of or behind the camera, but it might reveal their status and class so these aspects will be part of the analysis. Consequently, there are elements of Weber's conception of community that can be understood by using the footage, as only certain aspects of class, status and party are represented in each piece of archival footage. This is one of the limitations of using archival footage, although Weber's framework for analysis is not the only concept that it utilised to understand communities.

To conclude, this thesis draws upon the various definitions of community that have been defined above using a class basis. It is important to use a combination of these definitions that can be applied to how class is represented in the archival footage. This thesis will primarily use as a basis of the analysis the refined definition of class which further segments the working class into skilled manual, manual workers, unskilled manual workers<sup>54</sup>, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class and upper class<sup>55</sup>, as these are the best tools of analysis that can be applied to archival film. However, class barriers were open to change in every time period and often differed depending on the position of the filmmaker and people they were filming. Some of these changes can be perceived as a positive understanding into the changing ideas of class. Marwick<sup>56</sup> illustrates the importance of class and alterations of class by commenting how the First World War in particular had a positive effect upon the working

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. Marketplace: Public Spheres. In: *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>55</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing social class identities in post-war Britain: Perspectives from mass-observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>56</sup> Marwick, A. 1968. The impact of the First World War on British society. *Journal of Contemporary History*. 3, No 1. pp. 51-63.

classes and impacted their standard of life dramatically, by improving their economic position. These changes affected how class was defined and viewed in a variety of time periods. For example, the impact of this can be seen in the film archives as more amateur films emerged during the 1920s because of people's increased financial means, knowledge, and availability of film equipment<sup>57</sup>. Whereas prior to this the upper classes or upper-middle classes were in a much stronger position financially so primarily made professional films during WWI, as can be seen within the archives. This will be explored in the later chapters. However, this thesis uses many conceptions of class to apply to the type of class that can be seen within the archives, as will be explored in the next section of this chapter. The next section examines propaganda and the imagined community, which are two more concepts that help to shape the audiences' understanding of community in archival footage.

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<sup>57</sup> Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage. p. 7.

## Chapter 1.2: Imagined community and propaganda

The idea of an imagined national or regional community was often used in propaganda to persuade people to unite collectively as a nation and unify against the enemy, as they were fighting to defend their friends, family and their national values. This collective unity and unification against the enemy is an element of Anderson's *Imagined Community*<sup>58</sup>, where people in the same country imagine themselves as part of the same integrated community. This concept states that even though many people will never come face to face, they perceive themselves to have a similar affinity or interests as they identify as being part of the same nation.

In this period Lasswell stated that the purpose of propaganda was to “mobilise the animosity of the community against the enemy, to maintain friendly relations with neutrals or arouse them against the enemy and to promote national unity”<sup>59</sup>. Propaganda is defined by Jowett and O'Donnell as a “deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviours to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of propagandists”. The information and arguments delivered through propaganda often have the intent of influencing public opinion, so the role propaganda plays through amateur and professional footage, and posters in influencing and directing public opinion was vital during WWI, WWII, and even in the post-war period<sup>60</sup>. It should also be stated that after WWII the use of propaganda changed from encouraging primarily recruitment to shaping the perceptions of the public in post-war victory films.

Propaganda was a vital tool that was mobilised in both World War One and Two. It was not until 1918 that the Ministry of Information was established, prior to which there were many other propaganda agencies in WWI. Marwick states that one of the main aims of propaganda was for it to be directed at fairly routine tasks such as recruiting, saving and economising<sup>61</sup>. Most notably Wellington House played a huge role in British propaganda at the early stages of WWI. Wellington House's main aim was “that it is better to influence those

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<sup>58</sup> Anderson, B [Benedict]. 2016.3 The Origins of National Consciousness. In: *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

<sup>59</sup> Lasswell, H. D. 1927. The theory of political propaganda. *The American Political Science Review* 21 (3): p. 627.

<sup>60</sup> Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage. p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> Marwick, A. 1965. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. p. 210.

who can influence others than attempt a direct appeal to the mass of the population”<sup>62</sup>. The aim of the propaganda produced from Wellington House was to operate on a low key and selective approach that was based on persuading the audience in more of a subtle fashion<sup>63</sup>. Wellington House was a secret war propaganda bureau aimed at securing American support, even most MPs did not know about it. The British campaign’s aim was to gain American sympathies and they used their monopoly over the news and cable communications to give their propaganda credibility and the factual edge. They also used atrocity propaganda such as the sinking of the Lusitania and the alleged Corpse Conversion factory to target American sensibilities<sup>64</sup>. The use of propaganda during WWI was of vital importance in persuading America to assist in the war. In order to send out a barbaric message about the Germans to America, the Germans would “always [be]...a Hun” to society, and were referred to as such<sup>65</sup>. This imagery of the Hun was subverted and used to refer to Germans’ barbaric Hun nature, and this was used as part of the propaganda to refer to the German Army and shape people’s perception of them during WWI. This type of atrocity propaganda alongside propaganda by a variety of agencies, which appealed to and created people’s national sense of an imagined community, was integral during WWI.

According to Welch<sup>66</sup> patriotism and nationalism were two of the most important themes used in propaganda in WWI. They also played a fundamental role in WWII and the post-war period. Towards the end of WWI in 1917 Lloyd George founded the Department of Information<sup>67</sup>. Within the Department of Information, Wellington House mainly managed propaganda material for domestic and household consumption<sup>68</sup>. Prior to WWI there was a lot of factual film that reached a wide audience; however, it was during WWI that this factual film

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<sup>62</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 108.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 177.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>65</sup> The term Hun actually came from Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1900 when he told German soldiers to put down the boxer uprising, stating “just as 1,000 years ago, the Huns made a name for themselves so shall you establish the name of Germans in China for 1,000 years”. This was then subverted and used by the British media. Please see source: Musolff, A. 2017. Wilhelm II’s ‘Hun Speech’ and its alleged resemiotization during World War I. *Language and Semiotic Studies*, (3), p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Welch, D. 2014. Propaganda for patriotism and nationalism. *World War One: British Library*. Available from: <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/patriotism-and-nationalism> [Accessed 2nd June 2020]

<sup>67</sup> The Department of Information was divided into four areas: propaganda material for domestic and household consumption (this was mainly managed by Wellington House), cinema propaganda that exploited the use of the mass media, political intelligence propaganda to discover the views of the public, and a division that filtered war news through the British public. Please see source. Marwick, A. 1965. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. p. 212.

<sup>68</sup> Marwick, A. 1965. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. p. 212.



proliferated within audiences. In terms of national propaganda during WWI, there were only a few pieces of national film propaganda towards the end of WWI, so this thesis focuses on local propaganda. These pieces of local propaganda were sold as newsreels and in some cases to larger national newsreel companies. This format initially began as short actuality stories in 1908. The main companies that bought newsreels from local propaganda companies and established this format were Pathé Frères, as well as *Gaumont Graphic* who bought local newsreels or filmed local events and showed them nationally. Pathé Frères developed newsreels in many of the countries where they worked including nations that also played a large role in the war<sup>69</sup>. At the beginning of WWI many of the nations had competing companies who produced newsreels. In the United Kingdom, the competing newsreels companies were *Pathé's Animated Gazette*, *Gaumont Graphic* and, a year later, *Topical Budget*. Similarly, in the USA and France there were competing newsreels companies, but this thesis focuses on how pieces of professional propaganda through local filmmakers in the United Kingdom were sold to larger newsreels companies during WWI<sup>70</sup>. This is how propaganda was constructed and is analysed in this research in WWI. However, on a national scale Wellington House and the Department of Information were one of the main departments that developed propaganda, these companies eventually led to the growth of the Ministry of Information who played a crucial role in propaganda in WWII.

After the end of Wellington House, the MOI was created in 1918 for a short time. The MOI was more established and was reformed in WWII, although planning for MOI had begun as early as 1935<sup>71</sup>. One of the primary areas of the Ministry of Information (MOI) to which its attention had been devoted was censoring negative propaganda to stop news that might damage people's morale. The MOI's aim, like in WWI, was to produce propaganda to maintain the national morale at home and influence opinion abroad<sup>72</sup>. One of the highest priorities at the beginning of the war was news and censorship, and the MOI created a press relations group to be responsible for this<sup>73</sup>. In terms of film propaganda, the government was slow to

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<sup>69</sup> Smither, R. 2015. 'Film/Cinema'. In: *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War 1914-1918*. Available from: <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/filmcinema> [Accessed 23rd July 2020]

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 211.

<sup>72</sup> The initial plan was for it to be split into five groups but this number was then consolidated into four groups: a press relations group to be responsible for the news and censorship which was one of the highest priorities at the beginning of the war; a foreign and home publicity users that oversaw propaganda policy; a co-ordination and intelligence group that looked after administration; and a publicity producers group that looked after the design and production.

<sup>73</sup> Irving, H. 2014. The Ministry at a glance. *A history of the Ministry of Information 1939-1946*. 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2014. [online]. Available from: <http://www.moidigital.ac.uk/blog/ministry-glance/> [Accessed 8<sup>th</sup> June 2020]

act. The GPO Film Unit was established in 1933 as a separate entity and it produced documentary films including those that supported the war effort, such as Jennings' *Britain Can Take It!*<sup>74</sup>. In 1940 the MOI took over the GPO and renamed it the Crown Film Unit<sup>75</sup>, and the purpose of this branch of the MOI was to produce propaganda films. Jennings also produced *Listen to Britain*<sup>76</sup> as part of the Crown Film Unit. It was important that the government used cinemas for their propaganda as many of the working classes went to the cinema as part of their weekly routines, 19 million people went to the cinema in Britain every week, and by 1945 this number had almost doubled to 30 million<sup>77</sup>. Therefore, these films connect people through their *gemeinschaft* and closer bonds, but more directly national pieces of propaganda and documentaries are aimed at the larger societal bonds in the *gesellschaft*. Both of Jennings' films also highlighted the work of the working classes, ensuring that they felt their role within communities was perceived as important. The Government was slow to act on expanding these film units, but both these films by Jennings not only focused on the working classes, but also had similar intentions of bringing together the national spirit and imagined idea of community to encourage people to become involved in the war effort. Hence, WWI was labelled as the People's War because everyone had a part to play<sup>78</sup>. The use of propaganda differed between WWI & WWII but, overall, it was aimed at bringing together communities through their national and patriotic sense of imagined idea of community and collective identity. It was also used to help keep communities together and encourage an imagined community in the post-war period, by shaping people's perceptions. Propaganda is examined briefly in the next chapter alongside amateur and professional films and how they can be used to shape the audience's perception of their community. The use of propaganda through newsreels will be an element of the research in Chapter Three, alongside utilising amateur footage to understand within later chapters. Propaganda is also analysed in Chapter 5 and 6 in relation to amateur and professional footage, and how it shapes audience perceptions. The taxonomy and type of film footage will be used to establish the background of the amateur filmmakers, such as distinguishing the differences between the filmmakers' origins utilising 9.5 mm or 16mm film footage.

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<sup>74</sup> *Britain Can Take It!* 1940. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit

<sup>75</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 217.

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter 5 for a more detailed analysis of this film: *Listen to Britain*. 1942. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

<sup>77</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 217.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

In addition, the adaptation of propaganda as a means of mass communication was conceptualised by Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities*<sup>79</sup>. The theory of imagined communities integrates with the analytical methods established in the previous sections of the chapter. Anderson analyses nationalism, how a community is socially constructed and interpreted to be important by people who perceive themselves as belonging to a group of others from the same country. Anderson specifically focuses on nationalism, but this theory can be applied to people perceiving themselves as belonging to local or regional communities. Humphries<sup>80</sup> applies this concept to the construction of the imagined community in local communities through newspapers, as they provide means for people to imagine their local community. Firstly, it is important to examine Anderson's idea of the imagined community, and how ideas of nationality and regionality are socially constructed. Anderson states that nationalism and ideas of a national community are imagined because:

regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings<sup>81</sup>

Even though many people in a nation will never meet or come face to face, they perceive themselves to have a similar affinity or interests as they identify as being part of the same nation. Within the YFA's collections during WWI and WWII this is particularly overt in the many Coronation and victory celebrations after both wars. The presentation of bunting and street parties are an obvious demonstration of this national community spirit and how this interacts with events that were planned locally. The whole basis of the imagined community is what strengthened and structured the allied forces during both World War One and Two. Furthermore, this happened by understanding what was depicted in the local YFA, its interaction with the professional mass media propaganda that was occurring nationally and how this allowed the audience to perceive what was considered to be the national imagined community. It was considered how events such as the coronation celebrations were influenced by national propaganda, and also how events such as small village fetes which had a coronated Queen and the British flag replicated this idea on a local level. At some point these

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<sup>79</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Verso.

<sup>80</sup> Humphries, D.T. 2017. Different dispatches: Journalism in American modernist prose. In: Cain, E. ed. *Literary Criticism and Cultural Theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup>ed. New York: Routledge.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Verso. p. 7.

imagined communities became realised and people reflected it themselves to show their own national spirit. This is reflected in WWII and the post-war period. During WWI and the post-war period, these imagined ideas of community were no longer imagined. These communities were filtered through propaganda and came to represent real communities. This was filtered through professional propaganda and similarly, in a constructed manner on a local level, in amateur propaganda. This will be discussed within the later chapters of the thesis.

This understanding of imagined and nationalistic ideas of community can also be applied to what is considered to be a cultural community, where people from a country or location form a community group because there is something they share; they may have little in common, but their nationality may help to form their own community grouping<sup>82</sup>. This is also explained slightly more in the next section of the chapter when looking at ethnicity.

To illustrate the importance of imagined community, propaganda from a national scale will be examined in comparison to the localised archive footage to see how the imagined idea of community is reflected by communities on a local scale. This particularly is important with amateur filmmakers reflecting constructed imagined communities who have nationalistic and patriotic values on a local scale, in smaller local events. It is important to indicate that within the nature of amateur and professional films the actions of individual characters, families or people depicted on screen become metonymic and reflective of the wider community. For example, the idea of the imagined community is often depicted in professional film footage as its main aim was to bring the community together, and the actions of the characters within each of these films demonstrate that. *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>83</sup> is a piece of professional propaganda; part of this makes deliberate reference to "...those at home in good old Hull **will do their duty**...". This makes an explicit reference to the role of members of communities contributing towards WWI. However, there are more subtle references to the role of communities, such as family members waving soldiers off to war, which would have been part of what made up communities and something many people did within communities. It is often small underlying everyday acts that demonstrate how the intention of these films is reflected by real communities.

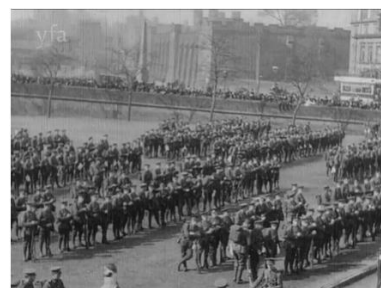
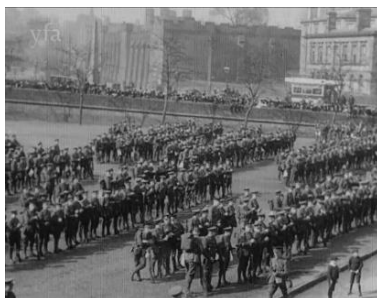
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<sup>82</sup> Parekh, B. 2001. Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory. *Ethnicities*, 1(1), pp. 109-115.

<sup>83</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

Similarly, another professional piece of film footage, *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*<sup>84</sup>, shows the soldiers gathering, marching and people walking with their loved ones before they go to war. Although this footage is constructed for the purposes of propaganda this film was not choreographed or fictionalised other than having the camera in different places where the soldiers were walking in York. So what is depicted in this film is real scenes between different communities, for example, families and their loved ones leaving as soldiers for war and soldiers marching together as a collective battalion, but this footage will have been edited to encourage conscription and recruitment. This film shows a crowded scene of soldiers parading and saying goodbye to their loved ones, while a more nuanced reading of one of the scenes shows a woman in smart attire, a long coat, a scarf and hat holding the hand of another soldier across Lendal Bridge. The nature of their relationship is unknown but the audience can see that they have a close bond, either as lovers or members of the same family. Although there is a crowd within the scenes the acts of the individuals become metonymic and representative of the national community. Similarly, another nuanced reading shows a little girl who can be seen in the second and third images at the bottom of the film speaking to another soldier and quickly running off; it is these subtle glimpses into family life and community that reinforce these ideas of an imagined community and these everyday family values that connect the real and imagined community.

The aim of these examples is to demonstrate the representation of community through everyday familial actions, and these do not reflect the nature of class in communities other than through knowing that the director was from an upper-middle class background. To a certain extent this also represents how community was culturally built in this era of WWI and WWII and how the unity and bonds between communities were reflected on a subtle and explicit scale, particularly when they were necessary for the morale of national community.




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<sup>84</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

Similarly, in the interwar period close family scenes demonstrate the bonds of communities in a different manner. *Rachel Discovers the Sea*<sup>86</sup> is a film that shows the innocence of youth and family bonds despite there being growing panic and fears of the looming war. This film demonstrates the innocence of youth through Rachel taking her first steps into the sea, the family having jovial fun and family members tip-toeing in the sand. This footage reflects the nature of communities in this private amateur film and the message of this film re-iterates the close minded sense of family that is demonstrated in early professional footage.



On the other hand, these films, even though they are amateur, are directed and crafted with a purpose in mind so the depiction that is shown is of the real community instead of the crafted imagined community for the camera. However, the ideals of the unified and close bonds of the imagined idea of community do reverberate through these intimate family scenes and close moments. These become representative of the wider community. Consequently, this demonstrates how ideas of the imagined community are iterative, how amateur footage and professional footage influence one another and reflect this idea of the community on a local and national scale. What has to be considered is the bonds between local communities and regional members within communities, who may imagine they have closer bonds with one another, particularly in terms of dialect, and how this compares to nationalised ideas of identity<sup>88</sup>. The similarities and contradictions between this footage are crucial to

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> *Rachel Discovers the Sea*. 1939. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 354). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/857> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Alexander, C., Edwards, R., & Temple, B. 2007. Contesting cultural communities: Language, ethnicity and citizenship in Britain. *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, 33(5), pp. 783-800.

comprehending the constructed professional ideas of community in comparison to how it was perceived on a local scale.

These cultural and imagined ideas of community are more present in propaganda with an agenda rather than home movies and amateur footage, as propaganda often intentionally creates a sense of community to which the audience can relate. However, while in amateur film footage the more nuanced moments focused on individuals' actions create this sense of community, these small subtle moments in some ways become representative of the larger community. Similarly, the actions represented in nuanced private family moments in the interwar period and the relationships within families, despite the impending fear of war, can become reflective of the larger community. These intimate moments between family members create a sense of community within families and reflect what is happening in the wider community, as many families had similar moments and a fear of the upcoming war. Thus, these examples of interactions between individual families can be reflective of the relationships in families in the wider community. Therefore, by viewing the connection between propaganda, and imagined ideas of community audiences can understand communities through professional film footage and how the values of community on a large scale reverberate in intimate family relationships that are shown in more amateur film footage and vice versa.

### Chapter 1.3: Gender, Class and community.

So far this chapter has discussed community in relation to the historic and contemporary perspectives towards class, and how imagined communities are depicted within films. The latter part of this chapter analyses the role of gender and ethnicity in community, how this has developed, and how it is depicted often more subtly in archived footage. However, what is crucial in this examination of community is the role of class and the imagined community as these are prevalent themes in these films. Although gender and ethnicity are vital in this examination they are not as prevalent as the other two themes of class and the imagined community, within the film footage. Therefore, this section examines the role of gender and ethnicity between 1910 and 1954, as the role of women and ethnicity adapted in the same way that class did.

What should be considered within this research on community is the role of women during World War One and Two. Women's roles grew, perceptions towards women changed and their role within society developed drastically between 1910 and 1954. Prior to WWI women campaigned for the vote, as suffragists, as they did not have many rights in comparison to men, and were often worse off, at least in an economic sense. This movement peaked in success during the war, when women played an important role in manufacturing munitions, and in white collar jobs like bus conductors and in the banks<sup>89</sup>. Their role only expanded in areas such as agriculture during WWII. Consequently, this contribution helped women gain the vote, at 30 in 1918 and at 21 after 1928, even though it was expected for most women to return to the household once WWI had ended. This expectation for women to return to the household once the war had ended was only where they had no employment to return to or where the female role had not been permanently expanded, as in some cases women were paid less than men so it was beneficial for employers to employ more women to reduce costs and create a more competitive employment environment<sup>90</sup>. Therefore, the division of community during this context separated the working class from upper class citizens, but also men from women.

In the interwar period the economy was boosted, and, in this time, there was an introduction of female filmmakers as filmmaking equipment became more affordable in the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Crew, J. 1989. Women's wages in Britain and Australia during the First World War. *Labour history: A Journal of Labour and Social History*, 57, pp. 27-43.



1920s<sup>91</sup>. However, in 1919 the Sex Disqualification (removal) Act gave women more options to train as teachers and nurses<sup>92</sup>. Middle-class women benefited from these changes<sup>93</sup>. New jobs began to emerge for women in the 1930s, such as clerical jobs, typing, assembly work and over the counter sales. Consequently, after WWI women's roles in the workplace expanded. However only 10% of married women had working roles and often when women got married, they were expected to give up their employment. Trade unions which supported male roles in the workplace were increasingly concerned that women would be used for cheap labour to replace men<sup>94</sup>. By 1931 a woman's weekly wage had returned to the pre-war level which was roughly half of a man's wage for the same amount of work<sup>95</sup>. Although by this stage women did have the right to vote and had more political sway. In WWII, fortunately, women could engage in men's work, and as of December 1941 single women aged 21- 30 could be employed as part of the armed forces, civil defence, or war industries. Up to 7.25 million women were employed in 1943 (which was 36% of the total number of women), and these figures included domestic workers<sup>96</sup>. During WWII women's pay was on average about 50% of men's and trade unions were still worried about women's potential to displace men from the workplace, as skilled or unskilled jobs were aimed mainly at women<sup>97</sup>. There was also a lot of poster propaganda aimed at women during WWII to encourage them to join the workforce, but during this time period women are depicted fairly accurately as being involved in the munitions process in industrial factories as their role was ever important during WWII<sup>98</sup>. This highlights the role of women was adaptable and ever-changing in the same way that class shifted and this change is also reflected through films, certainly from the interwar period onwards. On a national scale this analysis reflects how women's roles changed between 1910-1945, but it is

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<sup>91</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 2001. Morphing history into histories: From amateur film to the archive of the future. *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists* 1 (1): pp. 108-30.

<sup>92</sup> Takayanagi, M. 2019. Sacred year or broken reed? The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919. *Women's History Review*, pp. 1-20.

<sup>93</sup> Todd, S. 2004. Young women, work and family in inter-war rural England. *The Agricultural History Review*, pp. 83-98.

<sup>94</sup> Undy, R. 2012. Trade union organisation 1945-95, *Britain at Work*, London: TUC Collections. Available at:

<http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/narrativedisplay.php?type=tradeunionorganisation> (accessed 16th March 2020)

<sup>95</sup> Todd, S. 2004. Young women, work and family in inter-war rural England. *The Agricultural History Review*, pp. 83-98.

<sup>96</sup> Summerfield, P. 1984. Mobilisation. In: *Women workers in the Second World War*. Abingdon: Routledge.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. 2013. *Out of the cage: Women's experiences in two world wars*. London: Routledge.

also important to examine this on a local scale. This is similarly reflected in the differences between national and local films from the Yorkshire Film Archive.

In terms of how this affected people on a local scale through female employment in Yorkshire, it is difficult to compare like for like with employment for women on a national scale. To further understand the different levels of female employment in Northern regions of the United Kingdom, for comparison this research will examine female employment in the Northumberland coal mining community<sup>99</sup>. This is not necessarily reflective of female employment in Yorkshire and North Eastern regions, but it demonstrates how female roles were different in areas with a large manufacturing industry and how female roles varied depending upon the region, people's upbringing and the cultural traditions within communities. Hall's research on the coal mining community separates female employment into domestic women and political women. This contemporary reading reveals how domestic women fit in with the male breadwinner ideology in their domesticated role and ultimately are subordinates to their male counterparts. Political women choose public life and fight for social and feminist causes. One of these coal mining communities, Ashington, had "79 percent of its men employed in the mining industry in 1911"<sup>100</sup>. In part some of the women in these mining communities conformed to this image of domesticity, but others forged the Woman's Co-operative Guild, part of the Labour Party and suffrage cause. There was a rather large lack of women employed in coal mining, as coal mining helped to establish ideas of the male breadwinner role in these communities. However, in areas like Lancashire, there were often pit brow women who were employed to clean the coal at the surface of the mines. There was in part a well-founded fear in men that was prevalent across the country of male competition and low female wages that encouraged this idea of domesticity, and if women were to join the work force this would lower men's wages in competition. These coal mining areas became defined by their masculinity. Even before women were married most roles offered to them were in domestic service, and any roles they gained were temporary.

In these areas there was strong sense of masculinity and working-class culture. Most women got married between the ages of 22.5 years and 24.3 years in these communities, and the lack of female employment contributed towards this<sup>101</sup>. There was a general oppression of women in these communities, where they were expected to treat men as kings. In the Depression in the 1930s these communities suffered greatly, as men's wages greatly reduced

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<sup>99</sup> Hall, V. G. 2001. Contrasting female identities: Women in coal mining communities in Northumberland, England, 1900-1939. *Journal of Women's History*, 13(2), pp. 107-131.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p. 107.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

and the burden of this was felt by the wives who managed their family and their budget on reduced means. These stresses could have been a cause of the 20% higher death rate among women than among men, who were at risk in mining<sup>102</sup>. Their unending labour, frequent pregnancies and a bad environment made them suffer more with ill health in mining communities than in other working-class communities. If this is then compared to political women, at the end of WWI, there was a downturn in the mining industry which was hit particularly badly by the 1930s Depression. These women adopted feminist and socialist ideals in the Women's Co-operative Guild and stressed the equality of women and the increase of working-class conditions. These women ignored the need for a traditional existence of childrearing and domesticity. Many of these women had fathers who were involved in labour organisations or met their husbands at political activities. The Women's Co-operative Guild was founded in 1908 and frequently its aim was to concentrate on issues that affected working class women, especially to improve the health conditions for working class women and their children.

When WWI began, these women worked for relief and in aid for war deaths and injuries, and their role was valuable in these efforts. It was the Labour Party that was increasingly the area of women's political activities; after its call for women to get involved in mining communities, women formed their own sections of the Labour Party. The importance of these women in the Labour Party was enormous. Most of the women who were involved initially in these politically organised groups were middle class who were then followed by working class women. These women led May Day marches and galas which focused on bringing together communities<sup>103</sup>. One can see by looking at these communities in Northumberland that there is a distinct contrast in the roles that women played; large sections of communities were in traditional domesticated roles. This was because of the lack of employment opportunities in these areas and growing up in an environment where catering to masculine needs played a large role in women's upbringing. In contrast to these were the politically motivated women who had a large role in the Labour Party, helped during WWI and brought together communities. However, their roles in these communities still relied heavily upon their femininity, for example, galas are traditionally associated with being female activities. Furthermore, conducting this in-depth analysis of women in working class communities in Northern areas such as Northumberland showed how national ideas of women's role in employment differ from what can be seen regionally. This needs to be taken into consideration when looking at the limitations of archived footage in regional areas, as

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid. p. 115.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

there is a difference in female employment and representation in traditionally masculine industrial communities, in contrast to rural communities and cities. The context also plays a crucial role in determining the representation of women and their employment, depending on whether it is female roles in WWI or, for instance, in the interwar period that are being discussed, as locally and nationally their position societally differs between these two periods.

It is important to study what else established communities in Yorkshire and the YFA, to understand the roles of gender, class, and ethnicity and how these contributed to the wider picture of community. This research intends to discover the meaning of community not only through film footage but by examining the wider aspects of society to understand how communities integrated with the changing face of British society. Hence, the categorisation of community is separated into gender and class as these segments are more apparent in a wartime setting. There was also a consideration of examining community through using ethnicity as a primary category; however, the archived film footage is limited in the depiction of different ethnic communities to primarily the Jewish community, so although this will be taken into account it will not be one of the main themes. The Jewish community are part of a cultural community<sup>104</sup> as they are from a particular country or have certain beliefs that form communities because they share certain beliefs. They may have little in common but their exclusion from parts of communities might result in their unifying as a group. This allows us to understand the formation of communities, particularly their treatment and formation in the 1930s. It is important to examine ethnicity in this examination of communities, particularly in relation to the Jewish community who were prevalent in footage during the 1930s and 1940 because of what was happening within Britain in contrast to what was happening regarding their identity and treatment in Germany. Unfortunately, in the same time period, roughly around 1935 in Britain, the 'Blackshirts' who were an anti-Semitic group and part of the British Union of Fascists spread negative stereotypes of the Jewish community and even started several fights which resulted in casualties<sup>105</sup>. It could be said that their treatment and exclusion by the BUF created unity in their opposition, and they created films that are within the archives that combat these negative stereotypes that were created<sup>106</sup>. For example, one film shows boxing in a Jewish community club in Leeds called the *Judean Club in Leeds*<sup>107</sup>. The images

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<sup>104</sup> Parekh, B. 2001. Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory. *Ethnicities*, 1(1), pp. 109-115.

<sup>105</sup> Berman, J. 2018, April 12. The Jewish community of Leeds. *Jewish communities and records*. Retrieved from: <https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/leeds.htm>

<sup>106</sup> Hoberman, J. M. 1995. Otto Weininger and the critique of Jewish masculinity. In: *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed, Harrowitz, N.A. & Hymans, B. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 141-53.

<sup>107</sup> *Judean club in Leeds*. 1935.[Film]. Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4703). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9282> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

being shown in this film of the boys boxing and sparring with each other contradict ideas that Jewish men lacked masculinity that were being perpetuated by people like the BUF at the time. In this same period, in 1935, Germany introduced the Nuremberg laws<sup>108</sup> that eroded Jews' role in the German community. These laws obliterated any social and economic power they had, and they could no longer work in the government or the public sector. These laws were the catalyst that later led to the Holocaust. However, in Britain a large part of the Jewish community worked in Leeds in the tailoring trade, and this was valued by other parts of communities and was also perceived as a middle-class occupation<sup>109</sup>. Hence, an important group in terms of ethnicity within communities in the 1930s was the Jewish community and their constantly evolving perceptions from the British perspective in contrast with how they were perceived in Germany. This element within communities is important to explore in this research as it reveals potentially marginalised groups of communities in Yorkshire which add to the audience's nuanced understanding of what was happening in this time period and how it was reflected in archived films. Consequently, through using women and to some extent ethnicity the potential outcome of the research is made more impactful by giving an in-depth picture of society that this thesis utilises to analyse in more detail. Therefore, this thesis will analyse communities through looking at class, imagined community, gender and ethnicity; however, since there is not much archival footage available in regard to gender and ethnicity, these themes and the absence of these themes will be analysed in less detail than the more prevalent elements in the film footage.

In using a working and adaptable definition of class and imagined community, in comparison to reality these somewhat help to define what communities were when applied to the archival film footage. Using multiple definitions of class and the imagined community in urban and rural settings and applying these to the ever adaptable class parameters in WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period helps to understand community, both in terms of how it is represented and also how people perceived it within society. In addition, it is important to understand the relationship between community and individual identity and how the depictions of individuals' actions on screen are representative of communities on a larger scale, both explicitly and in a more nuanced manner when showing interactions and family relationships. It is also essential to have a fully rounded perception of community that studies changes in gender and in cultural communities including ethnicity. It should be added that this research focuses on class, ethnicity, and gender as it emerges from depictions within the

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<sup>108</sup> Finch, G. A. 1947. The Nuremberg Trial and international law. *American Journal of international law*, 1(1), pp. 20-37.

<sup>109</sup> Berman, J. 2018, April 12. The Jewish community of Leeds. *Jewish communities and records*. Retrieved from: <https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/leeds.htm>

footage. Most of the material shows male upper-middle class filmmakers depicting events over this time period. The material relating to female filmmakers focuses primarily on amateur filmmakers with the exception of one filmmaker Hannchen Drasdo. There has been a significant amount of research on female amateur filmmakers in the Yorkshire Film Archive by Heather Norris Nicholson with Motrescu-Hayes<sup>110</sup> in which she examines the films of Fairbank, Betty Ramsden, and Kathleen Lockwood. If this research were to only analyse women there would not be enough of an original contribution to knowledge and there would not be sufficient material to analyse in relation to professional filmmaking and propaganda. The same could be said about Jewish filmmakers from this research it has discovered there were only two male Jewish filmmakers which is limited in terms of this research and limits our perception of the Jewish community. In addition, these two filmmakers only made films in the interwar period, they did not produce films in WWII and in the post-war period only one Jewish filmmaker produced films. Therefore, there is not sufficient enough filmmaking examples in the Yorkshire Film Archive to sufficiently analyse the Jewish community unless other primary research is introduced i.e. diary extracts, or work within the theatre. A combined approach that uses class, gender and ethnicity allows the audience to understand a rounded perception of community. Class has a large role in this research, as it is predominantly depicted through the lens of male filmmakers within these films and has a pivotal role in this context.

It is important to then investigate how these changes serve to stratify communities in Yorkshire, even though these alterations are more subtly depicted than class and the imagined community. Alternatively, whilst it is of paramount importance to analyse what is contained within the film footage, it is also crucial to determine and understand what elements of community the audience does not see. Furthermore, it is important to analyse if the audience see women, ethnicity, and class boundaries in film footage; it is imperative to examine why the audience are being shown this. In addition, it is crucial to investigate who is being shown in front of the camera and who is behind the camera, the purpose and intention of this, and what social problems the absence of people reveals on the camera. This further highlights the issue of who is filming and who is being filmed, that dictates the relationship between the social actors and filmmakers, which is crucial to consider from a historical and contemporary perspective.

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<sup>110</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

## **Chapter 2: Methodology**

This chapter will discuss methodology and methodological processes in three sections: methodological processes, archiving methodology and textual analysis. The methodological process discusses how thematic analysis is used to gather data on the core themes surrounding community, identity and war. The archiving methodology section examines what current research exists on archiving in British archives by using doctoral theses which have used sources from the BFI and YFA, and what historical sources they operationalised. Textual analysis explores what process can be used to examine and analyse moving film images, posters and any type of propaganda. The final part of this methodology chapter investigates the differences between propaganda, amateur and professional footage which are complex to define and ever changing depending on the historic context.

## Chapter 2.1: Methodological processes

Prior to looking at archival film footage the provenance of the history of the archives (meaning film archive footage as a whole) and storage of archival footage will be investigated to enhance and contextualise the knowledge gained from this research and to explain the process of archiving. The provenance of each piece of footage in the archives is examined after the piece of footage has been viewed, because it is important to consider as a researcher how knowledge of the source may impact my reading of the film. This is important when using a semiotic approach to avoid any erroneous preconceptions before viewing the film<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, to understand how the methodology was formulated in previous archival research in a British setting in doctoral papers, existing research has been examined to give this project the scope and depth that is necessary. Firstly, this section explains the thematic process that helped form the methodology to analyse archive film footage.

The processes that aided the formation of this methodology included using thematic analysis to gather data on the film footage stored in the archive<sup>2</sup>. The main themes for this thesis include community, identity, WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period. The way that the data was initially gathered was by conducting a systematic search of the archive for thematically relevant material and then using the data gathered from these initial searches to concentrate on specific collections and filmmakers that focus on community, publicly and privately. This research started by using key thematic terms of community as applied to WWI and WWII. Through viewing key collections of films of this time period, certain filmmakers emerged who had collections that spanned over a number of decades including professional filmmakers such as Ernest Symmons and amateur filmmakers including T H Brown, Ibberson and Beardsell. These collections were chosen as it was apparent that they showed both elements of community and engagement with both public and private spheres. However, to a certain extent due to the qualitative nature of this research these collections were subjectively chosen. This is one of the limitations of qualitative research and filmmaking in particular is that there is always a level of subjectivity to the selection of film footage both within the YFA and in wider film collections such as the BFI and IWM. Through conducting the research other themes have emerged, including female filmmakers, local defence volunteers, evacuee children, class divisions and divisions between genders<sup>3</sup>. The last two themes are

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<sup>1</sup> Metz, C. 1974. *Film language: A semiotics of the cinema* [Le cinéma: langue ou langage?]. Trans. M. Taylor. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Braun, V., & Clarke, V. 2006. Using Thematic analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> This included the lack of data on prisoners of war,



certainly the most prevalent when examining archival film footage and constructed assertions of an idyllic communality. The class barriers that existed prior to WWI & WWII still existed within the war and interwar periods and so did the changes between genders which are not initially obvious from assumptions alone<sup>4</sup>. These assumptions have been challenged as a result of analysing the content available on the core themes of community and identity in the archives. The examination of the footage began by acknowledging the fact that there are approximately 2301 pieces of film footage from 1910- 1954 in the YFA, so the core themes surrounding community and identity were used to narrow the focus of the research. After this the most relevant films were chosen from this data set to reveal those that pertained to the amateur archived films and the themes in question. Other films that are held outside the YFA, including films by Humphrey Jennings, from the Imperial War Museum and British Film Institute, are also included in this data set for thematic analysis as these films allow the amateur film footage to be compared and contrasted with those produced by production companies, including production companies that are small and large in size.

Another perception that is useful to consider compared to depiction of communities in Britain is the international perspective. This research includes a small number of films that are filmed in foreign countries for cross analysis. In the main analysis, the international perspective is primarily discussed in the interwar period through amateur films shot on holidays in foreign countries, some propaganda films in WWII and a small analysis of a feature film produced and shot in the Weimar Republic, specifically *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt?*<sup>5</sup>. Alternatively, these cannot be compared like for like, as the boundaries of this research mean there is not the same access available to the European archive footage as there is to footage in the British archives. The footage available helps to establish the context and, in some cases of propaganda, helps as comparison for the British films. This is especially important for examining foreign countries, namely Germany, around the time of WWII, when the German community differed from the British community as Germany was divided by rejecting Jews, gypsies and the disabled from their communities. However, in this time they also brought together the Hitler youth, increased employment and to a certain extent unified the catholic and protestant communities which had previously been divided<sup>6</sup>. In this case it is important to identify the real differences between propaganda and film that is being 'controlled' and manipulated against films made without constraints, in essence (at least in theory), amateur

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<sup>4</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>5</sup> *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* 1932. [Film]. Slatan Dudow. Prometheus Film: Weimar Republic.

<sup>6</sup> Although the Nazis were officially atheists, not pagan:  
Please see source. Keegan, J. 1989. *The second world war*. New York: Penguin Books.

footage in comparison to professional footage<sup>7</sup>. Alternatively, this limits the research in countries outside of Britain to primarily the mass media's perception of what was occurring in these contexts. This gives more of a rounded perception of the official and unofficial perception of community and camaraderie in Britain. However, another factor to consider is the differences between professional propaganda on a more localised scale in comparison to propaganda on a national scale, and what may differ in what they depict. The differences between these historic films across a national and international context also integrate into a discussion that relates to contemporary society and what defines how the media cover war. Some of these points are the subject of discussion, especially in Taylor's research entitled *Munitions of the Mind*<sup>8</sup>. This research discusses the media coverage during WWI, WWII and in more recent affairs, although it does not broach the subject of archived film footage. But these aspects regarding professional and amateur media coverage during the war will be pertinent for examination throughout the course of this research.

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<sup>77</sup> Hallam, J. 2010. Film, space and place: researching a city in film. *New review of film and television studies*, 8, no. 3: pp. 277-296.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

## Chapter 2.2: Literature Review: Archiving Methodology

This research aims to examine archival film footage and, to do so, analyse what methodologies have previously been used to explore the content of film footage. The concept behind these methodologies is that feature films or films in general can be used as a historical source. Films in general and some feature films are used as a historic source by comparing films from outside sources to the YFA. Using these films allows amateur footage to be compared and contrasted with films made by production companies, including production companies that are large or small in scale. Film was initially considered to be useful as a historic record and documentation of evidence<sup>9</sup>. The concept behind gathering these amateur, professional, feature films and propaganda is that films reflect what is happening in society in any given time, they reflect issues of identity and relations within communities<sup>10</sup>. Amateur and professional films are studied in detail, whereas the overall message from feature films is explored, as it is difficult to examine a full-length feature film in detail without detracting from the breadth of films in the thesis. These differing reflections of communities are shown to the audience knowingly or unknowingly by the director of film footage depending upon their intention<sup>11</sup>.

To understand the methodologies and approach to archiving within the Yorkshire Film Archives it is important to discover the history behind film and film reels, which is over 100 years old. The origins of film began in Yorkshire, hence illustrating the appropriateness of using the YFA for this thesis. Instead of being shown in the cinema, films were initially shown at county fairs and were considered almost disposable as there was often only one copy made of the film<sup>12</sup>. The changing nature and use of film over the century from business use to propaganda in country fairs and cinemas is very important; especially its evolution from professional and upper-class purposes to expanded personal use that became popular within the 1920s and 1940s helps the analysis of its content<sup>13</sup>. Ten years after the patenting of film

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<sup>9</sup> Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA)., 2013. "YFA Training Handbook" (Training Handbook, YFA, York).

<sup>10</sup> Richards, J. 1997. *Films & British national identity: From dickens to dad's army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Marwick, A. 1989. *The nature of history*. 3rd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 216-218.

<sup>12</sup> Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA)., 2013. "YFA Training Handbook" (Training Handbook, YFA, York).

<sup>13</sup> Bertacchi, M. 2006. *List of early 35 mm camera*. in University of Bologna [database online]. Bologna, 9 August 2006 [cited 16/03/17 March 2017]. Available from [http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early\\_135.html](http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early_135.html).

cameras, in 1898 Boleslas Matuszewski wrote *A New Source of History* which encouraged the collection and preservation of films<sup>1415</sup>.

This thesis also endeavoured to use some research held in the BFI to examine the dominant methodologies and research methods that were used to explore archival research. The BFI is an important resource for determining the previous research on archiving and in conducting the analysis. There is more research held in the BFI, and it can be compared to the YFA, as it holds the same type of filmic material on a larger scale<sup>16</sup>. Consequently, to form the foundations of how to conduct archival research, this thesis will examine previous doctoral papers and pieces of research on archives (including the BFI) and their approach to archived film footage. Using previous doctoral papers provides a more useful insight into amateur film footage than analysing research in the BFI, which focuses more on the industry instead of individuals. This thesis first examines the doctoral research.

The theory used by others to analyse archival footage involves using the methodologies established by O'Connor, Sorlin and Richards which form the basis for O'Neill's doctoral thesis<sup>17</sup> that uses archival footage from the BFI. However, this research also realises that documentary or film footage during this period, especially newsreels, had the dual purpose of acting as propaganda; and propaganda had the ability to distort the truth in favour of war or against war. This raises questions about the nature of truth on a fundamental scale; however, this question is adjunct to the thesis and not part of the central discussion. According to Taihei & Baskett's documentary theory every document or source is a result of human intervention: "No matter how passively an object is shot, it signifies the act of the recorder at work...as long as every document is the act of a human, it cannot escape its responsibility as

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<sup>14</sup> Matuszewski, B., L. U. Marks, and D. and Koszarski. 1995. A new source of history. *Film History: Film Preservation and Film Scholarship* 7 (3): pp. 322-4.

<sup>15</sup> The British Film Institute was established in 1935. In 1938 the first conventional archive was constituted; the International Federation of Film Archives was an industry body that researched and advised ways that moving images should be archived as they had to meet standards and ethics that adhered to the standards of preservation. This was partially due to the first Cinematograph Film Act (1927) which guaranteed continuity of production within filmmaking. Initially, film was considered useful as a historic record and documentation of evidence. However, since this period film studies has been created as an academic discipline that recognises film as an art form. In order to discover more of the social history of Britain cinema archives are one of the best forms of research. This is because archives help us to understand why, how and who shot films within certain contexts.

<sup>16</sup> One of the initial problems posed within the BFI is the lack of funding in research and that most of the research is focused upon the industry rather than concentrating on the historical context of this footage. Please see source: BFI (British Film Institute). 26th October 2011. Paper presented at *Research and Policymaking for Film – A Symposium*, NESTA: London.

<sup>17</sup> O'Neill, E. M. 2006. *British world war films 1945-1965: Catharsis or national regeneration*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Central Lancashire.

a human act"<sup>18</sup>. In other words, any document, whether it is amateur film footage or propaganda, cannot be passively produced because every human brings their own perspective to the document, whether this is a conscious or unconscious decision. Therefore, the use of propaganda must be carefully considered as it is difficult to define and must take into account what the person's perspective was when producing the film as each and every document comes from a certain person's perspective and what they perceive to be valuable to film and document. Additionally, there is a need to consider the nuance in the nature and extent of attempts to influence people's perception through propaganda as it can be associated with the overtones of extreme totalitarian control.

O'Neill's thesis asks three main questions of this type of methodology: "What influences were at work in shaping the film? What is the connection between the medium and the message? Who saw the film and how might it have influenced them?"<sup>19</sup>. The audience of the film is crucial to consider as it may vary from a cinema full of people to a camera club or a domestic audience of family and friends. Therefore, the ultimate message behind this methodology is how the context and direction of the medium 'film' are influenced by events occurring within society. It is also important to ask who directed the film and what their intentions may have been when directing; in the same way it is important to ask who the historian is writing the thesis and what their agenda is. This was crucial during WWI and WWII as propaganda held a crucial role alongside the changing role of censorship.

Richards<sup>20</sup> is a key historian influencing the methodology of this thesis and he examines the role of British identity in cinema, as British identity and a sense of community were both constituted and created through the propaganda that was generated by these wars. This influences the methodology from a cultural, political, and historic perspective, which is vital when conducting this research. The prevalence of a national identity created a sense of community, whether false or not, and was the predominant discourse of propaganda generated throughout this period, particularly due to political acts such of censorship and DORA in WWI being in place. Censorship in DORA ensured that positive news was generated about the war to help build morale and hence acted as encouragement for the war, so is not

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<sup>18</sup> Taihei, I., and Baskett, M. 2010. A theory of film documentary. *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22: p. 52.

<sup>19</sup> O'Neill, E. M. 2006. *British world war films 1945-1965: Catharsis or national regeneration*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Central Lancashire. p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Richards, J. 1997. National Identity. In: *Films & British national identity: From dickens to dad's army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

necessarily trustworthy<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, in his definition of community, as defined previously, Richards uses the same parameters as Weber's *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*:

history of a country in the modern world is a matter of continual negotiation between the nation...and the people (the masses, the working classes, the majority segment of the population); between the state... and the citizenry (collective membership of the country); between the centre and the localities; between the city and the county; between the majority and minorities.. Every nation has a set of national values, desirable qualities that derive from national identity<sup>22</sup>.

The use of film as a methodology is how Richards harnesses what is on screen as a representation of what happened in society and how these films enhance our core comprehension as a modern society of what happened in the past. Furthermore, film can be used to comprehend what constituted national identity and community, between many different classes: the rich and poor; male and female; and the state and its citizens. Sorlin<sup>23</sup> similarly uses these tools to understand how the term war is understood and experienced throughout film. Sorlin articulates this through the distinction between seeing and not seeing, that there are certain elements of war that are not necessarily written but are depicted on screen, that there are unintentional truths depicted cinematically in film footage that are simply not present through written resources. This enables film as a form of research to enrich our comprehension of social and cultural events that occurred in the past, without each narrative having to be published as the official narrative and iteration of events. Marwick also borrows American historian of science Henry Guerlac's phraseology when referring to intentional and unintentional information that is revealed cinematically and refers to it as witting and unwitting testimony. Marwick states that:

'Witting' means ... intentional; 'unwitting' means...unintentional.  
 'Testimony' means evidence. ... it is the writer, creator, or creators of the document or source, who is, or are, intentional or unintentional, not the testimony itself ... Witting testimony is the information or impression that the person or persons who originally compiled... the source intended to

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<sup>21</sup> Hopkin, D. 1970. Domestic censorship in the first world war. *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (4): pp. 151-69.

<sup>22</sup> Richards, J. 1997. *Films & British national identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.1-2.

<sup>23</sup> Sorlin, P. 1994. War and cinema: Interpreting the relationship. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14 (4): pp. 357-65.

convey ... or record. ... Unwitting testimony is evidence which historians find very useful, but which the originator of the document is not conscious might be conveyed to later historians, for it would be known... or taken for granted, by contemporaries.<sup>24</sup>

This quote from Marwick reinforces how historical research covering both documents and any other source has a witting and unwitting meaning. This is particularly important within this thesis when examining amateur film footage as this is more at the core of these film sources than historical documents are. The use of the distinction between Marwick's witting and unwitting testimony will be further operationalised alongside the methodology of this research. Marwick's research is a classic piece of textual analysis that covers the period of the First and partially the Second World War, making it insightful to the thesis. Marwick's research is further reinforced in Anthony's<sup>25</sup> research in 2018, which also examines the projection of England and its public relations executed through documentary cinema. Moreover, Marwick discusses the usefulness of media such as film and artwork in his research, which makes his contribution and insightfulness into the topic of the witting and unwitting testimony behind historical sources even more useful. However, Marwick does not specifically account for this feature in amateur film footage, which is what makes the application of his witting and unwitting testimony even more original in this thesis.

O'Connor's research<sup>26</sup> forms the basis of the historical methodology and textual analysis in this study which works in relation to a close reading of the text and states how the methodology of film should be analysed by beginning with the film's content, how it was produced and its general reception by the audience. As well, the framework for historical analysis includes: "(1) moving image documents as representations of history; (2) moving image documents as evidence for social and cultural history; (3) moving image documents as evidence for historical fact; (4) moving image documents as evidence for the history of film and television"<sup>27</sup>. This quote demonstrates how the interpretation of film has a multifaceted benefit to historical knowledge. In addition, O'Connor reinforces how something unique can be interpreted from film that cannot be determined from reading a written text, as equally important cultural and historic insights can be gained from a close study of film as from

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<sup>24</sup> Marwick, A. 1989. *The nature of history*. 3rd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 216-218.

<sup>25</sup> Anthony, S. 2018. The Projection of England and documentary cinema. In *Public relations and the making of modern Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>26</sup> O'Connor, J.E. 1990. *Image as artifact: The historical analysis of film and television*, ed. J. E. O'Connor. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Co.

<sup>27</sup> O'Connor, J. E. 2002. Image as artifact: Historians and the moving image media. *OAH magazine of history*, 16 (4): pp. 22-4.

studying newspaper articles. The role of archiving and newsreels has equally as much significance as cultural resources that contribute to scholarly research. These archival sources cannot be interpreted solely through written means and are often subject to the same elements of bias and misinterpretation that can be deemed important when examining written resources. For example, the methodological flaws that surround film footage, as a not completely reliable resource, may include events that may have influenced its production, its content and how it was received by the audience, but this is the same for written documents. On the other hand, this in itself suggests that there is something fundamentally reliable against which particular films can be judged. However, this is not necessarily the case because no source, documentary or film, is fundamentally reliable as each document adopts a certain perspective whether it is conscious or unconscious, in amateur or professional sources<sup>28</sup>. The research and findings of O'Neill, O'Connor, Sorlin and Richards are at the heart of this thesis and will shape the methodology and methodological outcomes in relation to footage in WWI & II. Therefore, the methodological basis and history of research regarding archiving will be considered as well as the production and content of film, and its use to help understand society from a cultural, political, and historical perspective.

The role of film is at the centre of this research and the methodology that is devised to understand how community can be understood through films held in the archive. Southern<sup>29</sup> questions how the value of film has been perceived from a governmental perspective as there is a lack of understanding on how film is embedded into the educational medium, especially in Post War Britain<sup>30</sup>. Southern argues that “the methodology of the Ministry of Education experiment was flawed so that no definitive conclusions were drawn regarding the educational ‘value’ of film. Furthermore, the ‘experiment’ was turned to political purpose”<sup>31</sup>. Southern’s argument is centred around the educational impact of film and how it was used by governmental organisations for political purposes that encouraged stratification. To a certain extent, much like history, film should be understood in conjunction with other forms of research as it is a ‘paper trail’ that should be comprehended with other historical resources to avoid the

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<sup>28</sup> Howell, M.C., and Walter, P. 2001. Introduction. In: *From reliable sources: An introduction to historical methods*. Harvard: Cornell University Press. pp. 1-17.

<sup>29</sup> Southern, A. 2014. *From visual education to 21st Century literacy: An analysis of The Ministry of Education’s postwar film production experiment and its relevance to recent film education strategies*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nottingham.

Southern, A. 2016. “Foreword”. In: *The Ministry of Education film experiment: From post-war visual education to 21st Century literacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, there has been a lack of governmental acceptance of using film as an educational aid alongside the other main disciplines taught within educational institutions.

<sup>31</sup> Southern, A. 2014. Abstract. In: *From visual education to 21st Century literacy: An analysis of the Ministry of Education’s postwar film production experiment and its relevance to recent film education strategies*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nottingham. p. 5.



purpose of the film being misinterpreted<sup>32</sup>. O'Neill's thesis further reinforces Southern's scepticism through covering aspects of film production, including the interrelationship between filmmakers and governmental organisations, as well as how films can allow the audience to navigate the political and cultural landscape. O'Neill, however, focuses primarily on WWII and the post war re-examination of this footage, but does explore similar themes of gender politics and class in different chapters of the research, while this thesis will focus on these inter-relational aspects of community between both wars within Yorkshire. The studies of O'Neill and Southern both examine footage held primarily in the BFI, whereas this thesis focuses upon the amateur and professional footage, the YFA and other archival resources such as documentary evidence and propaganda. Therefore, it is also important to establish what prior research has been done on amateur filmmaking in particular<sup>33</sup>, as well as what other research involving community from 1910- 1954 has been carried out in the YFA.

This thesis is reinforced by existing amateur filmmaking research<sup>34</sup> which describes the perception of amateur film in comparison to films on a wider scale; amateur film is described as a pale imitation of other types of films, and the value of amateur films is viewed to be extremely low. MacNamara<sup>35</sup> goes on to state in contradiction to the previous statement how important amateur filmmaking is in answering the important question of "What was it like to live in the community?", and it can be reinforced through diaries, portraits and letters that further make our understanding of life more personal. These pieces of film and text inform each other, as an amateur filmmaker is a member of a community and they can express their family, personal and community existence. This further gives us an insight about the filmmakers' relation to communities, as an artist may leave an image or impression of what they have seen but as an audience we are at their mercy, whereas filmmakers record their customs and elements of their cultural practices. MacNamara also discusses how amateur filmmakers provide more of a democratic record of life, while, on the other hand, professional and commercial film is different, but poses the question of whether this is superior. These questions are similarly raised in this thesis, as the films being studied are reinforced by historical sources. Another piece of research, entitled *Amateur Filmmaking: The Home Movie, The Archive, The Web*<sup>36</sup>, does not include films from the YFA, but it does describe how film

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<sup>32</sup> Cripps, T., ed. 1990. Image as artifact: The historical analysis of film and television. . "The Moving Image as Social History: Stalking the Paper Trail", ed. J. E. O'Connor. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Co.

<sup>33</sup> Professional filmmaking is quite well researched in this time.

<sup>34</sup> MacNamara, P. 1996. Amateur film as historical record- A democratic history? *Journal of Film Preservation*, 25 (53), p. 41.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Rascaroli, L., Young, G. and Monahan, B. eds., 2014. 'Amateur Auteur'. In: *Amateur filmmaking: The home movie, the archive, the web*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing. pp. 177-243.

studies and cultural studies have had increased relevance in terms of practices that have increased self-inscription, and more personal expression. The expansion of work on archival studies emerged from Derrida's *Archive Fever*<sup>37</sup> that discusses the concept of what an archive is and how it shelters and preserves memories<sup>38</sup>, so in this sense the archive does originate from a historical period and has influenced others in their interdisciplinary thought when searching through the archives. This research similarly considers the popularisation of media, changing power structures and how this has influenced the production of amateur films. Similarly, McCluskey<sup>39</sup> explores the upsurge of amateur filmmaking in the interwar period, but this article focuses on the depiction of mass production and mechanisation in the 1920s and 1930s<sup>40</sup>. Although this research covers some of the depiction of mass-produced products and mechanisation, it is not the primary focus of this research. Naturally, this thesis covers the movement into more mechanised labour, particularly in munitions factories, and this would have contributed to various communities. The nature of the labour is not the primary aim of this research but rather the constantly evolving nature of communities.

While the previous pieces of research investigate amateur filmmaking and archiving, Shand's<sup>41</sup> thesis also studies amateur cinema between 1930-1980 and draws upon films mainly from the Scottish Screen Archive. Shand's thesis suggests that some of the work of amateur filmmakers has been obscured by larger amateur cine groups rather than individual filmmakers, as these groups have more professionalised standards than an individual filmmaker who is making 'home-made' movies<sup>42</sup>. This thesis examines the foundations of cine clubs and the rules for producing amateur films within cine clubs, how people deemed unsuitable were excluded from amateur cine clubs as they wanted to maintain a high quality to their productions. It postulates that these amateur cine clubs advocated a policy of exclusion to safeguard their production quality. Furthermore, unique amateur film footage seems to endorse and embody elements that are throughout professional film footage, while Shand also examines how lone filmmakers did not have equipment to record sound which was certainly the case for most filmmakers within the YFA. However, as examined previously by Derrida,

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<sup>37</sup> Derrida, J & Prenowitz, E. 1998. Archive fever: A Freudian impression. *Diacritics*, 25 (2). p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> It also goes on to discuss the origins of the term archive. This originated from the Greek *arkheion*, a place where the superior magistrates or archons resided and were likely to have stored documents,

<sup>39</sup> McCluskey, M. 2019. Local production: Craft and film-making in Interwar Britain. *The Journal of Modern Craft*, pp. 1-14.

<sup>40</sup> It further discusses how there was a movement into machine made, mass produced production and how this craft was captured on film.

<sup>41</sup> Shand, R. 2007. *Amateur cinema: History, theory and genre (1930-80)*. Doctor of Philosophy., University of Glasgow.

<sup>42</sup> Shand's thesis also studies amateur filmmaking from an educational perspective which is not considered in this research, as the main focus is studying communities, amateur and professional filmmaking.

Shand analyses memory in relation to the archives and how it places an individual in history, and these films show the purpose of the individual. To this extent, the view of community life is somewhat narcissistic in the symbolic representation of communities as these films are from the viewpoint of the filmmaker. For example, why do filmmakers shoot films of holidays rather than of a disappearing trade? This to some extent represents the tendency for amateur filmmakers to film mainly private family events for their own personal self-interest. Therefore, these reveal more elements of amateur filmmaking that have not been examined as part of this thesis, for example, the self-interested nature of amateur filmmakers who focus on family scenes versus more professional films that cover public events. In addition, it considers the exclusion of members within communities from amateur cine clubs to keep the quality of each production high.

There are many pieces of research that have studied archives on a national front. The YFA has also been studied previously but in a different way and on a smaller scale than has been done with the national archives. An important piece of research to initially analyse in this study is the work of Heather Norris Nicholson<sup>43</sup> who has extensively used the YFA to study amateur filmmakers and communities in the interwar period and WWII. Nicholson's research primarily concentrates on amateur filmmaking in the North East and other archives in the UK<sup>44</sup>. Nicholson also discusses how local filmmaking helps to define and create place, particularly how these areas are shaped by 'situated knowledge'<sup>45</sup> that is known to locals and shaped by their own experiences. Nicholson goes on to state that the Holme "Valley, like any other locality, is simultaneously different places - real, imagined and invented; like the communities of interest groups within it, the valley is experienced, constructed, maintained, negotiated and revised endlessly"<sup>46</sup>. The amateur filmmaking allows and creates the environment for these constructions of place for the viewer. However, the local viewer's perception and understanding of filmmaking differs from those of the wider audience, who do not have the experience of the locality. Nicholson's research primarily analyses the footage of Lucy Fairbank and Charles Chislett in her book *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice 1927-1977*<sup>47</sup>,

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<sup>43</sup>Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local Lives and communities. In: *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

<sup>44</sup> Nicholson H, N. 2015. 'Living on location: amateur creativity and negotiating a sense of place in Yorkshire,' in Franklin, I, Skoog, K. and Chignell, H. (eds) *Regional aesthetics mapping UK media cultures*: London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-34.

<sup>45</sup> Haraway, D. 1988. Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective, *Feminist Studies*, 14: 3, pp. 575-599.

<sup>46</sup> Nicholson H, N. 2015. 'Living on location: amateur creativity and negotiating a sense of place in Yorkshire,' in Franklin, I, Skoog, K. and Chignell, H. (eds) *Regional aesthetics mapping UK media cultures*: London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

that is drawn from the YFA, as well as many other archives across the UK. Nicholson's research is particularly useful as it describes the reception of these films at showings in the community and how they were carefully and considerately shot by the filmmakers to capture the essence of community<sup>48</sup>. Gender plays an integral role in more recent research of Motrescu-Hayes & Nicholson<sup>49</sup>, where they have specifically focused upon the British Female Amateur Filmmakers and their contribution towards early filmmaking. This prior research that uses the YFA to examine community provides a useful foundation for this thesis; however, this thesis concentrates upon class, gender, and ethnicity. Although these factors are elements of Nicholson's research, they are not the pivotal points that anchor the research thematically. Whereas Nicholson's<sup>50</sup> research examines each piece of footage intimately and what each piece of footage depicts, it also studies amateur films and the nature of amateur filmmaking from across archives in the United Kingdom. Nicholson focuses on the gaze of the amateur filmmaker, the close relationship between the filmmaker and the people being filmed, as well as people's daily routines, and their ways of domestic and local life. Although this is an element of this thesis, what this thesis analyses is the contextual differences and shifting definition between amateur and professional filmmaking, the background of each of the filmmakers, and the changing definition of propaganda which is anchored to some extent to the class, gender and ethnicity of the filmmakers and people being filmed. Thus, even though there are many aspects of this thesis that are in common with Nicholson's, each of these pieces of research have differing areas of interest.

Additionally, Nicholson's research reveals the intimacy that the amateur filmmakers had within their communities by lingering on different people and their precise mannerisms in certain shots, certainly in the amateur films of Lucy Fairbank. Both Lucy Fairbank and Charles Chislett are also investigated in this study. The analysis of Fairbank's footage by Nicholson<sup>51</sup> certainly indicates that the main aim of her films was to capture life as it was, for those being filmed to ignore the presence of the camera. This was in some respect different than a stereotypical amateur film, as Fairbank captured footage of people within the village in which she lived, where she was familiar with the local community but they were not members of her family who would have a different relationship to the camera. Whereas, Charles Chislett<sup>52</sup>,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher filmmakers. *British women amateur filmmakers: National memories and global identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>50</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local lives and communities. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Family life as fact and fiction. In: *Amateur film: Meaning and Practice 1927-1977*. p. 92.

another filmmaker Nicholson studies, who is also examined in this thesis, operates his amateur filmmaking on a public and private basis. For example, many of his films focus upon his daughter Rachel and her growing up in front of the camera, “..She doesn't know a camera when she sees one but to her the world is new...With her you journey... watch her discover her shadow... Nothing which hundreds of children have not done before- but reviving happy memories for many”<sup>53</sup>. There is something infinitely personal about the films he has produced but yet natural as Rachel does not have the same awareness of the camera because of her age. Similarly, Chislett also made many films of more public events, that were staged and scripted for the Church Pastoral Aid Society, of industrial events and people's craftsmanship. Even though Chislett was an amateur filmmaker, many of his films blurred the distinction between amateur and professional, and the public and private. The same could be said about the films of Lucy Fairbank as their distinction blurs the boundaries between public and private life, but this is not the primary focus of Nicholson's research, which is what makes the research question in this thesis unique. Nicholson concentrates on the nature of amateur filmmaking and reception, whereas this thesis studies community through class, gender, and ethnicity as well as the nature of amateur and professional filmmaking. Nicholson's research provides a helpful basis on which to understand the careful craftsmanship of amateur filmmaking, which is valuable in comparison to other doctoral research that has analysed film in WWI, the interwar period, WWII, the post-war period and film archives.

Furthermore, more recent research by Motrescu-Hayes & Nicholson<sup>54</sup> focuses on British Women Amateur Filmmakers in several contexts and over an extended time from 1920s onwards. It also discusses in detail the films of Lucy Fairbank and Kathleen Lockwood, two filmmakers and teachers who are examined in this thesis and whose work is prominent in the YFA. They also briefly discuss Betty and Cyril Ramsden, a couple who made amateur films as part of the Leeds Cine Circle. They made more than fifty films together which included club productions. Betty was also a teacher, which she gave up when she was married, and Cyril had his own dental practice where she was a receptionist. This reflects the trend of upper-middle class and middle class women being involved in filmmaking<sup>55</sup>. Their research discusses the background of Lockwood and Fairbank in detail, how they both came to be involved in filmmaking within their local cine club communities and the impact this had in their

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher filmmakers. *British women amateur filmmakers: National memories and global identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. pp. 38-39.

local community. Motrescu-Hayes & Nicholson's<sup>56</sup> research is informative and insightful into the background of female filmmakers and what their relationship was within their local communities. It is clear that class, community and gender had an important role in the foundations of female filmmaking, which is reflected in the natural filmmaking techniques of these female filmmakers and their interplay with the local community. Fairbank would often show her films of the local villages and of her travels to the children and to a local audience until 1963, when she passed her collection on to Ian Baxter, a former pupil, and a close friend. Lockwood would also show her films, but this would often be with a mixture of bought films and her films were often of the local community, rather than showing any travels<sup>57</sup>. Both these filmmakers had a crucial role in navigating filmmaking in a male dominated practice and sharing these films in their local community. These filmmakers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 with Lucy Fairbank and in Chapter 5 for Kathleen Lockwood. The research regarding British Women Amateur Filmmakers is extremely useful as a foundation to build upon, however the focus of this thesis covers community from a variety of angles, including ethnicity and class, which are not addressed as explicitly by Motrescu-Hayes & Nicholson<sup>58</sup>.

There are also other pieces of research that cover amateur films that provide a useful insight for this thesis. For example, Nicholson<sup>59</sup> provides an understanding into how childhood is reflected through amateur footage, and how this is examined from an adult's perspectives, almost defining a difference between us and them as the difference between children and adults. It discusses how home movies often portray family scenes, and these images become part of the symbolic, real and imagined identities. These films often offer us a small perspective into diversities of communities in these films. Nicholson uses Chislett and his depiction of childhood memories and making sense of the world. Chislett made travelogues of various areas, which reflected the democratic and middle-class values that were similarly shown in professional footage<sup>60</sup>. Nicholson's research discusses the relationship with non-professional film, also shows issues of identity, travel, mobility, as well as the changing cinematic view of those in front of and behind the camera and allows us to share private and historic moments<sup>61</sup>. Through these travelogues, the filmmakers show the audience the realities of various

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2001. Seeing how it was? Childhood geographies and memories in home, *Area*, 33.2. pp. 128-140.

<sup>60</sup> Nicholson, H. N. 2002. Telling travellers' tales: the world through home movies. In: Cresswell, T., & Dixon, D. Eds. *Engaging film: Geographies of mobility and identity*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. pp. 47-66.

<sup>61</sup> Nicholson, H. N. 2004. At home and abroad with cine enthusiasts: Regional amateur filmmaking and visualizing the Mediterranean, ca. 1928–1962. *GeoJournal*, 59(4), pp. 323-333.

generations that can be preserved for years to come by reflecting the values, identities, historical practicalities, and customs of those being shown on screen. The use of amateur and professional films demonstrates how new ways and filmmaking realities for looking at these films were shown in interwar Britain. The films that were made were reflections of historic accounts and the changing dynamics between local and global communities and how this was interpreted between self and society. Examining these pieces of footage reveals how they shape the audience's understanding of people's identities, how their memories are preserved and the meanings of certain places in times, for instance, how there were ideologies of belonging to an Empire and part of a wider community which were in flux. Nicholson also wrote another piece of research regarding how regional amateur filmmakers visualised the Mediterranean. Nicholson discusses how the appearance of the portable Kodak Cine camera in 1923 increased the popularity of home movie making leading up to WWII and it prevailed once World War Two was finished. Furthermore, part of this research states that the rise of the non-professional film movement occurred around this time period, although this is not a largely documented part of film history. On the other hand, this research by Nicholson studies the North West Film Archive, in contrast to this doctoral thesis that analyses primarily the YFA. However, the recurrent themes and changes that altered the nature of amateur filmmaking and have been identified in Nicholson's articles mirror the alterations that happened in the YFA, as amateur filmmaking became more popular after 1923, as well as the growth of non-professional filmmaking both in regional and foreign locations for amateur filmmakers in the 1920s and 1930s.

The research initially began through analysing the most relevant films within the archives during WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period, in Yorkshire, to focus the research thematically. Thematic analysis is a core methodology that concentrates the data gathering upon these themes using key terms and a thematic focus on identity and community between 1910-1954<sup>62</sup>. As further supported through Southern's thesis<sup>63</sup> there are protocols, policies and procedures when accessing archival films. There are also film handling techniques and specifications to ensure that data in the archive is handled properly, whether through film reel or digibeta tape, to enable a close analysis of the text that is representing historical events on screen. The YFA has an online catalogue of its film resources, including

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<sup>62</sup> This analysis used these key terms to search the catalogue of YFA.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology* 3 (2): p. 88.

<sup>63</sup> Southern, A. 2014. From visual education to 21st century literacy: An analysis of The Ministry of Education's postwar film production experiment and its relevance to recent film education strategies. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nottingham. p. 113.

those online and offline that need accessing via the physical tapes. When viewing film in its physical form on tape, there are often multiple films stored on one tape, which is not indicated on the online catalogue. The research was enriched due to the large catalogue of films in Yorkshire and the weekly access to these films gained from the archives. To clarify the nature of these film reels the YFA provided training on the historical nature of film and how to handle film, which is often a forgotten element of archival research, particularly when examining film reel and film frames through a Steenbeck machine. The data gathered when viewing films was organised chronologically, beginning in 1910 and ending in 1954, to gather an in-depth picture of the role community held. The archival films that were accessed were attained with the consent of the YFA and it is important to appreciate that there is ongoing work in the YFA to preserve film footage and review if the footage gathered is fit for viewing and distribution. This could mean that not all data that is given to the archives is fit to be watched due to it potentially containing nitrate and it is therefore sent to the BFI, and due to the practicalities of reaching the BFI's location my access there is limited. The process when nitrate film is sent to the BFI or film is deemed unfit for the YFA to handle is referred to as deaccession. Additionally, to view footage there were also practicalities surrounding the condition of the footage, for example, as Southern illustrates, "vinegar syndrome is the term given to acetate film that has decomposed due to the chemical composition of film... resulting in a softening of the plastic and eventual image loss..."<sup>64</sup> and this will affect future copies of the film, both physical and digital. Therefore, when handling film reels and enacting research in this context the physical medium of footage within archival research needs to be considered. This will impact the research and increase its originality as it means that rather than understanding just the process of filmmaking, understanding the practicalities can further improve the insight of the thesis, so that the process of archiving and how these films were chosen and selected can be fully appreciated.

The archive has an important policy to ensure that film material that is stored has a historical value and an educational purpose:

"Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA) is ...responsible for collecting moving image content related to Yorkshire and the North East of England. The Archive's objects are to advance the education of the public in the history, customs, culture, artistic and ecological heritage of those regions through the acquisition, preservation and distribution of the moving image, in all its media"<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.120.

<sup>65</sup> Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA), 2014. "*Collections Policy*", YFA, York, 2014. p. 2.



This includes the physical films that are stored and preserved within the archives, and their online digital collection that helps the public understand the provenance of Yorkshire. Films that are donated or purchased by the archive<sup>66</sup> have to be in good physical condition to preserve the integrity of the items for future use<sup>67</sup>. These films are kept as close to their original quality as possible, so as not to destroy the authenticity of the film, particularly if it is used as a historical record. These techniques of discovering and researching what is held within the archives are followed by Southern and dictate the quality and rigour that reinforces and underpins an academic piece of research.

This research will draw from many sources, primarily from the YFA, BFI, IWM and the cultural film collection of World War One. Furthermore, it intends to illustrate and analyse the type of people depicted within the films, who shot the films and what background they were from. The archival footage and research will separate into different chapters that detail diverse areas of the community, including the women in war, different ethnicities, and different classes. These will be contained in the main chapters that follow a chronological order of WWI, the interwar period, World War Two and the Post war period. This roughly follows the same structure as O'Neill's research that is focused on WWII<sup>68</sup>. In contrast to the research conducted by O'Neill that primarily analyses films that were professionally created, this thesis will primarily examine amateur film footage and propaganda from the YFA rather than the BFI. Therefore, some of the research questions surrounding the director's purpose may not be as pervasive with amateur film footage as is demonstrated through professional footage<sup>69</sup>. As a major part of studying community within Yorkshire during WWI the archival film footage and propaganda that will contribute to this project is from the *Filmed and Not Forgotten* collection that was created in collaboration with York St John, YFA and Martin Watts<sup>70</sup>. This will provide a rich resource of data from the archives that is available online.

To conclude, this research will use the methodologies that have been encouraged in previous archival research to consider local and regional aspects of community in the YFA. It will also analyse the content of these films and what encouraged their production, and the context which is crucial when carrying out archival research with the original documents as opposed to other types of research including widely circulated films. The originality of this research derives from the insight that is gained by looking specifically at community in

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<sup>66</sup> Although purchases are rare.

<sup>67</sup> Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA), 2014. "Collections Policy", YFA, York, 2014.

<sup>68</sup> This thesis examines the postwar period, which O'Neil does not discuss separately.

<sup>69</sup> Baron, J. 2012. The archive effect: Archival footage as an experience of reception. *Berghahn Journal*: pp. 102-120.

<sup>70</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

Yorkshire from an amateur film perspective, which benefits our understanding of the historical and cultural effects in the region by examining different areas of communities. Additionally, this research is original because it explores elements behind the filmmaking and production of these films, which is an element not explored in most socio-historic research but is, nevertheless, necessary when examining archived film footage including O'Neill's thesis. However, the restrictions of the current research that exist are based upon its context and that neither of these papers examine what was occurring in society through comparing and contrasting the changing form of amateur and professional film footage.

### Chapter 2.3: Textual analysis

Alongside the other forms of methodology that have been considered, film semiotics is an important methodological approach to examining archival film footage. The basis for the textual analysis of these films is through semiotic and historical analysis based on O'Connor's thesis. These methods are applied to this research by framing each piece of footage in a certain way. The textual analysis and historic methodology from O'Connor's research<sup>71</sup> in this study works in relation to a close reading of the text. This methodology of film states that the text should be analysed by studying the content of the footage, how it was produced and its reception by the audience. This is also combined with a textual interpretation of the footage by studying the way each piece of footage is framed through examining what each piece of footage represents on the surface or its initial reading, in comparison to the underlying meaning of the film. The underlying meaning of the film may have been what the filmmaker intentionally or unintentionally depicted about communities, and by using these ways to frame the analysis overall leads to a closer reading of the film that lends itself to explaining the historical background of the footage. The form of analysis used in this thesis is based upon semiotic, textual and historical analysis and will be used to give a closer reading of each piece of footage on a shot-by-shot basis, but also when looking at each film as a whole.

Firstly, it is important to gather an understanding of semiotic analysis, in relation to the analysis in this thesis and why it is important to use this when compared to the previous research on archiving<sup>72</sup>. Semiotic analysis works on the basis of analysing the connotation and denotation of images<sup>73</sup>. The denotation is the surface reading and initial reading of the image, and connotation is what is established from a more underlying meaning of the footage. This is essentially the difference between the signifier and the signified. The aim of this research was to examine the primary theme of community using signifiers of class, gender, and ethnicity. The analysis did not aim to look for certain things within the footage i.e. bunting as a representation of patriotism; rather the examination of the footage approaches the

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<sup>71</sup> O'Connor, J.E. 1990. *Image as artifact: The historical analysis of film and television.*, ed. J. E. O'Connor. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Co.

<sup>72</sup> For more information regarding semiotic analysis and connotation and denotation please review the sources:

Boudiza, F. 2014. The semiology analysis in media studies- Roland Barthes approach. Paper presented at Proceedings of SOCIOINT14- *International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*, Istanbul, Turkey.

Saussure, F. D. 2011. "Introduction: Saussure and his contexts". In: *Course in general linguistics*. Trans. W. Baskin, ed. Meisel, P., & Saussy, H. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press. p. xxx.

<sup>73</sup> Metz, C. 1974. *Film language: A semiotics of the cinema* [Le cinéma: langue ou langage?]. Trans. M. Taylor. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

reading of the text by seeing how the themes emerge from what is within the depictions of the amateur and professional filmmakers. In the film *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*<sup>74</sup> its initial aim was to encourage soldiers to go to war with intertitles such as 'our laddies who fought and won'. The deeper more underlying meaning is shown through the small interpersonal relationships of those being depicted, including when the girl approaches the soldier and runs off, these show the deeper relationships between relatives or friends that become metonymic and representation of the wider community. Even though parts of this film are choreographed and edited to show certain things, these parades took place and the actions of the people within the film would have been authentic between members of the same family. Therefore, semiotic analysis is useful by analysing the theme of community as it allows the more underlying representations of community such as the girl approaching the soldier to emerge from the footage, rather than looking for specific signifiers of community that are apparent throughout (which can limit the research).

The framework, by examining footage through a close reading of each piece of text, reinforces O'Connor's historical analysis<sup>75</sup>. The historical analysis, as explained in the previous section, includes a close reading of each piece of footage to help the reviewer to understand society from many differing perspectives that the filmmaker may have wittingly or unwittingly revealed to the audience. However, when analysing an image or moving image the result of that interpretation and differing levels of connotation and denotation are open to interpretation. These levels of connotation can reflect, when closely examining a piece of footage, how it represents the people in front of the camera and indeed behind it. Therefore, an image may represent more underlying features which are similarly applied to the film archives.

On the other hand, these differing levels of interpretation open the question regarding the socio-economic context of the reviewer, their ideological perspective, and the awareness of the researcher regarding their subject in comparison to what the filmmaker intended to

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<sup>74</sup> *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>75</sup> Please see in the previous section of archiving methodology regarding each piece: "(1) moving image documents as representations of history; (2) moving image documents as evidence for social and cultural history; (3) moving image documents as evidence for historical fact; (4) moving image documents as evidence for the history of film and television"

Please see source:

O'Connor, J. E. 2002. Image as artifact: Historians and the moving image media. *OAH magazine of history*, 16 (4): pp. 22-4.

depict<sup>76</sup>. For example, if this archival footage is being studied by a contemporary researcher, it needs to be viewed from a historical perspective that considers the knowledge and comprehension that was held during this time period, which is what this research operationalises. This thesis uses a historic form of textual analysis and does not apply contemporary perceptions and understandings of society to the readings of these films, otherwise one cannot comprehend the intention of the filmmaker. Furthermore, it could be said that if these films were analysed from a feminist perspective issues regarding femininity would be visible through these films, however people's perception of society and women has changed since the production of these films and it does not demonstrate the intention of the filmmaker when the film was produced. It must be considered through what lens these pieces of footage are being investigated so that the intention of the filmmakers is understood. Therefore, this thesis combines a historical, archival, and textual analysis to fully understand the intention of the filmmaker and interpret the footage.

This form of textual analysis allows for a deeper meaning of the footage from both a historic and filmic perspective so that the audience can determine the nature of the footage on a shot-by-shot basis and how this allows us to delineate the overall meaning of archival footage. There are many ways that semiotic analysis aids the examination of archival research through the distinction between the connotation and denotation underlying the message behind amateur and professional archival film footage. Thus, this is why using semiotic analysis as a basis for examining what is on the surface of an image and its deeper meaning by selecting specific scenes for detailed analysis and looking at an overall piece of footage is integral to this research. Metz's cinematic analysis is a foundational piece of analysis that is vital to this research<sup>77</sup> and other more recent research on archives using semiotics is limited and approaches semiotics as a theme itself, rather than examining the content of the film in detail<sup>78</sup>. Metz's research is a foundational piece of work that is still used widely in contemporary research, as Rositzka applied Metz's research to maps and geography in film as well as in regard to 'camera angles, intertitles... and other techniques'<sup>79</sup>, so applies Metz's cinematic research similarly to the remapping of the landscape through the bodies of soldiers. Furthermore, the reason Metz is useful to this thesis is because this foundational approach

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<sup>76</sup> Barrett, E. 2007. Foucault's 'What is an Author': towards a critical discourse of practice as research. In: *Practice as research: Approaches to creative arts enquiry*, London: I.B. Tauris. pp. 135-146.

<sup>77</sup> Metz, C. 1974. *Film language: A semiotics of the cinema* [Le cinéma: langue ou langage?]. Trans. M. Taylor. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

<sup>78</sup> Bateman, J, Chiao-I. T., Ognyan S., Arne J., Andree L., Müller M.G., and Otthein, H. 2016. "Towards next-generation visual archives: image, film and discourse." *Visual Studies* 31, no. 2: pp. 131-154.

<sup>79</sup> Rositzka, E. 2018. Introduction. In: *Cinematic corpographies: Re-Mapping the war film through the body*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. p. 10.

works effectively when applied to historic material and applying this historic lens to understand the perspective and perceptions of amateur and professional filmmaking in this context. Unlike other forms of film and historic analysis this can be applied broadly to professional and amateur footage, when there is an intended and an unintended narrative. The examples alone provide clarity on why textual analysis gives the audience, as well as the researcher, a useful insight into the reality of community versus what is depicted.

During WWI, after 1916 compulsory conscription was introduced for men who were between the ages of 18 and 41, through the Military Service Bill<sup>80</sup>. Although the film was produced a year prior, *Sharps and Flats*<sup>81</sup> plays with the idea of being called up for service by the government and is another film which can be interrogated via the same use of semiotics between the signifier and the signified. This is through juxtaposing the double entendre meaning that is signified through the intertitles and epistolary letters that are sent between Reggie and his partner. The narrative involves two middle class men, Reggie and Cyril, working within an office, who forge letters pretending they have been called upon for ‘military training under canvas’ and Reggie’s wife encourages him to go. In the meantime, he goes with Cyril his office co-worker on a mini retreat and writes back many letters that blatantly have a dual meaning which is literally embodied to create the humour through Reggie and Cyril’s exploits. In one letter Reggie states: “tired, had a scotch—feel better now”. On the first level the text acts a signifier to indicate that he is tired and has had a drink to make him feel better. However, this cuts to another shot afterwards where a medium shot reveals Reggie entertaining a young girl in a kilt, revealing a different type of scotch. Especially in the use of humour, examining the distinction between the connotation and denotation and the signifier and signified is useful. The connection between the connotation and denotation through the juxtaposition of the text and medium shot reveals to the audience the usefulness of semiotic analysis. Additionally, this film reveals a relatively middle-class perception of WWI in this sense of humour, because Reggie is depicted as working in an office building and having a maid<sup>82</sup>. Therefore, there can be multiple layers of interpretation comprehended from this footage. Firstly, the initial viewing demonstrates that men were called upon to serve their country and it was a tiring duty. Deeper analysis of what the footage signifies through its

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<sup>80</sup> Coetzee, D. 2005. measures of enthusiasm: New avenues in quantifying variations in voluntary enlistment in Scotland, august 1914–December 1915. *Local Population Studies*, 74: pp. 16-35.

<sup>81</sup> *Sharps and Flats*, 1915.[Film]. Bamforth and Company of Holmfirth. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2235). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4507> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>82</sup> Sarti, R. 2008. The globalisation of domestic service—An historical perspective. *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme*: pp. 77-98.

humour reveals the dual meaning of Reggie's words and also the importance of maintaining a sense of humour during WWI. Thirdly, examining the metonymy of this footage enables the audience to determine the nature of community through this small context, by seeing how Reggie has his own maid and a middle class-white collar job that many of the working classes did not have. Furthermore, this can be determined through the technology of the film itself, which was shot in nitrate in 35mm and this footage was expensive to attain in this context. This footage was often used for professional newsreels. Therefore, through looking at the dual meaning and the semiotics of this film one can determine more about the film makers, their wealth, class and how they integrated as part of communities than is originally anticipated.

From the 1930s there was sound in film. The impact of using sound and colour should be taken into consideration when analysing amateur and professional film footage<sup>83</sup>. The use of sound and colour when analysing footage gives the text a different level of depth, for example, colour could be used to distinguish people's attire in more detail and the interior of their house. Sound is also crucial in interpreting films, particularly in WWII and the post-war period, as there was often the use of a commentator or narrator over the film, which would give an indication who the target audience was for a piece of propaganda. Firstly, this would give an indication through what accent they were using, for example, if it was Received Pronunciation or another regional accent that could be associated with the working classes. It is by using these pieces of sound that the audience and researcher gain a deeper understanding of the denotation and connotation that underlies each piece of footage and what it can help us to understand about class, gender, and communities.

Therefore, using semiotic analysis as a basis for the analytical method of this thesis alongside the theories discussed by O'Neill and Southern will form the foundation for how the research is conducted. Furthermore, thematic analysis will be operationalised on the archive data set of films between 1910-1954. The themes of women and class seem the most integral as they are governed by the emergent data held in the archive. There are however many different thematic areas which emerge from this data, including class, gender, ethnicity and location. Therefore, it is important to use a complex form of investigation through semiotic analysis in WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post war period, to discover both the main message of each piece of footage that is being depicted and the underlying message that can be determined from this form of analysis.

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<sup>83</sup> Street, S. 2019. Introduction. In: *Colour films in Britain: The negotiation of innovation 1900-1955*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

## Chapter 2.4: Professional, amateur and propaganda footage

This chapter considers how archival professional and amateur footage are constructed as they are the prevalent forms of film production in this thesis. It will also consider the changing definition and distinction between amateur and professional footage, as well as propaganda, as it altered between WWI, the interwar period, WWII, and the post-war period. When examining the principles of archival footage, it is essential to define the differences between amateur and professional archival film footage, produced and non-professional film.

The definition and reliability of amateur film footage will be analysed in relation to professional film, even though the definition of amateur and professional film footage is complex depending upon the context. Amateur film is categorised alongside home movies, so the question of what reality it represents is open to interpretation for each piece of footage but also depends upon what audience each piece of footage is aimed towards. However, between 1910-1954, the definition of professional and amateur footage becomes increasingly complex when examining the Yorkshire Film Archives. The distinction between amateur and professional film footage becomes more complex with the increased access to filmmaking equipment and changing use of propaganda between 1910-1954. In terms of amateur film footage, Zimmerman<sup>84</sup> defines the relationship between amateur and home movies: home movies describe films that are produced by families. Zimmerman comments on how there is a deficit of studies on amateur filmmaking as it underscores the professional film studies' categorisation of research. Zimmerman describes amateur films as having a:

...lack of deliberate formal and textual codes, circulation within leisure and affective systems of participants, and social distance from commercial forms of media production.<sup>85</sup>

Zimmerman's quote helps to distinguish the difference between amateur film footage and home movies, by defining home movies as those which are shot by families covering events that happen in families. Amateur films cover most other films shot by enthusiasts and including some family occasions but also covering events within the area or shooting their own film footage. These amateur films do not adhere to the certain formalities which limit professional films that are made on a commercial basis by production companies. In this sense most of the archival films being analysed are amateur and home movies. However, in WWII

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<sup>84</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. X.



this becomes slightly more complex as amateur filmmakers produced films that adopted the same qualities as professional film footage and propaganda. For example, *Somewhere in England*<sup>86</sup> was made by an amateurs and shows people training for war, and appears to give the qualities of a professional newsreel as it was produced during WWII. However, this is where the lines that exist between amateur and professional film footage become more difficult to define. The distinction between amateur and professional films is that there are often many steps in professional film footage. For example, the professional footage of the fictional *Sharps and Flats*<sup>87</sup>, which is comedic professional production regarding conscription, will have been scripted, edited, and performed into a marketable package, with intertitles and credits before it was shown to others. Whereas amateur footage such as *Ibberson Family and VE Day*<sup>88</sup> captures historic events but was orchestrated only by Mr Ibberson and features his family. It also does not have a scripted agenda to capture certain scenes, which would have been the case with professional footage. However, Billy Ibberson edited his footage and spliced it before viewing. This interplays the amateur footage and home movies as this footage captures shots of his family. Furthermore, *Sharps and Flats* would have been created with the specific intent of having comedic value for the audience, whereas the informative value of Ibberson's footage was not the original intent of the footage<sup>89</sup>. The contradiction between professional and amateur film footage is that professional filmmakers have an intention to their film footage which replaces a more socialised relaxed way of filming life that is contained in amateur filmmaking, whereas there are more technical rules and specifications required for professional films<sup>90</sup>. Professional footage has a more objective and replicable set of norms that define how each film is constructed. The replicability of professional footage is often governed by market rules, reproducibility, and profitability. On the other hand, the more filmmaking develops in WWII, the more amateur filmmakers start adopting these replicable traits, particularly when making amateur films for propaganda, so these two categories become blurred. Zimmerman states that:

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<sup>86</sup> *Somewhere in England*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Directed by Sir Fred Moore. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 33). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/260> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>87</sup> *Sharps and Flats*, 1915.[Film]. Bamforth and Company of Holmfirth. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2235). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4507> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>88</sup> *Ibberson Family and VE Day*, 1944-1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>89</sup> The original intention of this footage cannot be known for certain.

<sup>90</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 2.

Professional film's "codes of expertise" – narrative paradigms, capital-intensive production, division of labour and market control – determine access to the market economy...Because professionalism incorporates rational rules and the reproduction of known qualities... it operates within a more public domain. On the other hand, because amateurism structurally rejects these rational modes, it is marginalised within the private sphere of personal life, outside wage labour and economic relations...<sup>91</sup>

The professional film's codes of expertise are what separate it from the amateur film footage through these constructs and the reproducibility that makes it accessible to those in the public domain. These qualities are consistent with professional film as during WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period each of these films were made with replicable qualities to be sold or shown to the audience. These professional films within this thesis primarily concentrate upon propaganda and public information. However, amateur film footage is not restricted by these boundaries, which makes it more accessible in a private domain but not for public use. On the other hand, during WWII amateur films such as *Somewhere in England*<sup>92</sup> had these reproducible qualities and were likely to be shown at a public venue. During WWI film footage was almost exclusively produced to a professional standard, other than a few odd exceptions including *Alexandra Rose Day in Sheffield*<sup>93</sup>, which films local events in Sheffield and still operationalises the conventions of using intertitles before showing the film. This film does have elements of a home movie because Simons shoots footage of his wife, but this more or less follows the same conventions of professional filmmaking as it captures events across Sheffield rather than concentrating on a local area and it had the intention of increasing awareness of the fund-raising campaign involved in Alexandra Rose Day. However, in WWII many training films were made by amateur filmmakers that have the same replicable qualities as professional films, so this does blur the distinctions between amateur and professional footage. One of the reasons for the lack of amateur film footage in WWI was the newness and lack of affordability of filmmaking equipment. Whereas from the 1930s onwards the production of amateur footage was more prevalent because of the affordability of filming equipment, better financial means and people were more familiar with

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Somewhere in England*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Directed by Sir Fred Moore. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 33). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/260> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>93</sup> *Alexandra Rose day in Sheffield*. 1915. [Film]. Frederick Simons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5423). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10327> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

the form and presence of the camera after WWI. The affordability of the equipment also enabled people to utilise cameras for public and private use because of the popularity of the medium<sup>94</sup>. In WWII, the widespread usage of filmmaking footage, although it was rationed, was for private purposes and for more public purposes to produce propaganda for WWII, and this usage of amateur footage was adopted for more professional purposes afterwards. Therefore, the fact that film equipment became more affordable in the 1930s gave people the option to use film footage privately and publicly and from WWII onwards amateur films blurred the stricter conventions and intentions that underscore the use of professional film.

To dissect this on a deeper level when analysing professional film, there are often various people involved in the production of professional films, including those that create, script, edit and produce the film for a public audience. On the other hand, amateur film footage is either produced by one person or a selective group of enthusiasts. In these films the filmmakers are often involved in various cine clubs. For example, *Ibberson Family and VE Day* was produced by Billy Ibberson, whereas *Sharps and Flats* was produced by Bamforth and Company of Holmfirth, a professional company which used various techniques and scripting to make it a professional film. Furthermore, *Local Events*<sup>95</sup> is considered amateur film footage because it was captured by the Newcastle Amateur Cinematographers Association (ACA) cineclub and the footage captures both the public and private, as the footage shows more than just local events, including the Gateshead explosion, but also more intimate moments including a snowball fight at Paddy Freeman's boating lake in Newcastle's West End. This emulated professional newsreels which proliferated in popularity between 1910-1954 as they contained topical news and in some respects were short documentaries of events in the local area<sup>96</sup>. This was especially popular in Yorkshire as the Debenhams & Co, York professional newsreels, including *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*,<sup>97</sup> were well known around Yorkshire and Beverley<sup>98</sup>. This *Local Events* amateur newsreel could also be perceived as professional as the intertitles and intersecting shots between each event taking

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<sup>94</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 2001. Morphing history into histories: From amateur film to the archive of the future. *The moving image: The journal of the association of moving image archivists* 1 (1): pp. 108-30.

<sup>95</sup> *Local Events*, 1933. [Film]. Newcastle Amateur Cinematographers Association (ACA). Unite Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 21206). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25992> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>96</sup> Hiley, N., & McKernan, L. 2001. Reconstructing the news: British newsreel documentation and the British Universities Newsreel Project. *Film History*, 13(2), pp. 185-199.

<sup>97</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>98</sup> Robinson, P. 1985. *Story of the Playhouse cinema, Beverley. The home of beautiful pictures*. Beverly: Hutton Press Ltd.

place are filmed to mimic professional film reels. The events are not scripted like professional films and the footage was not created for its marketability or profitability and the audience are given the impression that this film represents the reality of the events after the Gateshead explosion, rather than being more constructed. This is what defines this film as an amateur film. The uniqueness of amateur film footage and what it captures is what restricts it to the private domain, due to its focus upon family affairs instead of purely upon public life. On the other hand, this film does show public events and it may be received by an audience, but the size of the audience is unknown, so it is difficult to categorise it as professional or amateur. However, amateur films need to be distinguished from home movies as home movies only focus on family events that occur in the home, so often there is overlap between these two categories. Furthermore, Zimmerman also explains how amateur film footage captures events on a private localised scale whereas professional footage seeks to capture these events on more of a public scale and is intended to be sold as a marketable commodity. It is important to separate professional, amateur and home movies: professional footage is produced on a large scale and has the primary purpose of being made as a marketable commodity; amateur footage films local events or occasions of local interest but is not restricted by the same production boundaries of professional footage; and finally home movies concentrate on the private sphere. The main defining factor which separates amateur and professional footage is that professional footage is intentionally made with a purpose and intention, including using certain specifications and film techniques for a profit or to promote a cause, whereas amateur footage may film local events but not with the same purpose in mind to obtain the sale of the footage, as amateur footage in most circumstances seeks to act as a record capturing what events are occurring rather than for profitability. Therefore, what makes professional footage unique is the intention for it to be produced as a marketable commodity and sold on; even though amateur footage may possess similar qualities it is not produced as a marketable commodity. On the other hand, in both cases these films are shot from the subjective outlook of the filmmaker.

The definition of propaganda has been defined within Chapter 1.2: Imagined Community and propaganda. Jowett and O'Donnell describe propaganda as a "deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviours to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of propagandists", while the intention of the information delivered through propaganda is often to influence public opinion. Thus, the role of propaganda in amateur and professional footage can influence and direct public

opinion<sup>99</sup>. It can also shape and manipulate perceptions as evidenced in Chapter 6. The examples provided above illustrate how propaganda can be interwoven as an element of professional films and later emerges within amateur films from WWII onwards. It is important to consider the intention of each piece of film footage, however, according to Wimsatt and Beardsley<sup>100</sup>, the audience also needs to take into account the 'intentional fallacy' that the intention of a piece of work might not be what is produced. For example, a film can offer a different meaning to a wide variety of the audience; all interpret it differently depending on how they associate with the images, relevance to their lives and what it means in relation to the cultural context. There may be a contradiction between the intention of a piece of footage or propaganda and its reception by the audience. The footage may not always have its intended impact upon the audience. For example, Munitions and Football (1917-1921), from *The Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*<sup>101</sup> films primarily women and the author's intention could be to encourage female recruitment in the workplace, but whether this has that impact cannot be determined through viewing this footage alone. To further reinforce this, much of the British professional propaganda during WWI had the intention of encouraging America to support the allies in the war effort. After these events, however, America realised that some of the propaganda was not factually accurate, so the effect after the war was that it increased America's scepticism of British propaganda<sup>102</sup>. This was primarily because they felt duped into joining WWI, which consequently made them more reluctant to get involved in WWII. That is why analysing the author of film footage may help reveal the intention of their work, on an individual or professional level, but it is not always obvious the reception it may receive. This includes amateur footage such as *Local Events*<sup>103</sup> which had the dual effect of revealing events in a newsreel type fashion but because it was produced by a cineclub the intention to assist members of communities is also made evident through the frames of rubble and destruction in Gateshead. Furthermore, it is argued that any details regarding the authors'

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<sup>99</sup> Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage. p. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Wimsatt, W. K., & Beardsley, M. C. 1946. The intentional fallacy. *The Sewanee Review*, 54(3), pp. 468-488.

<sup>101</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

<sup>102</sup> For more on the intention and effect of propaganda please see the sources below.:

For example, stories of a corpse conversion factory romanticised the brutality of Germany. Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 108.

Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage.

<sup>103</sup> *Local Events*, 1933. [Film]. Newcastle Amateur Cinematographers Association (ACA). Unite Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 21206). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25992> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

intended meaning and purpose behind their footage can be reinforced through historical documents, their background or lifestyle. These should be considered secondary to the text itself. This thesis argues that these factors that are considered as secondary are imperative to constructing the text and moulding its intention upon the audience. Equally, when analysing films the researcher has to achieve a distance from the film itself, as researchers bring their own perception of society when examining film footage. A pure semiotic approach requires that the researcher view the film with as little outside knowledge as possible, however there are both positives and negatives to this approach as this is viewed to be the most objective approach possible.

It is important to define and distinguish between professional, amateur, and home movies, as well as propaganda. It is especially important to use examples to see how they are applicable to archive film footage and propaganda that was operationalised in WWI & WWII, as it allows the researcher to view these concepts and issues from a historic and comparative perspective in relation to how the footage compares and contrasts to the official definition of the forms. Furthermore, it means that these films can highlight issues with the official definitions. Therefore, these distinctions are important to define within this thesis as the concepts of propaganda; and the differences between amateur, professional, and home film footage are at the core of this research. This is especially vital when exploring the evolution of film in the private and public sphere, as the distinction between the private and public sphere interacts with the discussion of what defines community and identity through the changing World War I & II, interwar and post-war contexts.

## Chapter 2.5: Non-film based archival research- Interviews

Community and identity can be established through the footage within the YFA from a professional and amateur perspective on a localised scale; however, this becomes problematic when the issue is situated in a national context. In addition, primary research has been carried out through interviews with the relatives of the filmmakers. These interviews were necessary as a piece of non-archival research and essential to enlighten the research available in the archives and add a deeper layer of meaning to reinforce and further illustrate the importance of the footage held within the archives.

Interviews were selected as a primary piece of research to reinforce the findings and analysis from within the archives. Interviews were also used to add further understanding and depth to the readings of films, in particular through using interviews it revealed further and unexpected information about the filmmakers that would have otherwise not been revealed. For example, it revealed the passion Baron had for theatre, it also revealed Lucy Fairbanks background, who she donated her footage to and how she was able to travel with many of the upper middle class. Prior to conducting the interviews ethical approval was needed regarding the subject matter and who was going to be interviewed. Many of the relatives of filmmakers had been spoken to in a documentary *The Way We Were*<sup>104</sup> regarding these collections and questions were not asked that would upset the relatives which meant that the process for gaining ethical approval was more of a streamlined process. Once ethical approval had been gained the relatives and people that filmmakers had donated their footage to were asked a number of semi-structured questions regarding the films and the filmmakers relationship with the community. Due to the climate that this occurred within these interviews were initial conducted face to face or over the phone, but during COVID interviews were conducted via Zoom. Primary interviews with the relatives of the filmmakers were carried out to reinforce the footage and information available within the archives. These interviews add a further layer of depth by revealing information regarding the filmmakers that is not available from the archive. Interviews carried out with the relatives of filmmakers included interviews with those who were the guardians of footage for female filmmakers, relatives of filmmakers from working class, middle class and upper-middle-class backgrounds and relatives of filmmakers who filmed the Jewish community. These interviews add further contextual information about the filmmakers, their circumstances, and the circumstances of the film<sup>105</sup>. Interviews are useful as the

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<sup>104</sup> *The Way We Were Interview Rushes*. 2007. [Film]. ITV Documentary Series. United Kingdom: ITV.

<sup>105</sup> Horak, J. C. 2006. Archiving, preserving, screening 16mm. *Cinema Journal*, 45(3), pp. 112-118.

background for producing each film is revealed and the background for each filmmaker can be further enlightened through interviews with their relatives. For example, interviewing the relatives of the Jewish filmmaker Alec Baron revealed his passion for drama and amateur filmmaking, and how these were used to unite members of the Jewish community. Whereas without these interviews Alec Baron is perceived as a Jewish tailor as his primary occupation and amateur filmmaker as a hobby, from within the YFA, which does not reveal his true passion for amateur dramatics that is revealed through interviews<sup>106</sup>. *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*<sup>107</sup> is propaganda for encouraging the unity of members of the Jewish community through learning their teachings. This was based upon the type of propaganda in Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*<sup>108</sup>, and this information was revealed through interviews, which is why these interviews are useful for this research. Therefore, these interviews are useful as they provide a unique perspective upon communities and each of the filmmakers, who are defined by more than just their profession. Furthermore, carrying out interviews also reveals some of the practical limitations of looking at archival footage as well as the limitations and restrictions of interviews. A restriction of interviews with the relatives of filmmakers is that they may perceive a different version of events than was originally intended by the filmmaker<sup>109</sup>. Furthermore, there are limitations of looking at archival footage, as the perception the audience is given of society is shaped by what the filmmaker depicted on camera. These perceptions also reverberate and are affected by the interviewees' perception of society when answering questions regarding the film footage. These factors highlight the practical implications of archival footage and interviews, in comparison to the theoretical stance about community, class, gender and ethnicity which does not consider how these factors may influence research.

In addition, one of the problems with using archival footage is firstly gaining access to the footage in its physical form. The limitations of who made the footage, where it was produced, what it depicts and why it was filmed are problematic issues within the archives that need to be reviewed<sup>110</sup>. This argument is strengthened by Blouin<sup>111</sup> who postulates that due

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<sup>106</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>107</sup> *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*. c.1936. [Film]. by Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4690). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9258> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>108</sup> *Battleship Potemkin*.1925 [Film]. Sergei Eisenstein. Mosfilm: Soviet Union.

<sup>109</sup> Aguiar, L. 2015. 'Many sides, many truths': Collaborative filmmaking in transitional Northern Ireland. In *Ireland and Cinema*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. pp. 117-126,

<sup>110</sup> Blouin, F.X. 2004. History and Memory: The Problem of the Archive. *PMLA* 119, no. 2 (2004):pp. 296-98. <http://www.jstor.org.yorks.jdm.oclc.org/stable/1261384>.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*.



to the quantity of archival information available, the selectivity of archives (and often archival funding) is led by gathering data on socially and politically constructed norms and topics on events such as war but the archive presents itself as an essentialist institution where the data gathered is naturally occurring. This makes examining archival footage problematic. Furthermore, the quality of the footage is an issue with archives. This may be the same with archival records, especially in WWI and WWII, as a result of the Defence of the Realm Act which censored what was published by the media as well as what letters people could send to each other- from those on the warfront to those at home and vice versa<sup>112</sup>. DORA posed a problem to those sending letters to each other in times of war, but it also posed an issue to those making professional films for a public forum, as the films that were shot often had to meet the criteria that the public audience were willing to view in this time, so some of the content was tailored towards their consent.

The benefit of using archived resources on a localised scale to analyse community in this research is that using the local film resources from the archives, as well as national propaganda that portrayed war and non-film archival resources, helps to build a rounded overall picture of what was occurring within society. Through combining these resources together this research builds an overall rounded picture of how communities were portrayed locally and nationally. In order to further reinforce the local film archives' footage, national footage and non-film archival interviews have been conducted with the relatives of filmmakers, including interviewees who were the guardians of footage for female filmmakers, relatives of filmmakers from working class, middle class and upper-middle class backgrounds and relatives of filmmakers who filmed the Jewish community. Therefore, operationalising and utilising a number of these resources that include film, non-film footage and interviews with those who have an intimate knowledge of the films helps to develop an objective and thorough interpretation of what the community was and what different aspects of the community were like during and between these contexts

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<sup>112</sup> Hopkin, D. 1970. Domestic censorship in the first world war. *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (4): pp. 151-69.

### Chapter 3: World War One

This chapter analyses the depiction of community from the Yorkshire Film Archives footage during World War One. The nature of these films is potentially iterative in the fact that some of these films reflect community, but others shape notions of the imagined community. It is first important at the beginning of this chapter to explain and define communities in York and Yorkshire at the beginning of WWI. York and Yorkshire played a role in manufacturing and production that influenced their role in the larger national picture, but also shaped York and Yorkshire community. This will be analysed at start of this chapter through looking at research on York based communities that was published by Rowntree. After this historical examination of Yorkshire communities, the first part of this chapter analyses film footage including parades and propaganda that was shot at the beginning of WWI by professional filmmakers. These films illustrate the larger relationship between regional and national ideas of community. The second half of this chapter shifts more towards examining propaganda that constructs fictional stories which focus on local communities and investigates the changing depiction of women just prior to WWI and during WWI. The latter half of this chapter concentrates on the depiction of class and community in post-war professional films. The main points of the approach in this chapter include examination of the professional and propaganda films from the Yorkshire Film Archive during WWI, the changing representation of gender, the representation of class and gender after WWI and what understanding these representations give the audience of community and imagined community.

It is necessary to firstly provide an historical overview of York and Yorkshire in 1914 to provide context for the analysis of the films. By 1899 York was urbanised and had many areas of poverty, that were highlighted by Seebohm Rowntree's<sup>1</sup> survey of the poor, as nearly 3000 people lived in slum areas<sup>2</sup>. As well as York's historical importance, by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century it had a mixture of service and manufacturing industries, making it similar to lots of other cities and towns. Rowntree thought this made York an 'everytown' that would be suitable for his study into poverty<sup>3</sup>. York, as an unusual 'everytown', was representative of the nation, as

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<sup>1</sup> Seebohm Rowntree was the son of Joseph Rowntree who was the owner of Rowntree's, a major confectionary business that dominated York, as well as the Railway Industry.

<sup>2</sup> The History of York: York Museums Trust. *The Downside of Victorian York*. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/the-downside-of-victorian-york> [Accessed 5th May 2021]

<sup>3</sup> Much like Booth's study of London, Rowntree wanted to study poverty. Rowntree's study in comparison to Booth's demonstrates that London was quite typical in terms of urban poverty, not a case of exceptionalism as others had assumed. See source: Rowntree, B. S. 1901. *Poverty: A study in town life*. London: Macmillian and Co.

Rowntree postulated through his research. This report was commissioned by Rowntree, as it shows the beginnings of a systemised analysis to understand communities and this study is related to York. Rowntree identified the modern concept of absolute poverty as 'primary' poverty whereby people could not climb out of it however wisely they spent their inadequate income<sup>4</sup>. Secondary poverty was endured by those who might rise above the 'poverty line' but spent unwisely, i.e. on alcohol. These restrictions trapped people within their class status.

In Yorkshire, the rest of the picture was similar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the industrial revolution caused the steel, textile, and coal industry to expand rapidly, with Sheffield and Leeds becoming mayor cities. Similar to York, the conditions in these industrial areas were poor and caused disease such as cholera to spread quickly. In contrast to this poverty in York, there was a middle class of more service-based professionals who had leisure time in the beginning of the 1900s, including lawyers, teachers and professional filmmakers in the Yorkshire region<sup>5</sup>. There was also a skilled working class (artisans) who had leisure time and earned enough to live comfortably<sup>6</sup>. This led to holiday destinations emerging in the region. Scarborough was one of these destinations that emerged as a seaside resort<sup>7</sup>. Although there was a rapid growth of manufacturing and businesses, the growth of seaside resorts suggests that there was an expansion of the middle class as well<sup>8</sup>. The leisure at seaside resorts is reflected in films in the interwar period, but in WWI films tend to focus on generating propaganda. The role Yorkshire and York contributed towards the national picture was important in that much of the manufacturing industry, including the steel industry in Sheffield, and agriculture, shipbuilding, textile industry, iron industry in Middlesbrough, originated and held large roles in Yorkshire<sup>9</sup>. These manufacturing industries were all major national resources in the industrial age and were important in contributing towards the UK economy in the 1900s, and they provided many skilled manual working-class jobs before and during the war. The same could be said about the beginnings of the tourism and leisure industry in Scarborough, which demonstrated the increase in the distinction between manual skilled workers and the professional upper-middle classes who were spending more of their leisure

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<sup>4</sup> Rowntree, B.S. 2000. *Poverty a study of town life, Centennial Edition*, (reprinted edition) Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 133-134.

<sup>5</sup> Butlin, R. A. 2017. The Leeds and Yorkshire geographical society c. 1902–17. *Northern History*, 54(1), pp. 94-112.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert, H. R. 2019. Understanding working-class learning with Bourdieu: Yorkshire, 1820-1900. Doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds.

<sup>7</sup> Lambert, T. 2018. *A Brief History of Yorkshire, England*. A World History Encyclopaedia. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.localhistories.org/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> Parratt, C. M. 1998. Little means or time: working-class women and leisure in late Victorian and Edwardian England. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15(2), pp. 22-53.

<sup>9</sup> Lambert, T. 2018. *A Brief History of Yorkshire, England*. A World History Encyclopaedia. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.localhistories.org/index.html>

time at seaside resorts. In 1914 the county of Yorkshire was significant in economically contributing towards the larger financial wealth of Great Britain and the world economy because of its industrial and manufacturing strength.

Filmmaking was a new technology in the early 1900s and it was an expensive pastime to pursue. Most people who filmed either did it for their main occupation or were wealthy at the beginning of the Great War<sup>10</sup>. This was not the only reason that these films were classed as professional; the fact that someone was wealthy and able to produce film footage did not automatically make them a professional filmmaker<sup>11</sup>. This chapter focuses on professional propaganda on a local level and how some of this local propaganda was sold on to newsreel companies like Gaumont Graphic or Pathé Frères, who were competing companies during WWI<sup>12</sup>. There was a lack of amateur footage during WWI and one of the reasons was the newness and lack of affordability of film making equipment.

The drastically changing circumstances at the dawn of WWI meant that most of the professional films being produced that are available in the YFA could be interpreted as propaganda. The intention of these depictions was to show the audiences the imagined community to build morale and encourage recruitment. This was also the aim of British propaganda on a larger scale<sup>13</sup>. These various communities that are depicted are metonymic and are representative of the larger national community through the actions of people shown on the screen, whether they are individuals, families, or someone else. These communities are either represented through national propaganda or local propaganda that is used to illustrate and signify the bonds of the larger national idea of community through the individual close bonds that are seen through localised small communities.

A major event that shook Yorkshire was the outbreak of the First World War on the 4<sup>th</sup> August 1914. After some hesitation, Britain was forced to join after Germany invaded Belgium, breaking the Treaty of London whereby Britain promised to protect Belgium's neutrality in the event of war and so Britain honoured this commitment<sup>14</sup>. This was to change the face of York and Yorkshire as 34 men a day enlisted from York<sup>15</sup>, and the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> East Yorkshire

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<sup>10</sup> Bertacchi, M. 2006. *List of early 35 mm camera*. in University of Bologna [database online]. Bologna, 9 August 2006 [cited 16/03/17 March 2017]. Available from [http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early\\_135.html](http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early_135.html).

<sup>11</sup> In WWI propaganda was produced by a number of agencies including Wellington House.

<sup>12</sup> Gaumont SA - Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information on Gaumont SA. 2015. *Reference for business*. Available from: <https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/79/Gaumont-SA.html> [Accessed 22nd July 2020]

<sup>13</sup> Taylor, A. J. P. 1974. *The First World War: An illustrated history*. London: Penguin.

<sup>14</sup> A scrap of paper. 01/01/2006. *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved 4 Dec. 2017, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100449163>.

<sup>15</sup> Although 93 % of these people were from outside the boundaries of York.

Battalion were mobilised. The 'pals battalions' were quickly established, and similar recruitment figures spread across Yorkshire in the Sheffield, Bradford, Scarborough, Hull and Leeds areas. Public support was strong in Yorkshire as 40,000 Bradford citizens cheered on the 6<sup>th</sup> Battalion on the 16<sup>th</sup> September<sup>1617</sup>. Therefore, these are among many factors that shaped the history of York and Yorkshire before and during WWI and showed the strong community support for the war and how people's lives were changed by it.

The announcement of the beginning of the First World War to local communities most often happened through using newspapers as local propaganda for the area. In York this was announced outside the Yorkshire Herald building on the 5<sup>th</sup> August 1914. This announcement stressed the idea of the local community, who were going to be affected by this war. However, one element of local community could not be stressed over the needs of the national community or commonwealth as they are not necessarily mutually exclusive; different aspects of various communities were present at different times and they still held together as a community. One British concept of community encompassed this idea of the Empire, but the response to the declaration of the war was stressed on the local community. The focus of this chapter is to analyse professional and propaganda films in WWI, use the imagined community as a mode of analysis and examine the signifiers of class, and gender. These signifiers include attire, the language within the intertitles and the actions of the characters within these films.

The footage of WWI focuses on various local communities in Yorkshire and what their experiences were. This is particularly evident with the early community in World War One through examining the crowds gathered in Sheffield in the film *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield*<sup>18</sup>, which was shot on the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1914. The director of this film is unknown, although it is speculated that it could be one of the early filmmakers at the time, such as Frank Mothershaw's Sheffield Photo Company<sup>19</sup>. This 35mm film begins with the titles "Au Revoir and Good Luck". The initial understanding of these images portrayed shots of masses of crowds gathered in Sheffield supporting the brave soldiers leaving for war. The first shot shows onlookers looking towards the camera, as it pans across the crowds awaiting the soldiers

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<sup>16</sup> Titley, C. *1914 in Yorkshire*: in York Museums Trust [database online]. 2018 [cited 27th August 2018]. Available from <https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1914-in-Yorkshire-WEB.pdf>. [Accessed 5th May 2021]

<sup>17</sup> To encourage recruitment York employers and factories promised they would continue to pay a man's wage to his wife to maintain the family's upkeep whilst he was at war, at least to begin with. See Source: Abbott, T. 2006. Oral history from Thomas Abbott taken from "*The Walmgate Story*", Richmond: Voyager Publications, Reproduced by Van Wilson.

<sup>18</sup> *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield*. 1914. [Film] Donated by York & Lancaster Regimental Museum. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2717> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

arriving for the parade. Most of the people waiting on the sidelines appear to be women, some are dressed in long coats with smart top hats, whereas others appear to have just a head scarf draped over their heads.



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The appearance of these people, those in the top hats and long coats, indicates their upper-middle class status, as an advert of the time indicates more upper-middle class women wearing this kind of attire.<sup>21</sup> By the same standards the other women wearing headscarves draped over their heads could be perceived as from the lower classes due to their attire. It is worth noting that these women of mixed status are standing next to each other in this film, which is unlikely to have been choreographed by the director, whereas prior to this the lower classes and upper-middle classes would have been unlikely to have been mixing in this proximity unless there was a specific reason. Although this film was constructed as a piece of propaganda these women were not told where to stand, therefore what can be understood is that waving goodbye to their loved ones removed the stigmatism of class barriers, as they were simply unimportant.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> T Eaton and Co Limited. (1919, January 20th). Eaton's daily store news. *The Toronto World* -, p. 3. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Eaton%27s\\_advertisement\\_January\\_1919.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Eaton%27s_advertisement_January_1919.JPG) [Accessed 24<sup>th</sup> March 2020]



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Even though clothing does not necessarily indicate class it can be perceived to reflect the relative economic standing of the women stood next to each other in this footage. This does to a certain extent represent how the war was felt by everyone from the lower, middle, and upper classes. Furthermore, this was a professional film as it was filmed with a certain intention in mind<sup>23</sup>; the intention of the footage can be interpreted through conventions and replicable intertitles that were used commonly and systematically throughout WWI in professional propaganda footage, including the intertitles *Au Revoir* and *Good Luck*. These films were made with the intention of being pieces of overt propaganda that encouraged recruitment and were sold for profit for the public to see.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> It is unknown who produced this film, but it is like other propaganda films over this same period with the same conventions that were intentionally made to be propaganda such as: *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York, UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]; *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York, United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]



However, the crowds watching the parade were real people who were being filmed and gathered to watch the parade<sup>25</sup>. Both the middle and lower classes standing next to each other are likely to be going through a similar experience by seeing a member of their family, a friend or even a person in their community going to war. Similarly, audiences can draw the same conclusion from the soldiers marching together and standing next to each other, as audience members it is unknown what class they are from because they are all in uniform and the class divisions are invisible between these soldiers. The imagined community in real communities is reflected through these images because the class barriers between the crowds and the soldiers leaving are rendered unimportant and it represents more of a collective local community. This would have been representative of what was happening on a wider scale nationally<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield . 1914.*[Film] Donated by York & Lancaster Regimental Museum. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2717> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>25</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment was a reserve battalion of regular army regiments. They eventually went to France in the spring of 1915. The contemporary reading behind this could have a darker meaning, the Au Revoir serves as a lasting reminder of the soldiers who fought and died on the battlefields of France, the Hallamshire Battalion fought in the second battle of Ypres where they lost 94 men and 401 were injured. Soldiers were particularly killed from chemical warfare as this was the first battle to use chlorine and phosgene gas. See source: Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten: A Gazetteer of people and their stories from World War 1 films and in the YFA*. York: YFA. p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Similar scenes depicting how different classes were mixing together and stood together are also depicted in the films; *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]; *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]





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In this footage around 1,000 men pass by the camera in the parade and inevitably some of the men pictured were killed in the conflict. The men being filmed came from a mixture of backgrounds, for example, Walter Frederick Lawrance came from Lincoln where he worked as an engineer and worked at Messrs Woodhouse and Rixon in Sheffield which was a forging manufacturer. He was accepted into the Hallamshire's on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1914.

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<sup>27</sup> *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield*. 1914.[Film] Donated by York & Lancaster Regimental Museum. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2717> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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Another officer was Duncan Gray Newton who trained as a Doctor at the University of Edinburgh and served as a Medical officer Surgeon in the Hallamshire Battalion<sup>29</sup>.



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<sup>28</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten: A gazetteer of people and their stories from World War 1 films and in the YFA*. York: YFA. p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

By using Savage's<sup>31</sup> definition of class, the soldiers being depicted (that can be identified) came from middle to upper-middle class backgrounds, as engineers and doctors are classed as middle class under this economic definition of class. This upper-middle class status is indicated from the nature of the professional director behind the camera as well. By examining the further connotation of this film it can be understood who made up the wartime community and that they were mainly middle to upper class, from the men gathered in this footage at the beginning of the war. The images of these two soldiers impact upon the reading of the film as they illustrate that the people going to war at least initially were middle class. Over 1000 people passed the camera and it is unknown which classes they were primarily from by watching the film due to their uniform. However, the film lingers on officers who are carrying rifles. The 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment was a regular unit augmented by reservists so would have been a social mixture of classes. Reservists were former soldiers with a reserve commitment who trained on weekends and at summer camps, whereas Territorials were volunteers who need never have served in the regular army. Therefore, the unit was composed largely of civic-minded individuals who were from a cross-section of communities and were not regular soldiers, but answered the nation's call at the outbreak of war. The unit would not go to France until 1915, but this cannot be determined by watching the film alone<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, there was social mixing in these groups passing by the camera, but it is almost impossible to tell through film alone as in uniform the soldiers appear classless, while from the officers that have been identified it would appear to be primarily middle-class.

This film was made for propaganda purposes and to create the imagined community to protect our friends and families and also to protect our nation; so the upper-middle-class community and spirit that is indicated by the warm message of 'Au Revoir' was purposefully utilised to encourage enlistment. To a certain extent this contrasts with traditionally held perceptions that were held from the First World War that soldiers who enlisted were from all types of classes, however initially the first soldiers who enlisted were from the upper-middle classes as is also indicated by the clothing some women are wearing<sup>33</sup>. If this same analysis is applied to what the other women were wearing in this film, with headscarves draped over their heads and similarly men wearing flat caps (which are emblematic of the working classes)

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<sup>31</sup> Savage, M. 2006. Changing social class identities in post-war Britain: Perspectives from mass-observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from: <https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>32</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten: A gazetteer of people and their stories from World War 1 films and in the YFA*. York: YFA. p. 24.

<sup>33</sup> Root, L. 2006. "Temporary Gentlemen" on the Western Front: Class consciousness and the British army officer, 1914-1918. *Digital Commons. All Volumes (2001-2008)*. p. 72.

next to men with bowler hats<sup>34</sup>, two important interpretations can be understood, firstly that the class barriers were removed between men and women from various classes in this scenario and secondly that among the soldiers leaving to go to war there was a mixing of social classes. It is difficult to determine the class of soldiers through reading these images because their uniform obstructs their class but if the audience judge the soldiers leaving for war as a reflection of the members of the crowds that were gathered then there was an element of social mixing in the crowds of the parade and through the soldiers marching in the parade. The mixing of these communities was also reflected in other films of the time<sup>35</sup>. In addition, the class composition of volunteer units depended heavily upon the context. It should be considered how socially, even in the Depression, people were willing to join the army and there was often more social mixing within volunteer units. For example, in the Accrington Pals many people from their textile factory enlisted and joined for the sake of joining up<sup>36</sup>. There was even a battalion from the City of London, the Royal Fusiliers, that was full of stockbrokers and called the 'Stockbrokers' battalion<sup>37</sup>. Therefore, from looking at the composition of these volunteer units and the social mixing in the crowd there appeared to be social mixing in these battalions who were enlisting but this was often depending on the context and is difficult to determine by viewing films alone.

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<sup>34</sup> Wales, K. 2006. *Northern English: a cultural and social history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.26.

<sup>35</sup> *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

*A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>36</sup> Turner, W. 1998. *Accrington Pals: The 11th (Service) Battalion (Accrington) East Lancashire Regiment A History of the Battalion Raised from Accrington, Blackburn, Burnley and Chorley in World War One*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Barnsley: Pen and Sword.

<sup>37</sup> Brigadier, E.A.J. 1978. *British Regiments 1914–18*. London: Samson Books Limited. p. 49.



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The community depicted and shooting these films that can be determined through historical analysis is restricted to primarily depicting and being filmed by the upper-middle classes. However, further reading of the parade indicates that there was more of a social mixing within these communities than may be immediately obvious. This was one of the few films available during World War One showing soldiers parading through the streets, unlike World War Two where there is more footage available. Alternatively, from interpreting the connotations of this professional propaganda it is clear that both elements of community, the crowds gathered in the streets and soldiers marching through the streets, supported the war effort. This reveals the societal support from the imagined community in the Great War, as this was no longer imaginary but was reflected within real communities, as even though many people in these wartime communities would never come face to face or meet one another, they still went to communal gatherings and identified as belonging to the same nation. This idea was especially present in communities and the public perception in this time, as many people joined the war from various communities through the first few years of war, which encouraged enlistment and boosted the morale in the cities. These people enlisting would encourage others to do the same and participate in war because of the imagined community that identify people collectively as part of the same nation. This had some success as

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<sup>38</sup> *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield* .1914. [Film] Donated by York & Lancaster Regimental Museum. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2717> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

2,466,719 men joined the British army voluntarily between August 1914 and December 1915<sup>39</sup>. These numbers however were still not enough so conscription was introduced on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1916 for single men and for married men with the second Military Service Act on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1916. This was after severe attrition affected the home front and front line, so it was realised that more soldiers were necessary to win The Great War.

In the *Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield*<sup>40</sup> there is still an element of class distinction between people on the home front which can inevitably be seen through their attire; but this is more difficult to distinguish between soldiers without experiencing the actuality of their lives during WWI. What can be seen is the imagined community in real communities and *Gemeinschaft* close community bonds that are deliberately utilised in a regional and national sense through this footage and specifically aimed at through certain parades in town centres. There is no distinction between the rural and urban community. The only aspect of class and community that can be easily distinguished originates from the fact that a lot of the footage was filmed by Debenham and Co, in York, who produced most of the war sponsored footage within Yorkshire.

Ernest Symmons was born in 1882 and came from Dalston, Hackney; he came from three generations of drapers, including his father, Frederick, who had businesses in Boscombe and Bournemouth. Ernest then was apprenticed to the Stereoscopic Co., in Regent Street, London. Seven years later he set up a business in Clifford Street, York, known as Debenham and Company, and his films eventually became very well-known and accepted in the film industry. Ernest formed a partnership with his brother-in-law Leslie Holderness and together they purchased the Corn Exchange in Beverley, which became a picture house<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, Symmons's background may have influenced the content of his films, as most of his films were made for an audience to view and with an audience in mind, whether to be viewed at the Corn Exchange or sold on to the Gaumont Graphic.

Most notably in Yorkshire was the Scarborough Bombardment on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1914. The *Eden Camp Collection Newsreels*<sup>42</sup> were silent nitrate professional film reels that

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<sup>39</sup> Coetzee, D. 2005. Measures of enthusiasm: New avenues in quantifying variations in voluntary enlistment in Scotland, August 1914–December 1915. *Local Population Studies*, 74: pp. 16-35.

<sup>40</sup> *The Hallamshire Rifles Leaving Sheffield*. 1914. [Film] Donated by York & Lancaster Regimental Museum. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2717> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>41</sup> Robinson, P. 1985. *Story of the Playhouse cinema, Beverley. The home of beautiful pictures.* Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd.

<sup>42</sup> *Eden Camp Collection Newsreels*. 1914. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 5217). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10271> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

showed the bombed houses in Scarborough along with the children who helped clear the rubble on Scarborough streets, showing that this war was felt at home and that everyone was involved, including men, women, children and the elderly. This was a shocking event in the previous British context of sharply divided civilian and military spheres, and represented a new age of warfare. This film represented a seismic event at the national level in terms of civilians being attacked in their homes for the first time. This is a professional film as Symmons produced this film for Debenhams & Co. When viewing this footage these images depicted men, women, children and elderly clearing the rubble, and what can be understood from these images is that, as stated previously, everyone was affected by the war. What this footage reflects is how this war could affect any women, children or elderly person, which is what made its impact powerful and reached out to the national and regional ideas of community. Certainly, this piece of footage demonstrates how war affected everyone and was classless, which was likely to be the intention of this propaganda, as showing the destruction that was caused was aimed at rousing the country's patriotic spirit and creating a sense of community. Although this film does demonstrate how war affected everyone, and shows women, children and men, there are a few more details that are illustrated through a further reading of this film. For example, there are many children who are depicted with top hats, some of the children going through the rubble, and the onlookers watching over the children are women in smart hats and long coats, so through this depiction the audience are given a small impression of both the upper-middle classes and what appear to be the working classes mixing. However, this only shows the upper-middle classes as onlookers watching the working classes moving the rubble. What further illuminates the mixture of classes with how this war affected people is that on the roof top of the Grand Hotel on the far left of the screen is a man in a flat cap and overalls clearing through the debris on the rooftop, then at the same time another man is casually smoking a cigarette wearing a tailcoat on the far right hand side of the screen. A flat cap was emblematic of the working classes and a tailcoat similarly was what was worn by the middle and upper classes; therefore, this reflects to the audience the mixing of classes who were collaborating after this horrific attack on Scarborough. This also further illustrates how the impact of war was classless and affected people from many different communities and brought them together.

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Symmons went to Scarborough to film this footage once he heard of the devastating damage. This footage is classed as professional footage as Symmons filmed it then sold it to the Topical Budget and Gaumont Graphic to be displayed as topical news for the area<sup>44</sup>. Various shots are used of the footage to depict the destroyed houses and rubble that encompasses Scarborough. This footage on many levels emphasises the destruction of war, through showing the devastation to the buildings and the children clearing the rubble, giving the audience a clear impression of the damage that war brings. This was one of the first images of total war where there were civilian casualties. This was a raw representation of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA. Available from: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/filmed-and-not-forgotten-yorkshire-film-archive/gROAZXog?hl=en-GB> [Accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May 2020].



history, quite separate from any military influence and thus must have had a profound effect upon the viewers. The initial reading of these images reflected propaganda more subtly by signifying how war had affected everyone in Scarborough. This footage provides a witting testimony to demonstrate the destruction of war, and perhaps the unwitting testimony and deeper connotations encouraged enlistment and participating in war, due to witnessing the damage that this bombardment caused. However, this film was sold to the Gaumont Graphic and Topical Budget, and given this fact it would have encouraged enlistment, which was perhaps not so unwitting, as that was one of the primary aims of these pieces of propaganda, even from local production companies, as presumably the footage was seen by a large audience.

There are also other films that depict this same bombardment, including *The Attack on the Hartlepoons*<sup>45</sup> which similarly captures the bombardment of Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby and became a newsreel for Gaumont<sup>46</sup>. Mr Jennings, Gaumont's Northern Area manager, sent off crews based at Middlesbrough as soon as he heard of the raid. This film was then sent to the military censor for approval and some edits to be made and for it to be shown at the local theatre. After viewing the film alongside several other versions, Mark Simmons, Hartlepool Borough Council's Curator of Museum Development (who discovered this footage) believed that this was an earlier cut of the film<sup>47,48</sup>. Simmons suggests there were multiple versions of this film by Gaumont and that *The Attack on the Hartlepoons* is an original copy of the second version of Gaumont's newsreel, as it includes contemporary and stock footage of Scarborough and Whitby<sup>49</sup>. The original copy of this film only showed Hartlepool and was shown at the Hippodrome in Middlesbrough at 20:00HRs on Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> December, and was shown in North Shields, South Shields, Newcastle and Aberdeen on the 18<sup>th</sup> December. It was later remarketed as "Bombardment of the East Coast". Later copies of the film included Scarborough and Whitby before showing the devastating damage that had happened to Hartlepool<sup>50</sup>. This indicates this was an earlier cut of the film. This was shot by Gaumont and contains a number of scenes that do not exist in other versions of the film, for

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<sup>45</sup> *The Attack on the Hartlepoons*. 1914 [Film]. Gaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 22331). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/27122> [Accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021]

<sup>46</sup> Unlike previous films in the archives this piece of film footage was discovered at the bottom of a box full of broken cameras and lenses at Tynemouth Market and subsequently sent to the YFA.

<sup>47</sup> He also suggests more of the previous unseen footage might exist somewhere.

<sup>48</sup> Simmons, M. 2020. *A Rediscovered Film: "The Attack on the Hartlepoons"*. Unpublished Article. Hartlepool: Hartlepool Borough Council.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*.

example, ‘the crowds of people on Cleveland Road, damage to houses on Carlton Terrace, Hartlepool and a child displaying a piece of bomb shrapnel to camera’<sup>51</sup>.

There are many interesting parts of this film that illustrate, much like the *Eden Camp Collection*, how it was propaganda. This film lingers for two or three seconds on the damaged windows rather than cutting from one shot of damage to another; the camera stays there almost to increase the impact of the damage to the audience. Furthermore, the people stood in Cleveland Road at the opening of the film include two boys playing with a hoop and stick toy, men walking by wearing bowler hats, other men standing looking directly at the camera with flat caps on and a soldier who walks by. This further illustrates the argument which was established in relation to the previous film that WWI encouraged different classes to mix socially as people from all classes were affected by the war. These scenes are followed by an intertitle stating “In this house the Misses Kays were killed”, which according to Simmons indicates that this footage has been censored at this point because the footage actually shows Carlton Terrace, not outside where the Kays were killed<sup>52</sup>. There is speculation over the reason for this, but Simmons suggests that this was because it was either an artefact left from the censor cutting the footage or, as was more likely the case, the Kay sisters’ house stood opposite the Heugh and Lighthouse Gun Batteries, which were military installations in a military zone<sup>53</sup>. It is more likely the case that the military censor cut these pieces of film to conceal this important military information so that the Germans did not get intelligence from it. The Kay sisters were known well locally within Hartlepool<sup>54</sup>, so the local audience would have known that this was not their house. The fact that the house was not included suggests some early censorship was taking place. This is shortly followed by a medium shot which concentrates on a girl holding a piece of shrapnel, not something that was usually captured in propaganda, which suggests that this piece of was uncensored<sup>55</sup>.

This further indicates how WWI affected children and adults and highlights the imagined community in the propaganda as people watching this film will perceive themselves as part of the same nation and identify with the horror of this young girl holding a piece of shrapnel, which they would not want their own children or family members to hold. The footage

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> The Kays’ father was a famous shipowner and one of the sisters had many shops across Hartlepool.

<sup>55</sup> This was a shell splinter, that is “identifiable as being from an 11” (eleven inch) armour piercing shell fired from either the SMS Seydlitz or SMS Moltke. See source: Simmons, M. 2020. *A Rediscovered Film: “The Attack on the Hartlepoons”*. Unpublished Article. Hartlepool: Hartlepool Borough Council. p. 5.

also shows more of the rescue of Mrs Keble than is shown in the versions of the BFI and Pathe News copies of the film<sup>56</sup>. The film also shows the rescuing of a casualty, a Mrs Florence Blanch Keble, from her house, No. 6 Belvoir Terrace. Mrs Keble was a well-known person in the Scarborough community due to her work in the church and with charities<sup>57</sup>. The woman directing the ambulance crew with a stretcher out of the building looks to be upper-middle class from her head wear and attire, she was probably a voluntary aid detachment nurse as her gown can be seen briefly beneath her overcoat. In the back of the shot Mrs Keble's maid, in a white pinafore, and her housekeeper who is wearing a shawl also appear within the shot<sup>58</sup>. Unlike previous pieces of propaganda this film shows the stretcher being removed from the building, which suggests that it may not have been censored. There is a sense of social mixing from the people rescuing the casualty and there is a mixing of the middle and upper classes through the ambulance crew mixing with Mrs Keble who appears to have been from the upper-middle class given that she had the means to have both a maid and a housekeeper at the outbreak of WWI. Then again, in any scenario members of the ambulance service mix with various communities from different backgrounds, but it does give the audience a sense that the devastation of war affected anyone anywhere, although this was a deliberately constructed piece of propaganda. Even though the film is propaganda the people in the shots are not choreographed. This is noticeable through the children and adults looking directly into the camera, the directors often captured what happened and may have edited certain shots to show certain things, but they did not control the actions of the people in front of the camera.

On the other hand, it is clear that certain shots were chosen to be seen by the audience as the intertitles have the specific intention of appealing to the emotions of the audience "...many killed – chiefly women and children". The intertitles illustrate how the intention of the propaganda was to demonstrate how the most vulnerable and innocent people were being killed and in some ways for this to act as a rallying cry for others<sup>59</sup>. Through watching the film there is a distinct impression of the imagined community that is shown to the audience; as was done in the *Eden Camp Collection*, it shows different classes mixing and collaborating and how war affected everyone. This appealed not only to the local communities who were in Scarborough but also nationally, and the idea that even though many people in the local or national community may not have met but they belonged to one nation can be interpreted from the images and intertitles in this film. The intention of the footage of reaching the wider

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Mrs Keble's identity was verified by Simmons using 1911 census data and various newspaper articles detailing the damage to her house.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Especially given that Mrs Keble was already bedridden before the shell hit her house.

imagined community is clearly illustrated as the original version of the film only showed the devastation in Hartlepool. It was the later versions of the film that would include footage of Scarborough at Whitby at the beginning of the film as this is where the focus of the raid was. This obviously had the intention of communicating the message of the devastation of what had happened across the wider community, as the title was even changed from “*Attack on the Hartlepoons*” to “*The Bombardment of the Eastern Coast*”.<sup>60</sup> Gaumont’s footage was shown across the UK including in areas such as Newcastle, South Shields, Aberdeen, Birmingham, London, & Exeter. Footage of the bombardment was also taken by Movietone News and sold for exhibitions abroad in the Netherlands, France, and the United States<sup>61</sup>. This illustrates how the aim of the film was to show the imagined community on a local and national scale, as well as how this depiction of these events could show the devastation that occurred to international audiences. Thus, the deeper more unwitting intention of this film was to encourage recruitment within WWI by purposefully showing the audience the casualties of this devastation, both young and old. Therefore, the film indicates how war affected everyone, from many different classes, even if it was created with the intention of showing certain scenes to the audience, this footage shows the grim reality of what happened and who was injured in the bombardment.



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<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> *The Attack on the Hartlepoons*. 1914 [Film]. Gaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 22331). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/27122> [Accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021]

In the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*, Watts uses the footage from the *Eden Camp Collection*<sup>63</sup> to show the devastation of what happened to Scarborough but this footage is edited in a contemporary setting by adding sound to Symmons' raw silent film footage, including three voiceovers: Winifred Wood, Mark Newham and Captain Smith. All three of these people were children during the war, so these events were still in their living memory and they could remember the devastation that afflicted Scarborough, as 36 shells hit the Grand Hotel alone, causing £13,000 in damage<sup>64</sup>. Children are an important part of communities when recounting events in all time periods as family films often show the audience their perspective of discovering the world. It is important to note that footage in the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection* has been edited rather than just showing Symmons' raw footage. Symmons' raw footage is what has been analysed in the prior example and was referred to in *Eden Camp Collection*<sup>65</sup>. Similarly, the topical news and Gaumont Graphic displayed this professional footage as a provocative example of the damage of war. This acted as propaganda that encouraged men to enlist, participate in war and defend people who were part of their regional and national community<sup>66</sup>. This footage is professional rather than amateur, as it was edited and filmed to be sold, so when examining the footage, it has to be considered that any images displayed were created to have an effect on the audience and show them the terrible destruction for a specific purpose. The effect by showing this footage to the audience was to encourage the audience to get involved in WWI and prevent this type of atrocity happening again. There was an overarching embedded message in such propaganda footage that it was the British communities' role to defend civilised values against the evil enemy. The local and national communities had a duty to act in response to this, as the national community is made up of individual groups of people from both national and regional communities, which encouraged this practice of mixing classes as people from a variety of communities and classes acted in response to this. It is also important to consider that Symmons helped establish Beverley's picture house and Debenhams of York, so clearly was from an affluent background, as can further be interpreted from the high-quality nitrate film that was used. (This high-quality nitrate was often used by professional filmmakers).

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<sup>63</sup> *Eden Camp Collection Newsreels*. 1914. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 5217). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10271> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>64</sup> This would be considerably more money by contemporary standards.

<sup>65</sup> *Eden Camp Collection Newsreels*. 1914. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 5217). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10271> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>66</sup> Massie, R. K. 2004. Chapter 18: The Scarborough Raid: 'Within our Claws'. In: *Castles of steel: Britain, Germany and the winning of the Great War at sea*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Therefore, those who constituted communities can be understood from various positions such as the upper-middle classes behind the camera, people from the middle classes and working classes standing next to each other and socially mixing, soldiers marching together, and the cross-section of community that were affected by war.

The intention of these pieces of footage was to rouse people's ideas of their regional and national identity to persuade them to fight. These initial pieces of films are pieces of propaganda as they were made with the intention of being sold for profit and to be seen by a public audience to persuade them of an argument to become involved in WWI; a contributing factor towards the professionalisation of films during WWI was that film equipment was expensive and difficult to obtain unless people were of affluent means or professional filmmakers.

### Chapter 3.1: Propaganda Films

In the footage the representation of community demonstrates how everyone was affected by WWI, especially in the events that hit Yorkshire in the Scarborough bombardment. The identity of a collective community was also constructed within these films, and each of these films had a role in constructing or representing communities. War was not class or gender specific, although, unlike in World War Two, the casualties on the home front were much less severe. This chapter focuses on the recruitment footage that was filmed by Debenham and Co, in York. The focus of this section will further decipher the relationship between WWI and propaganda, as well as seeing what aspects of the various communities it reflects.

This section focuses on two propaganda films that were produced by Debenham & Co, York<sup>67</sup>. These films were overt pieces of propaganda to encourage enlistment and recruitment, with the first film focusing on the *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*<sup>68</sup>. The second of these films, *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>69</sup>, is a fictional account of a family separated between the warfront and home front, which was a relatable experience to the audience members. This film encourages enlistment, to believe in the war and to donate to the Hull Trust Fund for dependants and those living with disabilities. The similarities between these films are that they are both propaganda with witting intention to encourage enlistment and people to become involved in the war.

The *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*<sup>70</sup> was a professional film shot in 35mm by Debenham & Co, which yet again demonstrates propaganda for the war effort and soldiers in the Yorkshire regiment. The 35mm footage was used by professional filmmakers as it had a richer quality than 16mm footage which was more widely available and more affordable after its initial production in 1923<sup>71</sup>. Although there is no sound it shows the

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<sup>67</sup> Ernest Symmons set up a business with his brother in law Leslie Holderness, known as Debenham and Company. Debenham and Co. filmed many propaganda films in Yorkshire, in WWI and WWII. Symmons's films eventually became very well-known and accepted in the film industry.

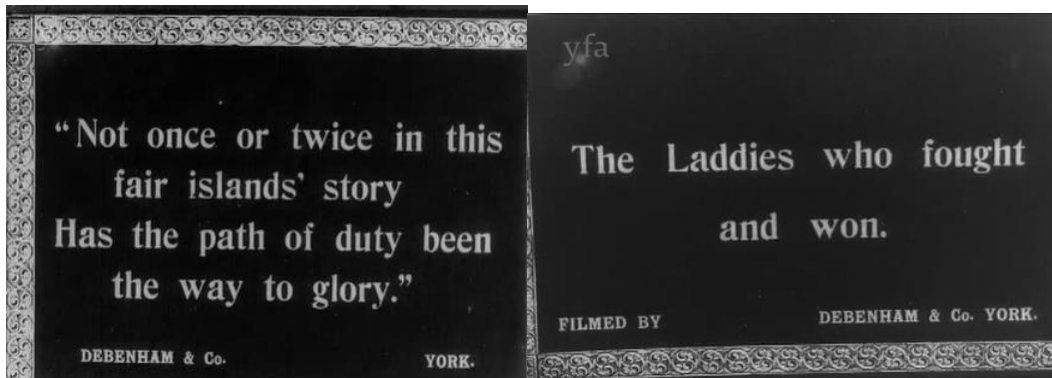
<sup>68</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>69</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>70</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>71</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 2001. Morphing history into histories: From amateur film to the archive of the future. *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists* 1 (1): pp. 108-30.

soldiers being inspected on St George's Field in York, with the titles "The laddies who fought and won" and "Not once or twice in this fair islands' story, Has the path of duty been the way to glory". The language acts as propaganda to inspire men to enlist, as the battalion parades past Lendal Bridge and throughout York, and has crowds of citizens cheering the soldiers on. These images appear to be overt propaganda for members of communities to enlist for the sake of patriotism and national identity.



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What can also be determined from viewing these films is that although they are constructed for the purpose of propaganda, they did film the 5th Battalion's parade in York. Therefore, by reading this film it allows the audience to look at small moments in the film that were unscripted to see what this reveals about community. For example, one image shows a woman in a long scarf and coat walking with another soldier across the bridge, the audience do not know their relationship but can see that there is a bond between these two individuals that goes beyond these communities but is reflexive of the wider community. The same could be said about the images of a girl running up to a soldier who appears to be a relative, running up to him and then running away, in an individual act that yet again is reflexive of the wider

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<sup>72</sup> *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]



relationships throughout various communities. These small moments between loved ones are representative of the fleeting moments between soldiers and their loved ones. The Battalion shown is the 1/5<sup>th</sup> Battalion who became part of the 148<sup>th</sup> brigade in the 49<sup>th</sup> division<sup>73</sup>. Interestingly, a Beverley recruit, Private Leo Bulman, was a 5<sup>th</sup> regiment reserve who went to Scarborough to guard a power station, but he was injured with shrapnel in the Scarborough bombardment of 1914 which Symmons also filmed<sup>74</sup>. Given that this film was shot in 1915, most of the soldiers depicted were volunteers or were in the regiment prior to WWI, as this was filmed prior to the introduction of conscription in 1916<sup>75</sup>. Symmons, who came from an upper-middle class background, was filming these soldiers and the intention of this propaganda was clear in encouraging them to recruit, however what is also clear from this imagery is how community bonds and patriotic ideas that bonded communities were used through this propaganda.

Watts's research<sup>76</sup> has used footage from the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection* and investigated the backgrounds of the soldiers who are depicted in the *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster*<sup>77</sup> film. The soldiers being represented were from different backgrounds and included Colour Sergeant Joseph William Beaumont who joined the battalion in 1901 and rose to the rank of Sergeant Mayor in 1914. He was a colliery clerk prior to the war.

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<sup>73</sup> This battalion was likely to fight in the Battle of Aubers Ridge and later the defence of the first phosgene gas attack. The York and Lancaster Regiment would later win regimental medals in the Battle of the Somme; this was not surprising given eight of the twenty two units dispatched saw action on the first day of the Somme, meaning they suffered heavy casualties.

<sup>74</sup> Robinson, P. 1985. *Story of the Playhouse cinema, Beverley. The home of beautiful pictures*. Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd.

<sup>75</sup> Coetzee, D. 2005. Measures of enthusiasm: New avenues in quantifying variations in voluntary enlistment in Scotland, august 1914–December 1915. *Local Population Studies*, 74: pp. 16-35.

<sup>76</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten: A Gazetteer of people and their stories from World War 1 films and in the YFA*. York: YFA.

<sup>77</sup> *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]



Another soldier was Lieutenant Henry Harry Colver who was the son of the Sheffield steel magnate and Master Cutler Robert Colver and Elizabeth Colver. Unfortunately, he died aged 23 in December 1915 as a victim of a German phosgene gas attack.



Lieutenant William Douthwaite joined the battalion before the war and was mentioned in dispatches in 1917. He was from Sheffield and the son of a bank manager; he served in the 4<sup>th</sup> York and Lancaster regiment until 1920. In 1939 he became an accountant and sailed to Brazil.

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<sup>78</sup> This is an image of Beaumont. Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten: A Gazetteer of people and their stories from World War 1 films and in the YFA*. York: YFA. p. 31.

<sup>79</sup> Image of Colver. *Ibid.* p. 33.



80.

Finally, General Lawson, who was educated at Cheltenham College and Royal Military Woolwich, was commissioned to the Royal Engineers in 1877. He was critical of men doing softer jobs in the war and encouraged the formation of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps.



81.

According to Watts's research<sup>82</sup>, the background of these soldiers indicates they were relatively middle class prior to joining WWI. From the occupations of these soldiers they all

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<sup>80</sup> Image of Douthwaite. Ibid. p. 34.

<sup>81</sup>Image of Lawson, ibid. p. 42.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

come from a white-collar, middle class background. Therefore, the soldiers who have been analysed as part of the larger community are limited to those from an upper to middle class background; however, there are many more soldiers in the background of this film whose class cannot be defined. There were also many onlookers who watched the parade leave, including the woman holding a soldier's hand and the little girl, and their class and background are unclear. Although there is some insight into who was in this film and to which class they belonged, it is clear that there was some element of social mixing and this reinforced the main aim of this propaganda which was to bring together the nationalised and localised idea of community. Furthermore, this film was professionally produced by Debenham's and therefore acted as propaganda in favour of the war, even though it is silent, as the inter-titles had the specific effect of encouraging comradery.

Another film produced by Debenhams and Co during WWI was *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>83</sup> that focused on the family unit within the war and the father's strife in the wartime effort. This film acted as propaganda to raise £500,000 money for dependants and those living with disabilities. This film depicts a parade moving through the town, from the establishing shots of soldiers parading through the streets, and crowds of people cheering. The intention of this film was to act overtly as propaganda. At the beginning of the film the audience are shown a parade of soldiers marching by, which then cuts to an intertitle "There's my Daddy!", and two children and their mother are waving handkerchiefs towards the camera. This film is fictionalised to show the bond between families as their loved ones leave for war and encourage people to become involved in the war effort who may be in similar situations; however, from seeing earlier films these bonds between families are reflected from actual footage of what was happening. These fictionalised depictions to a certain extent reflect the more nuanced reflections of relationships that are shown in real life through other films that show real life parades. An intertitle then intersects on screen with text diverting the location to "Somewhere in France. Before going over the top his last thoughts are of home", a medium shot cuts to the father writing a letter home whilst in the trenches, which is then quickly followed by footage of him going over the top.

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<sup>83</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]



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The reading that arises from these images is that the father is thinking of his home life, which encourages the audience to think of the sacrifice that men are making at war. The first half of the film follows a similar format to many of the other films during the Great War, as a lot of the professional and amateur footage from this period in Yorkshire by Debenhams & Co and other amateur film makers concentrates on filming the parades. For example, the first half of this film can be compared directly to the parades being shown in the previous film<sup>85</sup>, although this is a consciously constructed piece of footage. This film mixes actuality footage and dramatized footage, for example, the parade of soldiers marching past is actuality footage, but the reaction of the family waving goodbye is a fictionalised construct. The goodbyes that were shown through holding hands in the previous film, and the little girl saying goodbye, are depicted similarly in this film. This illustrates to a certain extent that these small gestures showing these familial bonds were representative of what was happening in the wider community. The film utilises personal dramas, such as the relationship between those in the

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<sup>84</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>85</sup> The parade being shown is a fictionalised version of what can be seen in the: *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

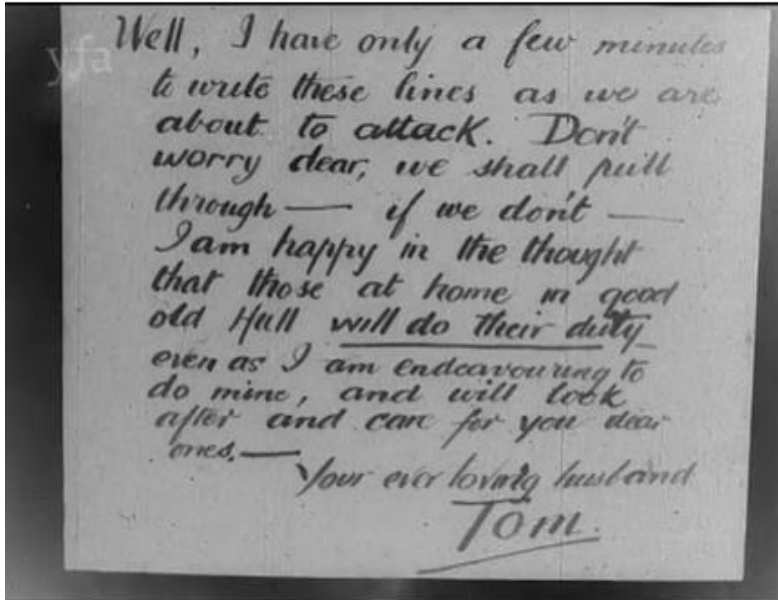
trenches and family members at home. Even if these relationships are dramatized, they make the message of the films more relatable to the audience, who will be encountering similar experiences, rather than just showing parades through local villages. This also demonstrates how the focus of this film was on family values, and how the familial relationships that were depicted were representative of the wider imagined community. The focus of this film aimed to bring home the horror and reality of war and not just focus on the home front but also their dependants, their wives, their children or someone with a disability who had a family member at the front. To a certain degree it shows the reality of war, but also the valiant sacrifice. The function of the family unit in society and as part of the local community is a role that is important and should be considered within the larger community. The primary intention when these films were constructed was to boost people's morale and their community spirit on a localised and nationalised level. These films are purposefully constructed for an audience, especially in Hull where this footage clearly signified how it was used as a propaganda tool to connect people together for the same cause. This fictional film appeals to the national spirit but stressed the local throughout as it specifically talks about the war's effect on Hull. This relationship between Hull and the national community is also stressed through the comparison of statistics. For example, over 12 million letters were sent from the UK to the western front every week during WWI and 7,000 people from Hull were killed, so one can understand the importance of these films for this audience<sup>86</sup>. The families were informed via telegram or through the post if anything had happened to their family members on the front, therefore this scrap of paper had an important message to those in England and Hull, who understood the harrowing effects that receiving a letter could have<sup>87</sup>.

Many of the professional films in York within the archives from York in 1914 are produced by Debenhams and Co. and act as promotional films for the war effort. This is pointedly demonstrated and can be understood through the letter written from the front stating, "I am happy in the thought that those at home in good old Hull **will do their duty** even as I am endeavouring to do mine..."

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<sup>86</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA

<sup>87</sup> Hanna, M. 2003. A republic of letters: the epistolary tradition in France during World War I. *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 5: pp. 1338-1361.



88

This reinforces the intention of this footage acting as propaganda to encourage everyone in Hull to participate and do their duty. This film is clearly about Hull, but fuses the idea of this great cause by appealing to the national spirit, and how actions on a grass roots level affect society on a larger scale. What is perhaps less obviously depicted and is an unwitting testimony that can be interpreted from this footage is how a scrap of paper in this context would have been censored under DORA, so that very little negative news came from the front to prevent any damage of morale to those on the home front<sup>89</sup>. On the other hand, Knightley<sup>90</sup> postulates that DORA had a further far reaching effect than originally was anticipated and its effect still lingers in some form today, when various news outlets selectively report certain events that have occurred in war zones. Newspapers such as the Times were to some extent manipulated and acted in cooperation with the government. The newspapers were perceived as a source of knowledge and had an omnipotent role in dictating what was and what was not seen as a victory. This is made evident in the fact that they concealed details of what happened on the frontline from those at home, including the loss of the Battle of Mons, which was not immediately reported. The press was a careful tool that the government selectively used by revealing information that would not damage public morale but also gave

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<sup>88</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>89</sup> Hopkin, D. 1970. Domestic censorship in the first world war. *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (4): pp. 151-69.

<sup>90</sup> Knightley, P. 2004. *The first casualty- the war correspondent as hero and myth maker*. 5th ed. Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press.

enough information to encourage recruitment<sup>91</sup>. So the media outlets and the letters that were sent home were often carefully curated so that they gave some information away but not enough to damage people's morale. When analysing film footage, as O'Neill postulates, it is important to examine what is and what is not depicted, in a similar fashion to examining what is and is not reported. This is certainly the case when examining war time propaganda and when looking at this small example of DORA it is not necessarily obvious to the audience. This type of propaganda seems to be aimed at protecting the interests of the national and regionalised ideas of community and shielding them from the horrors of war by giving them enough motivation and information to encourage them to mobilise and become involved. Therefore, the picture that is captured of this local community through Symmons's film conceals the images of the horrors of war, due to a certain amount of censorship which the officers would do themselves.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.



### Chapter 3.2: Women, community, and Post WWI.

This chapter has analysed propaganda and how depictions of communities in WWI were represented, and simultaneously how these depictions constructed ideas of imagined community. The films examined have been filmed by male filmmakers, and often show men on screen being supported by women waving them goodbye as they depart for war. Women played a crucial role in WWI, and their depiction changed drastically. This section analyses the role of women during WWI; it firstly analyses the poster propaganda in response to the Scarborough bombardment. The Scarborough Bombardment inspired people to view their local community as family that were looking out for one another. These values were reflected within the initial propaganda posters, and this type of comradeship demonstrates the united communal values people had regionally and nationally. This section then examines the changing depiction of women as a representation of purity, to their depiction in typically male roles. WWI significantly changed the role of women and how they were perceived in professional films and propaganda. The final section of this chapter examines professional films produced after the end of WWI. These films show a definitive switch from the collective imagined community and women empowered in their roles, to women being sidelined and class distinctions becoming more obvious on screen.

This propaganda poster is in reaction to the Scarborough Bombardment. Scarborough was the first attack on British soil since the beginning of the Great War, and enlistment was encouraged with recruitment posters stating *Remember Scarborough: Enlist now*<sup>92</sup>, where the famous Britannia is depicted with her sword launching into battle. The intention of this poster is explicit and was aimed at people in local communities and more widely at the nation and their sense of *gemeinschaft* as well as their nationalism to defend their country. Alongside film footage it is equally as important to consider the importance of propaganda in boosting public morale during WWI and what the effect of this was.

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<sup>92</sup> PRC (Parliamentary Recruiting Committee). 1915. [Propaganda poster]. *Remember Scarborough*. . Middlesex: Imperial War Museum.



What this image signifies is a representation of Britannia leading Britain into war, Britannia is a personification of the United Kingdom, and thus is reflective of the national community<sup>94</sup>. This personification of the nation through propaganda illustrates the initial meaning of this poster that encouraged men to enlist and a more underlying message of encouraging women to have a role in the war and at home by depicting this iconic image of Britannia<sup>95</sup>. The target audience for both pieces of propaganda would have been primarily young men of recruitable age across the UK, as it was for most propaganda during WWI.

Women and men were further encouraged to get involved by the brothers and sisters recruitment poster that depicts the role of a woman as a nurse and a man as a soldier after the bombardment. The local propaganda poster from Scarborough in the film strip, from the

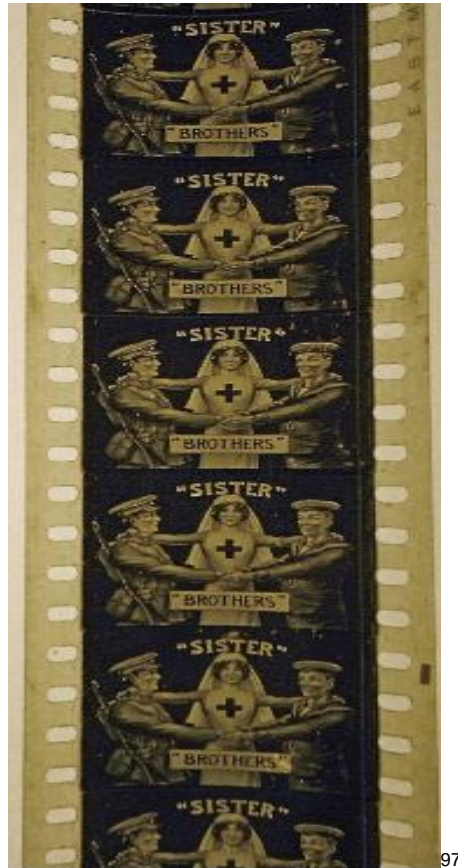
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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Marcus, J. 1992. Britannia rules the waves. In: K.E.Lawrence. Eds. *Decolonizing tradition: New views of twentieth-century "British" literary canons*, Illinois: University of Illinois Press. pp. 136-62.

<sup>95</sup>According to Jowett & O'Donnell a propaganda poster could be considered as a document. Winston implies that the reliability of a document is greater than that of a documentary source, in this case, it is not; the primary difference between a documentary source and document is that the purpose of the document or propaganda poster is immediately clear to the audience. Please see sources: Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage; Winston, B., 2011. "Documentary film," *The Routledge Companion to Film History*., ed. W. Guynn. New York: Routledge. p. 84.

“Scarborough Bombardment” in 1914, depicts “Sister” at the top of the strip and “Brothers” at the bottom<sup>96</sup>.



97

This type of propaganda was used during the WWI, as it inspired people to view their local community as members of their family, that were looking out for one another, and this type of comradeship demonstrates the united communal values during The Great Wars<sup>98</sup>. At least these were the communal values that the audience were encouraged to believe were present in communities through the repeated use of this propaganda, which encouraged gemeinschaft communal bonds to be strengthened. On the other hand, this propaganda poster had the clear intention of encouraging men and women to believe and participate in WWI. In this film strip the woman is wearing a nurse's outfit and the men are wearing soldiers' uniforms, so there was an expectation of traditional ideas of female identity during this time where women were expected to look after the home front whilst the men were fighting. However,

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<sup>96</sup> Watts, M. 1914. *Sisters, brothers: Scarborough bombardment*. [film strip]. 1914-1929 filmed and not forgotten. York: YFA.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Bennett, J. 2008. Interfacing the nation remediating public service broadcasting in the digital television age. *Convergence: The international journal of research into new media technologies*, 14 (3): pp. 277-94.

increasingly, towards the end of the Great War and after the munition's crisis women were depicted through propaganda as working in factories to build munitions. Although this helped the war effort invaluable, once the men returned from war their identity was threatened, as their previous role as the breadwinner was challenged in the workplace<sup>99</sup>. This was also because women were increasingly gaining more rights and opportunities during this period, which made them a threat towards the dominant masculine identities. These dominant masculinities were also being reinforced by propaganda "... appealing to their role as protectors of women and children, or shaming them as cowards for not enlisting. Propaganda tended to amplify the gender roles that had been established for men...men were in charge of public life while women were in charge of domestic life"<sup>100</sup>. These ideas were being perpetuated in propaganda for enlistment purposes<sup>101</sup>. It also perpetuated the idea that men were in charge of public life, which centred on work, and women were in charge of the domestic sphere. Hence when women entered the workplace it challenged these long-held beliefs. On the other hand, removal of women from the workplace after the war was usually negotiated before they joined the workforce to ensure union compliance. This was potentially based upon the well-founded fear that men would be replaced by women who were given a fraction of a man's wage, which would invariably increase profits for firms if successful<sup>102</sup>. Therefore, to some extent these fears were mitigated by agreements made when women joined the workplace, to protect male workers' rights, but nevertheless these fears were still present within the workplace when women joined. This yet again demonstrates how in WWI the ideas that are played upon are patriotic values and the Gemeinschaft to encourage people to enlist and join the community effort.

This section so far has examined the role of women during WWI. It is important to analyse the role of women during WWI, as this is something that changed from 1914 onwards. Prior to 1914 many women had roles in Northern areas in the textile industry and younger girls participated in gender restricting activities including the *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*<sup>103</sup>. This

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<sup>99</sup> Kossoudji, S. A., and L. J. and Dresser. 1992. Working class roses: Women industrial workers during World War II. *The Journal of Economic History* 52 (2): pp. 431-46.

<sup>100</sup> Caris, E.M. 2015. *British Propaganda and Masculinity During the First World War*. Masters Thesis. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, p. 1. Available at: [https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5046&context=gradschool\\_theses](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5046&context=gradschool_theses) [Accessed 11<sup>th</sup> May 2020]

<sup>101</sup> This can be seen in the previous examples of propaganda and the parades through the cities.

<sup>102</sup> Braybon, G. 1989. The need for women's labour in the First World War. In: *Women workers in the First World War*. London: Routledge.

<sup>103</sup> *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*. 1914. [Film]. Pathé Frères Gazette. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 3682). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7298> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

gender restriction is reinforced through the film footage from the 1914 *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*<sup>104</sup> where the girls are either veiled or doing a maypole dance. On the other hand, the initial viewing of this film shows Laura Woolin<sup>105</sup> being crowned the mayday queen. Further connotations are shown through her white gown which symbolises her purity.



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Women were portrayed to have purity and frailty<sup>107</sup>; these qualities were part of the reason women did not fight on the warfront, in contrast to Laura Woolin's brothers who went to the war front in WWI and would have been expected to do so. These early pieces of film footage demonstrate the depiction of purity and capturing the local event in Gawthorpe. This was another piece of professionalised film by Pathé Frères that was made into a newsreel. Its intention cannot be so easily stated as a propaganda as the festival was shot on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1914 so this would have been before any inclination of war. The age of Laura Woolin in this film was 14<sup>108</sup> and the girls within this film were likely to be a similar age, so this would have influenced this idea of purity and sanctity. What this newsreel does strongly suggest and

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<sup>104</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

<sup>105</sup> *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*. 1914. [Film]. Pathé Frères Gazette. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 3682). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7298> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Especially the purity of the maypole Queen.

<sup>108</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA

stereotype, albeit through a traditional festival, is that the role of women was one of purity and sanctity, as can be determined from the image below which was taken from the film.



This image is taken from the film and shows the girls all dressed in white and dancing around the maypole, further signifying purity through their attire. This perception of purity was one the reasons that they were not allowed to fight during WWI or WWII. Furthermore, the role of girls in particular was seen to be one of sanctity, and as they grew older traditionally transferred towards more domestic roles of being mothers and part of the family unit<sup>110</sup>. This film is somewhat reflective of the more discreet gender roles of the time, which were marked by the social and economic class differences. This would differ between lower class and middle class households, as lower class households would often have both men and women working, or the men would work long hours, whereas in middle class households at that time, a woman's role was traditionally dedicated towards her children, aided by live in maids or nannies<sup>111112</sup>. The family unit had a different status whereby, in the absence of a welfare state,

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<sup>109</sup> *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*. 1914. [Film]. Pathé Frères Gazette. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 3682). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7298> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>110</sup> Caris, E.M. 2015. *British Propaganda and Masculinity During the First World War*. Masters Thesis. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, p. 1. Available at: [https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5046&context=gradschool\\_theses](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5046&context=gradschool_theses) [Accessed 11<sup>th</sup> May 2020]

<sup>111</sup> Robert, K. 1997. Gender, class, and patriotism: Women's paramilitary units in First World War Britain. *The International History Review*, 19(1), pp. 52-65.

<sup>112</sup> Mrs Keble had a maid in the film *Attack on the Hartlepoons*, but maids were not shown in many propaganda depictions during WWI. *Attack on the Hartlepoons*. 1914 [Film]. Gaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 22331). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/27122> [Accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021]

families would suffer financially if men did not have a well-paid job or it would force women into work. This then ties into the perception of a particular social class as one of purity and grace (more the middle classes), where the reality was that many in the working classes would suffer under the drudgery and hard work of their circumstances, although it is not shown in film<sup>113</sup>. These traditionally domesticated roles have been shown in fictionalised depictions in previous films such as the mother in *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>114</sup>, and to some extent in *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*<sup>115</sup> with the women holding the soldier's hand. However, the drudgery of lower-class women is often not reflected through these films. On the other hand, the role of gender is still divided as the *Filmed and Forgotten Collection* goes on to describe what happened to Laura Woolin's brothers at war, but not her own biography, and this is fairly typical of this type of research where the trajectories of men's timelines can be perceived but not those of women, as the roles of women were perceived to be less important prior to WWI and to a certain extent their roles were traditionally perceived as being to preserve their purity and raise children whilst the men fought in the war.

It is important to analyse films such as the Gawthorpe Maypole Festival during 1914 to gain a perspective into how things changed during WWI, and how women's roles and stereotypes were revolutionised. Earlier pieces of propaganda show iconic mythical images of Britannia willing her soldiers to fight; this acts in contrast to real women who are portrayed in nurses' outfits in propaganda, but together these were used to inspire people to become involved in the war effort. The images of nurses and of the innocent maypole girls can also be examined a few months before the outbreak of war to build a stereotyped view of women in a caring and nurturing capacity. However, other films of this era give this research a further understanding of different elements of community during WWI that deliberately contradicts male stereotypes and women's frailty, including *Munitions and Football* (1917-1921) from the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*<sup>116</sup>. This film depicts a combination of scenarios and films as it shows women working collectively in the factory, then leaving the factory, and women playing in a football match. The roles of working in a factory and playing football were stereotypically dominated by men, so this film contradicts these stereotyped roles and shows

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<sup>113</sup> Robert, K. 1997. Gender, class, and patriotism: Women's paramilitary units in First World War Britain. *The International History Review*, 19(1), pp. 52-65.

<sup>114</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>115</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>116</sup> This munitions and football piece of footage is edited from archival films and is available in the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*. Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

how they were open to change during WWI. Although there are women depicted doing traditionally domestic roles during WWI, football counteracted this depiction, as football was a popular men's sport. However, after WWI women's football stopped<sup>117</sup>. Therefore, women participating in their own football matches challenged traditionally lead male ideas and was a way in which suffragism could be redefined in a positive light. Alternatively, this transformation in roles was restricted to the wartime setting. This gives conflicting propaganda messages that can only be known with hindsight. It was the case that women helped invaluable during WWI by taking on traditional male roles but after the war most women were expected to return to their domestic roles.



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<sup>117</sup> Kitching, P. 2016. Women's Football: the early years in the First World War in ten tweets. *Historian*, (130), p. 39.



As is made evident by Watts<sup>119</sup>, women had an important role in labour, especially from an industrial perspective. During WWI there was an increased need for munitions, and this saw women work in munitions factories. These women were known as ‘munitionettes’. This was after the Ministry of Munitions was created, because of the munitions crisis in 1915. Defying modern convention of what women were perceived to be in this era<sup>120</sup>, this film firstly depicts women working in the munitions factories and secondly a munitions ladies football team playing against the Lancashire Dick Kerr ladies football team<sup>121</sup>. The various communities who had a shared experience working in factories in these films has historical importance, as women’s roles in the industrial workplace and on a football pitch contradict established female conventions of women being restricted to the home. However, through viewing these depictions of women in the factory or on the football pitch it is almost impossible to determine what position they held in the class structure as they are all in uniform; as stated previously this was more about building close community bonds between women and encouraging the community spirit to flourish cinematically and in real life. Indeed, WWI was an important time for women to establish their power within both professional and non-professional sectors as women’s role in the workplace grew from 23.6 % in 1914 to 37.7 % in 1918<sup>122</sup>. This contradicts the predominant amount of footage held in this era in the YFA and beyond that particularly concentrates on the military role of men, or was filmed and produced by men; however, women’s roles were becoming equally as important as men’s, especially as they evolved through World War One. After the war many returning servicemen reclaimed their roles and the number of women in industry and trade declined<sup>123</sup>. This is one of the few films shot in the archives in this context demonstrating women’s roles, which do not fall into typical gendered and stereotyped categories<sup>124</sup>. It is also crucial to state that this film

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<sup>118</sup> This munitions and football piece of footage is edited from archival films and is available in the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*. Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. . York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JE-XRJNSNL4&feature=emb\\_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JE-XRJNSNL4&feature=emb_title) [Accessed 1<sup>st</sup> March 2021]

<sup>119</sup> Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

<sup>120</sup> This defies how women were depicted, especially if the innocence and frailty in the representation of women in the Gawthorpe Maypole festival is considered.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Braybon, G. 1989. *Women workers in the First World War*. London: Routledge. p. 49.

<sup>123</sup> Anitha, S. & Pearson, R. 2013. *Striking Women*. Lincoln: University of Lincoln. [Online] Available from: [www.striking-women.org](http://www.striking-women.org) [Accessed 13<sup>th</sup> May 2020].

<sup>124</sup> Braybon, G. 1989. *Women Workers in the First World War*. London: Routledge. p. 49.

demonstrates the imagined community and bonds of the localised community being built in the workforce and on the football pitch.

Another film is the *Royal Visit to John Barran & Sons Ltd*<sup>125</sup>, marking King George V & Queen Mary's visit to the John Barran & Sons factory. Women played an important role in this factory, although it is not evident from the footage. Barran was the first to pioneer the production of ready to wear clothing and many uniforms for soldiers were manufactured in this factory. This footage was shot in nitrate, hence the in-depth quality of the picture. John Barran employed up to 3000 people in his Chorley Street factory, yet this film does not depict any women working within the factory. It shows some men within the workplace, but the only woman present in the factory appears to be the Queen in this footage. The only women portrayed other than the Queen are women queuing outside waiting for the royals.



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The role of women that is depicted cinematically is limited other than in the case of the munitions factory, which gives more of a three-dimensional perspective where women are at the centre of what is depicted rather than being a resource that primarily supports men<sup>127</sup>. The unwitting testimony that can be further be interpreted from viewing this footage is that women had an inferior role or were perceived as inferior during WWI. John Barran was from London and the son of a gunmaker. He sailed to Hull at age 21 and got the train to Leeds looking for a business opportunity. His initial job was as a pawnbroker and clothes dealer, but soon he set up an outfitting business and was one of the first to use American Singer machines to increase the speed of sewing production. From the footage it appears that the community the audience sees is upper middle class and has a restricting perspective of women, as the royal visit to John Barran's factory demonstrates an aristocratic visit to an upper-middle-class

<sup>125</sup> *Royal Visit to John Barran & Sons Ltd*. 1918. [Film]. Directed by Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4994). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9840> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Braybon, G. 1989. *Women Workers in the First World War*. London: Routledge. p. 49.

industrial institution<sup>128</sup>. This can be seen within the film as most of the people in the film are wearing smart suits when the royals come to visit. This is supported by the fact that the film does not show the audience the actual labour or labourers in the factory, only the royals being toured around various locations. Although the propaganda suggests that everyone had a role to be involved in, the footage does not reinforce this, or only uses very scarce depictions of working-class women, so modern audiences cannot get a rounded perception of women's role in Yorkshire throughout this era. All of the footage being discussed is professional footage that is produced by companies for a specific effect so this may contribute to the lack of working-class people being intentionally depicted, unless they are in crowd shots. Ironically, although this was filmed when WWI was still happening, this is the first film that is not a piece of explicit propaganda where the class divisions and lack of women become apparent. In addition, most of the information from the previous films that has been analysed from the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection* highlights and identifies the men in the footage but not the women, and men are often filming the scenes, if not producing them as part of their cinematic involvement in either Cine Club or Debenham & Co, York. The depiction of communities, therefore, is restricted within this footage due to the financial means and status of people's class. This could further be interpreted from the fact that none of the filmmakers are women.

A large amount of professional footage during and after the war originated from Debenham's, including parading through the streets and various marches. On the other hand, other footage of businesses was captured in York in 1920<sup>129</sup> and showed the Duke of York being escorted around the Rowntree factory in the film *HRH Duke of York Visits Rowntree's Cocoa Works*<sup>130</sup>. The focus of this film shifts away from gender and represents community differently from during WWI. It is unknown who was the director of this film, although the inter-titles indicate that it was professionally filmed. The initial viewing of this film depicts crowds outside of Rowntree's factory, and then shows the Duke of York outside viewing the various areas of the factory, so this piece of footage was shot as a newsreel to show the Duke of York's visit to the Rowntree's factory.

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<sup>128</sup> Bradford, E. 2013. They lived in Leeds. John Barran 1821-1905. Pioneer industrialist and Leeds benefactor. in *The Thoresby Society* [database online]. The Historical Society for Leeds and District [cited March 2017]. Available from: <https://www.thoresby.org.uk/content/people/barran.php> (accessed 13/03/17).

<sup>129</sup> This was Prince Albert at the time, who was to become His Royal Highness King George VI in 1936.

<sup>130</sup> *HRH Duke of York Visits Rowntree's Cocoa Works*. 1920. [Film]. Director Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2286). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4604> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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On the other hand, its intention was to serve propaganda purposes and to generate positive publicity for Rowntree's. The film does show the Duke of York visiting the factory and meeting the managing director, however it does not depict what happens inside the factory and the working classes are only depicted in the crowded masses or the workers waving from the windows at the end of the film. This is similar to the previous film as the depictions that can be determined from this are that the audience are restricted to seeing the working classes and women in a post war scenario only in the crowds outside the factories. There are children gathered, waiting anxiously to see His Royal Highness before he enters the factory waving,

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

and women waiting together in what looks to be middle class smart attire and long coats when he leaves the factory. However, the only people who accompany him when he is there are upper-middle class men dressed in smart attire, which reflects the class divisions in this context and the distinction between men and women in factories reverted to pre-1914 in terms of their representation. This was because upper-class men accompanied the Duke of York, whereas women and the working-classes are only shown outside of the factory. Therefore, most of the footage captured was from an upper-middle class perspective for promotional purposes, whether it was for propaganda or promotion of the Rowntree factory. For example, the Rowntree factory had considerable wealth and as it was filmed by a professional organisation the images captured of York were edited so that they show a limited view of what occurred. The fact that this film was filmed after WWI demonstrates that there was no longer targeted promotional material to mobilise people's patriotic spirit and bring together members of the regional and national community because it was no longer necessary to unite communities in this way. This is further demonstrated through the depiction of the working classes in this footage as either factory workers or the masses cheering the Duke of York, so the deeper meaning of this depiction is that showing them from a distance implies that there is less of an understanding of the working classes within the footage. The division between the working and upper-middle classes and women is made more obvious in the promotional footage and demonstrates how the aim of this footage was not to bring together communities.

Overall, by examining the World War One footage held within the archive the picture of community is rather limited, at least in terms of from whose perspective the film footage was shot, firstly through analysing the technological advancement and how affordable this was to the everyday person. Many filmmakers did it as their main occupation or had wealth at the beginning of the war<sup>132</sup>. The filmmakers in the YFA during WWI were professional and made propaganda films with the intention of selling their films for a profit, to be viewed by a public audience, and they often showed public events. The reason for other people not filming during WWI was in part due to the unknown nature of this new technology. It was also because many working-class and middle-class men were preoccupied with leaving for war or working in long hours in industries if they were in protected occupations<sup>133</sup>. Although women worked in factories, some were not very well paid and often had other time-consuming domestic duties

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<sup>132</sup> Bertacchi, M. 2006. *List of early 35 mm camera*. in University of Bologna [database online]. Bologna, 9 August 2006 [cited 16/03/17 March 2017]. Available from [http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early\\_135.html](http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early_135.html).

<sup>133</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

to balance<sup>134</sup>. It was not really until the Sex Disqualification Removal Act of 1919<sup>135</sup> that most women gained the opportunity to contribute as nurses, teachers, and this is also reflected in filmmaking, as female filmmakers emerged in the interwar period. It was also in the interwar period that amateur filmmaking became more widespread, as the middle classes, working classes and people of different ethnicities were more comfortable with the filmmaking technology and had more disposable income. Secondly, to reinforce these divisions the use of film cameras was an activity primarily for the wealthy in this time, as the laissez faire politics before the war contributed to the ever-increasing divide between the rich and poor. This is particularly because a common and popular camera in 1913 was the 35mm American Tourist Multiple that cost \$175 or in today's terms \$3,000 dollars (in 2017). This would convert to £33 in 1913, and £3483.55 in modern day money for a single camera. This helps establish how expensive film equipment was to attain for people who were unfamiliar with the technology and how filmmaking was primarily an activity for the wealthy at the dawn of the Great War<sup>136</sup>.

To conclude, what certainly is apparent throughout the earlier footage that was mainly propaganda based was the imagined community and community spirit that was played upon to encourage people to enlist and participate in WWI. Out of the multiple definitions of community what is most represented in this film footage is the idea of the *gemeinschaft* and imagined community on a regional level through propaganda posters and local professional propaganda. However, this also reveals the restrictions of Weber's perception of community, as the divisions between class are not very clearly stratified on screen; if it is depicted it is certainly shown in a nuanced manner. This also reveals conceptual problems with using footage alone, as it gives us a limited perception of what was happening in society. As well as these perceptions of the imagined community, the *gemeinschaft* and class stratification within this footage also demonstrates the division between men and women. Men played a crucial role behind the cameras as there were only male filmmakers in the YFA in this context. The role of women during World War One was also vital, as many women filled men's working roles when they went to the front. Women were also used in mythic images of Britannia to encourage the men to fight. There were also women depicted as nurses and in white, innocent maypole outfits, an idea which was contradicted by women working in factories and playing football in quintessentially masculine roles. What one can perceive from this is the difference

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<sup>134</sup> Robert, K. 1997. Gender, class, and patriotism: Women's paramilitary units in First World War Britain. *The International History Review*, 19(1), pp. 52-65.

<sup>135</sup> Takayanagi, M. 2019. Sacred year or broken reed? The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919. *Women's History Review*, pp. 1-20.

<sup>136</sup> Bertacchi, M. 2006. *List of early 35 mm camera*. in University of Bologna [database online]. Bologna, 9 August 2006 [cited 16/03/17 March 2017]. Available from [http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early\\_135.html](http://corsopolaris.net/supercameras/early/early_135.html).

between men and women, but one cannot really see class divisions emerging between women during WWI. This is reinforced by Mangan and Walvin<sup>137</sup> who state that class is crucially related to masculinity as this was part of the Victorian ideals surrounding class. Men were educated to consider masculine characteristics in relation to their class. These views were still reflected and integrated within society in 1914, and certainly it became more apparent in the later film footage of royalty being shown around the factories that class held a role in society. Therefore, the lack of recognition for the role that women held in regard to what is depicted and reflected in the archives could reflect the archaic perception of society that men had. This is particularly because men were still perceived to be the figureheads in society as the politicians were men, the soldiers were men, the filmmakers were men and those who had status and party were primarily men. Any women who had power were in the minority<sup>138</sup>. This is reinforced through other scholarship and the cinematic depictions in the archives, but this also gives us an insight into how gender and class integrated into communities, as well as the unification and division this created, especially after the suffragette movement. However, a fully rounded community consists of ethnicity, gender, and class. It seems evident from the footage that there is an invisible divide of class, where the poor are not depicted except within crowd scenes, neither is ethnicity, and even the presentation of women in comparison to men is restricted from the footage presented so far. This chapter examines World War One and as this was around the time of the advent of cinema the amount of footage was limited as it was only the wealthy and professional filmmakers who made films up until the end of the Great War. The following chapter concentrates upon another important era by studying the interwar period, which gives the audience a different perception of communities and there was much more evidence of amateur filmmaking and a wider perspective of community in the YFA in this era.

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<sup>137</sup> Mangan, J.A & Walvin, J., ed. 1987. *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*. Oxford: Manchester University Press: pp. 1- 7.

<sup>138</sup> Although women's roles were beginning to change at home and in the workplace.

Please see source: Braybon, G. 1989. *Women workers in the First World War*. London: Routledge. p. 49.

## Chapter 4: The Interwar Period

The previous chapter analysed predominantly propaganda from WWI. The perception of society was often limited to propaganda made by upper-middle class professional filmmakers. In the 1920s Amateur filmmaking was popularised primarily due to the development of 16mm film, which was cheaper and more affordable than 35mm, and people were more comfortable with the filmmaking technology that had been developed during WWI<sup>1</sup>. The films of Ernest Symmons, as a professional filmmaker, were investigated extensively in the previous chapter. His films also overlap into the 1920s and 1930s, alongside amateur filmmakers including Noel Beardsell, George or 'Billy' Ibberson, Lucy Fairbank, T.H. Brown and many more. The filmmakers and those being filmed are predominantly white as this was a reflection of the demographic makeup of these communities in this era. This chapter is reinforced by primary research which includes interviews with the relatives of these filmmakers, to gain a further understanding into what communities were depicted and the motivation the filmmakers had to produce these films.

The interwar period, particularly the 1930s, was a significant time that changed Yorkshire and York. The economic crash in 1929 had a major impact upon Yorkshire. The areas of industry this affected in Yorkshire included coal mining, shipbuilding in the Tyneside region<sup>2</sup> and steel works in Sheffield. This resultantly led to mass unemployment throughout the region<sup>3</sup>. Although employment decreased due to the economic crash in the 1920s and 1930s, there was an improvement of the dire housing conditions that had prevailed, due to the Housing Act and slum clearance in York and Yorkshire<sup>4</sup>. Living conditions improved for those in employment, which was highlighted, at least in part, because of the increase of cinemas in Yorkshire. This meant more audiences went to the cinema and similarly these cinemas inspired amateur filmmaking. Similarly, amateur filmmaking rose dramatically due to the availability, awareness and affordability of technology in the 1930s, and although still a hobby dominated by the middle to upper classes, it gives the audience an added insight into people's perception of society through films. These films gave audiences an understanding of the family relations of the upper-middle classes. However, the working classes were often depicted from

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<sup>1</sup> Kattelle, A. 2000. *Home Movies: A history of the American industry, 1897–1979*. University of Michigan: Transition Publishing. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> This is covered through the North Eastern Film Archive in collaboration with the YFA

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, S. 2006. Health. In : *Social Conditions in Britain 1918–1939*. Abingdon: Routledge. p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Lambert, T. 2018. *A Brief History of Yorkshire, England*. A World History Encyclopaedia. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.localhistories.org/index.html>



afar or in a crowd in a public event and it is not until the late 1930s that this begins to change. In the 1930s in Yorkshire, the perception of society that can be gained through films expands, as the films depict the working classes, middle to upper-middle classes, female filmmakers and the Jewish community that grew and contributed to filmmaking throughout this period. Class stratification is therefore more apparent on film in the 1920s and 1930s films than it was during WWI.

During the interwar period, other countries in the continent suffered financial hardship, Germany especially suffered immensely after the economic crash and after the reparations of the Treaty of Versailles<sup>5</sup>. There were growing tensions in the interwar period in Britain and Germany, that were in some cases because of the negative repercussions of WWI, but communities in Britain stopped these issues before they escalated too far. There were also positives in the interwar period in Britain as people were embraced from diverse backgrounds, including members from Jewish and female communities in Britain, as well as the increased means to access technology that meant these communities were documented by filmmakers. The increase of access to technology meant more amateur filmmakers were able to capture specific social events such as military or jubilee celebrations that gave an impression of an imagined collective community. These events brought people together for the purposes of nostalgia or nationalism, but the sense of community often diminished once the event ended.

It is important when examining these perceptions of community in the interwar period to remember the lasting legacy the Great War had upon the country. For example, the mourning which occurred in WWI was marked by three memorials in York. These were represented through a film from G Trafford Drayton entitled *Throughout the Years*<sup>6</sup>. This film was made between 1913-1925, so documents prior to WWI with troops parading, then has an intertitle announcing the beginning of WWI and shows events throughout WWI. This film ends by depicting the opening of three memorials to honour the lost soldiers across York in 1925. The film *Throughout the Years* consists of a number of newsreels that document trench warfare and women working in munitions factories. These newsreels were an important element of WWI that were most likely shown at the cinema during WWI, especially as the filmmaker, G Trafford Drayton, owned the Tower Cinema in York. The initial viewing of this film shows the passage of time before and shortly after The Great War. This film demonstrates the innocence prior to WWI with the mock parades that are shown on screen. The roles of

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> *Throughout the Years*. 1913-1925. [Film]. G. Trafford Drayton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 5214). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10266> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

various communities shape the second half of the film, men are depicted in trench warfare and women are shown crafting munitions, then the latter half of the film represents the loss of life. This film shows the shift from WWI into the interwar period, with a stronger focus on communities that had been and gone, which was influenced by the nostalgia for the collective imagined community of WWI. However, most of the film is entrenched with footage pertaining to WWI which was from professionally shot newsreels. The filmmaker G Trafford Drayton was affluent, as he owned the Tower Cinema in York, which follows the same trend of upper-middle class filmmakers who made films during WWI. These would have been shown at the Tower Cinema in York and were created for the audiences for the purpose of nostalgia that the audience felt during this period. This nostalgic idea of remembering what it was like in a bygone past still is a quintessential part of the imagined community, as the feelings that closely bonded regional and national communities were those of nostalgia in the interwar period. This contradicts the narrative that the war is remembered simply in terms of pain and loss, and that nostalgia refers to the period before 1914. However, the film reveals a fresh academic perspective in that there was nostalgia for the war itself in a social sense and that the national solidarity engendered by it survived into peacetime. Therefore, the main aspect that determined from the film is the nostalgic imagined community from a regional and national perspective, but this also has implications for the nature of community<sup>7</sup>.

Towards the end of the 1920s Drayton also produced films about the York Military Tattoo and other military parades including *Tank Arrival and York Military Tattoo (Part One)*<sup>8</sup>. These films showed the military parade of people riding horses on York Racecourse, re-enacting historic military battles, an air display and the arrival of tanks moving through York. This film marks the movement from pre-mechanisation prior to WWI, with the stationary wide shots of the horses jumping over platforms in the parade, to panning shots that capture the armed cavalry on their horses, in stark comparison to the tanks and aircraft that were being continuously developed after the war.

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<sup>7</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> *Tank Arrival and York Military Tattoo (Part One)* 1926-1929. [Film] G. Trafford Drayton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 5215). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10267> [Accessed 28th February 2021]



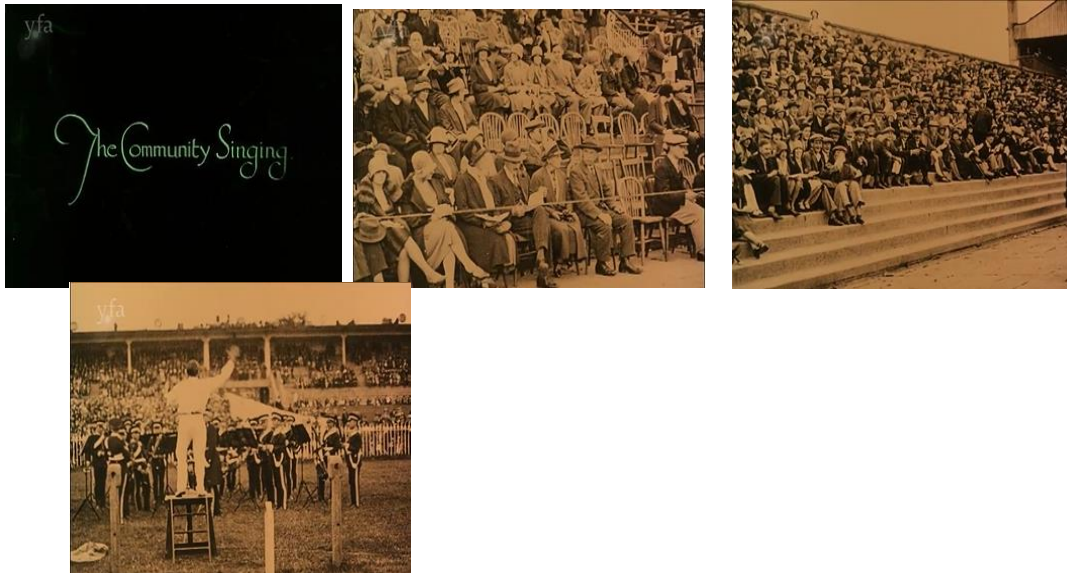
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This footage demonstrates the military tattoo, however these films represent the technological advances that occurred in the 1920s-1930s and the changes that occurred in society. The overall message of this film indicates a nostalgic imagined military community<sup>10</sup> of the past using horses and cavalry. It also shows the very early technological preparation leading up to WWII. This film depicts the tanks' arrival in York and the soldiers preparing the tanks at the railway station, as well as tanks going down Blossom Street mixing with the local community. These scenes of the tanks mixing with the ordinary traffic and with the cows in the fields and with children running alongside add a sense of fun to the films. They also give an impression that these tanks are part of the community and are nothing to be afraid of. To a certain extent, these tanks are part of the imagined national community as they were being prepared to defend the nation from the next battle and soldiers are in uniform so the audience cannot tell what class they are. This was crafted with the purpose of acting as propaganda so that people would support the military. As well, part of Drayton's film shows the wide panning shots that capture the local community singing at York Racecourse and how connected communities are in this depiction. Therefore, the underlying depictions within these films show the technological advances and military preparation after WWI, but this is quintessentially tied to communities.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Images of the parade and the tanks' arrival.

<sup>10</sup> This is nostalgia for an imagined past and can be connected to the imagined community.



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The various communities witnessing the tattoo at the York Knavesmire Racecourse were part of the singing as well. These communities watching the parade are dressed in top hats and smart suits, alongside women wearing hats and long coats. These indicate that the audience and communities watching this performance and singing in the crowds are upper-middle class. What can be determined from these images is generally the class and type of people watching these community events, primarily from their attire. Overall, this film depicts a unified community in interwar Britain where people from all backgrounds witnessed the tattoo and participated in the singing; it represents the continued comradery after WWI<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, it appears that the intention of this film is to bring together the imagined community in real communities, through nostalgically watching the performances of the soldiers and singing at the Knavesmire. Even if they all appear to be upper-middle class spectators the director of this film had the intention of bringing together members of various communities, to create this idea of a unified imagined community that members of the local and national community can identify with. These scenes depict many aspects of community, as could also be said for some wartime footage. The people in the crowd appear to be of upper-middle class standing judging from their clothing, whereas the soldiers who are in uniform could be from any background. This to some extent serves a purpose, to demonstrate in theory how society was more equal after WWI, as people from a variety of classes could mix and not be segregated by their class status. Even though this film was not made for propaganda purposes, it was still a promotion

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. images of the community singing.

<sup>12</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

of the activities and was purposefully produced to show this event and made for a cinema audience to view, so what was being depicted may have been limited by the director's purpose in showing it to an audience. Thus, the purpose of Drayton's films in the 1920s was to some extent to evoke the jingoism for the imagined community of WWI but also to show the technological and societal changes that had happened because of WWI.

Most of the professional films that are from the archive show similar content until the end of the 1920s, including the films of Ernest Symmons. Symmons's films between the 1920s and 1930s all show public events, for example, *Popular Wedding at Roundhay*<sup>13</sup> and *Official Opening of Boys Hostel*<sup>14</sup> are both public events shot by Symmons. What this section will focus on is the opening of the boys' hostel. These films concentrate on public events in their depiction of community and their purpose is similarly for promotional purposes as these would have been shown to the audience at the Beverley Picture House. On the other hand, unlike in the Great War the official opening of the boys' hostel depicts people from the lower denominations of society. This was a necessity, as it was portraying the good works of the pillars of the community. The children in this film were well-dressed and a lot of the focus is given to Lord Deramore and Benno Pearlman, a solicitor. For example, Lord Deramore and Pearlman are framed at the centre of the beginning of the film to highlight their role, and it is not until later in the film that the boys are centre stage, in a medium shot showing all the boys, which is then intercut with their sleeping conditions.



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<sup>13</sup> *Popular Wedding at Roundhay*. 1920. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2264). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4560> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>14</sup> *Official Opening of Boys' Hostel*. 1929. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 3837). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7605> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

This film demonstrates the opening of the boys' hostel by Lord Deramore and Benno Pearlman. It shows the two upper-middle class gentlemen acting in a charitable way towards the less fortunate members of society. Since each scene is carefully crafted and shown for the purposes of the camera, from this footage it is difficult to gain an understanding of various people within the local community as each frame seems to have been shot for the purpose of promoting the actions of these officials. The film then ends with a shot of the 'officials' lined up together, so people of the upper-middle class seem to be more of a focus of this film than the boys. These children were sent on migration to different British Colonies, which were making a 'name for Good Old England'; however, some of the children were economic migrants and were subject to sexual and psychological abuse<sup>16</sup>. There are untold and unwitting horrors behind the portrayal of the opening of the Hull and District Boys' Migration Training Hostel. There is quite a sinister underlying context of enforced emigration that cannot be seen on screen. This is a limitation of using film in that the audience can only perceive what is represented on screen, when there may be things happening that the director does not know or does not want the audience to know. This reinforces why the methodology is employed through textual analysis, as it examines the underlying meaning of what each film reveals about society. The initial reading of the film depicts the lower strata of society through the boys shown on screen. This film was made for promotional purposes and the boys are wearing smart outfits specifically for the camera, so whether this shows their real conditions is questionable.



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<sup>16</sup> Kershaw, R. and Sacks, J., 2008. *New lives for Old: The story of Britain's child migrants: The story of Britain's home children*, London: Bloomsbury The National Archives.

<sup>17</sup> *Official Opening of Boys Hostel*. 1929. [Film]. Ernest Symmons. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 3837). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7605> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

What this film briefly shows are crowds of women with their children, even those with a pram gathered to see the opening of the hostel, however this scene is shown only very briefly before it is intercut with the officials gathering around the young boys to open the hostel. The young boys then have most of the older most official men passing in front of them on this promotional piece of footage. From this the audience can get an impression that this was a gathering of people from within various communities when the hostel opened, whereas these are only brief glances that are shown where all the boys are stood looking at the camera. These boys are overshadowed by older men in smart jackets who are walking in front of them. This film to a certain extent reflects an imagined community by showing the people gathering in the local community to see the hostel, but this is not demonstrated from a national perspective. This is because it was not necessary to rally the nation as it was a local event and not in a wartime society. This film's intention is to show the opening of the hostel, but the focus seems to be on the officials rather than the youths for whom the hostel was opened, which was because the film was crafted for the purpose of promoting the official opening of this facility. Therefore, although this film does show the boys from the lower classes of society, what this film focuses upon is the generosity of the upper-middle classes in opening this facility for these troubled youths. The intention of the footage is problematic as it constructs a positive and self-congratulatory tone, which hides a grim and socially divisive situation. It is through using textual analysis that the underlying meaning and sinister undertones can be perceived by modern audiences, as it may have been unknown to the filmmaker.

Another film within the 1920s that the YFA holds is from the Elizabeth Allan Collection that has films from 1928 and 1929. These films contrast with the other films as they are made by amateurs. These films were made, also in 9.5mm, by a local solicitor, John Beaumont, who worked in his father's legal practice. There are two films, *Elizabeth Allan Family Film 1*<sup>18</sup> and *Elizabeth Allan Family Film 2*<sup>19</sup>, which concentrate upon the communal and family bond. The first film involves experimentation with the camera as Beaumont rewinds the frame to create the illusion of Allan's uncle eating a banana and then the banana becomes whole within the next frames shortly afterwards. This also involves the same person painting a fence then undoing the work through rewinding the frame, all these experimental shots depicting the sense of humour and freedom that allowed amateurs to express their personality through film. What these films reveal to the audience is the sense that amateur filmmakers could have fun with the film that they were producing and that audiences could get an insight into their private

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<sup>18</sup> *Elizabeth Allan Family Film 1*. 1928. [Film]. John Beaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 598). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1311> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>19</sup> *Elizabeth Allan Family Film 2*. 1929. [Film]. John Beaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 599). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1312> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

lives and their sense of humour. There is also the Children's Day community event in Roundhay Park on 29/06/1929. The initial viewing of this film is that it shows girls dancing together and holding hands, children playing and going on the merry go round; similarly it also depicts the family walking on the seaside with a bucket and spade. These individuals become representative of the wider community through their actions, therefore people watching this can get an understanding of these relationships from viewing the films. The 9.5mm camera cost less than the more portable and convenient 16mm but this does not act as a reflection of the class of John Beaumont, as his profession indicates his upper-middle class standing. However, the audience can get an understanding of how this film captured life as it was, people were not choreographed to do certain things, so these representations within communities are more authentic. Furthermore, this does not aim to show the imagined community as that was mainly part of targeted propaganda during WWI and WWII. This is one of the few amateur films towards the late 1920s that concentrates upon the family and bonds in communities, whereas other films in this time depict community events.

To conclude, analysis of films primarily from the 1920s revealed that most of the filmmakers were from an affluent background and what was being depicted was primarily to some extent for promotional purposes, to be sold or as propaganda and often to promote an idea of the imagined or official community. The films that have been examined so far to a certain extent have skewed the elements of community that were visible within the film, as people were predominantly depicted for promotional purposes or from a middle-upper class perspective, so this limits the audience's perception of what community consisted of during this time. However, the last film, from John Beaumont, demonstrates how film was shifting from primarily professional filmmakers to being increasingly dominated by amateur filmmakers and family scenes. The next section concentrates upon the shift in filmmaking from professional to the emergence of amateur filmmakers in the later 1920s and 1930s, what they did and did not depict, and why they chose to represent certain areas of society that had not previously been examined to this extent.



### Chapter 4.1: The 1930s, community and emergence of the amateur filmmaker.

The first section of the chapter concentrates on the filmmakers of the 1920s, who seem to be predominantly from an affluent background and who were filming for promotional purposes. Towards the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s amateur filmmaking became popularised due to more affordable 16mm film<sup>20</sup> and cinemas becoming increasingly widespread, which made film as a medium more familiar<sup>21</sup>. There are many amateur filmmaker collections beginning in this period, as is evidenced in the archives. This analysis will begin with examining the Beardsell collection from the 1930s; this is a collection of home movies and amateur films, which was the case with many of the collections during this time. These films mainly record private family gatherings with a few public events and holidays. The family had previously been a domain which was portrayed from a distance in professional films unless it was crafted for the purpose of propaganda, but through amateur film and home movies contemporary audiences can understand the private domain of these filmmakers.

One of the first films from the Beardsell collection is *Englishman's Home is His Castle*<sup>22</sup>. This footage gives the audience an insight into Beardsell's lifestyle and his private life. It begins with an establishing shot of Beardsell's large detached house, the intertitles indicate Noel as 'King of the Castle' and the Queen is his wife, Mrs Beardsell, as well as the rest of the royal family when he shows his children. Through this representation of his family Beardsell appears to have a high opinion of his family's social position in society, even if the intertitles representing their role are only written in jest, particularly as he views his house as his own castle<sup>23</sup>. This similarly shows the amateur filmmakers having a sense of humour about their films which was also reflected in the films shot by John Beaumont of his family. The film depicts the children playing with their toys. Additionally, the lengthening days mean longer expeditions for the middle class, as is indicated by the fact the Beardsells have maids in their house, which shows their upper-middle class status from an economic position. This is further indicated through Noel Beardsell's occupation, as he was the managing director of the Worsted Spinning Company in Clayton; he also used to work as a detective for West Yorkshire Police as a photography specialist. His wife, Mary, Queen of the Castle, originally came from the

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<sup>20</sup> Kattelle, A. 2000. *Home Movies: A History of the American Industry, 1897–1979*. University of Michigan: Transition Publishing. p. 334.

<sup>21</sup> Lambert, T. 2018. *A Brief History of Yorkshire, England*. A World History Encyclopaedia. 27<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.localhistories.org/index.html>

<sup>22</sup> *Englishman's Home is His Castle*. 1930s. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 73). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/332> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>23</sup> A humorous take on a common saying.

Seniors brewing family in Huddersfield. Viewers can see from Noel and Mary's economic background and occupation that this indicates their upper-middle class standing. Additionally, the fact that he could afford 16mm and colour film is another indicator of his wealth. According to Swanson<sup>24</sup>, Ko-daks 16mm were publicly introduced in 1923, however movie making was still an expensive hobby and therefore was still dominated by the middle to upper classes. The initial meaning of this film can be interpreted as depicting a family's life within the 1930s and Beardsell's work is particularly definitive due to his humorous intertitles. The further reading that can be interpreted from this home movie is understanding of community and family in the private domain, which is something that the audience could not have interpreted from the footage that was leading up to the 1930s. This could also be perceived to show the relationship of the *gemeinschaft* by showing the close family bonds within the family. In this way the humorous behaviour of the individuals within the film becomes representative of the wider community. The children playing with their toys and Mary and Noel being shown as the King and Queen of the castle demonstrate a light sense of humour about the family which seems to be reflective of many filmmakers during this time. The overall meaning of the films from the 1930s onwards allows the audience to gain a greater understanding into people's private lives and their homes but is limited to primarily to the upper and middle class communities.

Noel Beardsell produced a collection of amateur films depicting events from the 1930s-1950s. What makes Beardsell's collection distinct and distinguishes it from being an amateur collection is that his films also featured local events that occurred within the area, including the *Jubilee Celebration in Clayton West*<sup>25</sup>. This film focused upon the bunting lining the terraced streets and the children being judged on their different outfits on the day to mark the occasion, which was common practice and is reflected in many other films during this era. This bunting represents the patriotism regarding this celebration and the unified British people supporting the monarchy. The bunting lining the streets and children having street parties demonstrate these communities coming out for a gathering together, and the small type of communities that become representative of other people in different areas, as these jubilee celebrations happened all over. This yet again demonstrates the imagined community across the nation through people making obvious displays of patriotism; through their bunting lining the streets and children being judged in different outfits, the nation is shown coming together

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<sup>24</sup> Swanson, D. 2003. Inventing amateur film: Marion Norris Gleason, Eastman kodak and the Rochester scene, 1921-1932. *Film History*, 15(2), pp. 126-136. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3815505>

<sup>25</sup> *Jubilee Celebration in Clayton West*. 1935. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 58). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/296> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

to celebrate the jubilee<sup>26</sup>. Although, Beardsell focuses upon the terraced houses so this imagined community could be perceived as working class. Additionally, Beardsell was involved in more community events as during WWII he put on public shows at army bases, because he was too old for conscription. This gives us a further insight into amateur filmmaking in the 1930s, that the collections did not solely focus on private events and the private community domain but also on public occasions to some extent depicting the lower classes<sup>27</sup>. As a part of the jubilee celebration the imagined patriotic community are realised in real communities and are gathered outside their terraced houses being judged and having a parade. However, not much can be determined of the working-class conditions as the shot of outside of the terraced houses is only brief, where people are lining the streets.

Beardsell's films are each unique and identifiable as they have a sense of humour throughout his intertitles and footage<sup>28</sup>. This is particularly evident in Beardsell's humorous film *Photographer's Day Off*<sup>29</sup>. The premise of this film involves Beardsell having a day off filming and instead the camera films and provides intertitle commentary of the family in their various daily activities. The camera refers jovially to Mr Beardsell as the boss, who focuses on Master Peter – Beardsell's son– and films in colour proving it is all the camera's work. The film goes on to comment through intertitles that it is shooting all the family members, so only the camera can be filming the events.

Similarly, Beardsell's film *Photographer's Day*<sup>30</sup> documents the events of a photographer's day. The film begins with a panning establishing shot of the seafront, and peaceful scenes of the seaside. This serenity is then juxtaposed as he jokingly refers to his son as "...interruption number one" through the intertitles and a slow motion medium shot of his son walking on the beach towards the camera, to disturb the peace of his photographer's

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<sup>26</sup> There are many other films in the archives showing community gathering for the Jubilee celebrations in 1935. Some of these include: *Kirkby Malzeard Silver Jubilee*. 1935. [Film]. Sir Fred Moore. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 32). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/253> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>27</sup> Nichols, B. 1991. *Representing Reality*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> These filmmakers can be considered to be amateur auteur filmmakers. The amateur auteur has previously been identified in other research including the book 'The Home Movie, the archive, the web', which identifies how individual amateur auteur films have been distributed, such as Jonathon Caouette. See Source: Rascaroli, L., Young, G. and Monahan, B. eds., 2014. 'Amateur Auteur' In: *Amateur filmmaking: The home movie, the archive, the web*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing. pp. 177-243; Chaudhuri, A. 2013. Auteur theory and its implications. *International journal of advancements in research and technology*. 2, Issue 11, pp. 77-89.

<sup>29</sup> *Photographer's Day Off*. 1935. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives(YFA 76). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/337> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>30</sup> *Photographer's Day*. 1937. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 77). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/338> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

day by the sea. The film ends with the intertitle, "Thank you sun and sea for giving this photographer a perfect day".



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It is clear that the focus of Beardsell's films and his photography trickery is on his private domain, the family, and upon his own sense of humour which is embodied throughout his films. The community that is primarily seen is Beardsell's family through his home movies, which is what makes his films distinct. Through the films of the 1920s what is evident is the changes and transformation that occurred within society and how communities are shaped by the global events that have occurred before and that society has an increasing amount of amateur filmmakers. The key difference between amateur films or home movies and what is documented in this fashion in professional films is that the professional film may often be created with a specific purpose and intended market in mind, whereas amateur footage captures life as it exists. This film demonstrates the relationship of the *gemeinschaft* because it is a personal film with close family bonds that are represented between father and son. On the other hand, there may be moments in amateur films that are shot and framed in a certain manner; it is less scripted and constructed than in professional film footage. For example, the shot where Beardsell's son aka '...interruption No1', approaches the camera will have been captured to create this comic event, but not to the extent where his actions will have been

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

choreographed to illicit a response. Ibberson continues to make films into WWII<sup>32</sup> and presents things in a similar light. These films will be examined in the next chapter.

Another collection similar to Beardsell's that contains both home movies and amateur films is the Ibberson collection which was directed and filmed by Billy Ibberson. Billy Ibberson came from the lineage of the Ibberson company going back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>. This became the first company to manufacture stainless steel and cutlery: George Ibberson & Co, Violin Cutlery and Plate Works.

Billy Ibberson was a Sheffield steelmaker and an active member of the company of cutlers, becoming Master Cutler in 1954<sup>34</sup>. One of the first films that Ibberson produced was *Hand Forging (The Blades for Spring Knives)*<sup>35</sup>, a film which seemingly does not show much of a community as it mainly shows men producing knives within the factories. This was filmed between 1926 and 1929 and it shows the inner working of the factories and the skilled workers, however what is presented to the audience is close ups of the mechanisms in the factories that build and grind the blades. On the other hand, what is limited in this footage is the depiction of the relations between the workers in the factories, while according to Charles Ibberson<sup>36</sup>, one way that his filming had an impact upon the wider community and society who saw this film was by educating them on how to make knives. However, when viewing this footage all that is shown to the audience is the skilled workers in the factories producing the knives. Therefore, from watching this film audiences can see how the production mechanisms and skilled workers within the factories worked. This can be categorised as mixture of amateur and professional film as it has an educational purpose to show people from various communities how knives were produced, but it was not made to be sold for a profit and the wider impact this has upon the Sheffield community is not initially clear. It is only through interviews that the impact of this footage in educating communities on how to produce knives can be understood, which is one of the aspects of viewing archived film footage alone which

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<sup>32</sup> Please see source: *Glimpses of Holidays*. 1941-1942. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 93). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/368> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>33</sup> This information was gathered through interviewing Billy Ibberson's son Charles Ibberson. Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.

<sup>35</sup> *Hand Forging (The Blades of Spring Knives)*. C.1929. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 1986). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3922> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>36</sup> Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.

makes it a limited means of research<sup>37</sup>. The inner relations between the workers of the factory also cannot be seen, and this film appears to be an upper-middle class perception of the inner workings of his factory; on the other hand, as he worked within the factory himself and with the other workers it is perhaps restrictive to say that it is an upper-middle class perspective when the main intention of the film is to show audiences the production of knives.

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Similarly, Ibberson also produced films covering the events in the area and films about his own family. For example, *The Longstone Chronicles II Quintessence of Hilarity* captures footage of a joyful Billy and Jo Ibberson, but a lot of the focus of Ibberson's film is upon Jo Ibberson, particularly as Billy shows Jo through close-up shots. Some of the intertitles use shortening of vocabulary, including 'Jo An' Liz An' Bill scrounged bathing costumes', rather than using 'and', 'An' has been used- perhaps this indicates the shortening of Yorkshire vocabulary. The activities include Jo and Kitty horse riding and they are shown with others riding through the meadow within the film. It suggests that they came from a more upper-middle class background if they had the means to pursue and enjoy horse riding as a hobby, which according to Higgins is known historically as a middle to upper-class pursuit<sup>39</sup>. However, the shortening of the vocabulary also reveals to the audience information about their dialect, which is not something that many silent films have done. Therefore, the audience get an insight into the Yorkshire community through this use of shortening of vocabulary to give more of an authentic feel to this amateur film and, as with the dialect of Gracie Fields, audiences

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *Hand Forging (The Blades of Spring Knives)*. C.1929. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 1986). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3922> [Accessed 28th February 2021] *The Longstone Chronicles II Quintessence of Hilarity*. 1931. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2001). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3951> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>39</sup> Huggins, M. 2008. Sport and the British upper classes c. 1500–2000: a historiographic overview. *Sport in History*, 28(3), pp. 364-388.

can understand how the interactions function between close family friends. Yet again, dialect can be used for the audience to understand communities, however this representation of dialect is limited because the audience cannot hear what is being said or the case may have been that it was said in jest. As this is another privately shot film it also reflects a feeling of the *gemeinschaft* and the close family bonds that are built between these individuals with the jovial sense of humour that is used in their interactions. On the other hand, the leisure activities that are being pursued by the people on screen obviously reflect their upper-middle class background, as is reflected in later films.

The background of Billy Ibberson indicates his upper-middle class position within society. This is reinforced by *Sheffield Junior Chamber of Commerce*<sup>40</sup>, a film that was captured by Ibberson to document what occurred within the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Ibberson eventually became the president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and used it to help generate business for his cutlery company<sup>41</sup>. One of the initial shots in this film is a long shot capturing Gordon Selfridge Jr landing in his small bi-plane; the film also captures the members upon the deck of a ship and their passion for encouraging aviation within the city. The footage was shot in 16mm, and the initial reading of this footage shows the emergence and development of the Chamber of Commerce; however, given their pursuits and leisure activities this film strongly indicates their upper-middle class status. To viewers of this footage, it depicts primarily the upper-middle classes and their leisure activities, as is further indicated by their membership of the Chamber of Commerce, and by the company they were keeping if Gordon Selfridge Jr is considered to be part of the exclusive crowd. This film also shows the development of aviation and technology, and how it was used by the privileged upper-middle classes instead of its commercial use. At the end of the roaring twenties, in 1929, the Wall Street Crash occurred when the New York stock market took a plunge on Black Tuesday. This happened shortly after the crash of the London Stock Exchange and this had a domino effect that impacted many Western Countries, thus causing the Great Depression. The effect of this was felt globally as unemployment rates soared both in England and Germany, particularly as it was one of the major catalysts that saw the rise of National Socialism<sup>42</sup>. However, this footage gives the initial appearance that the economic crash had little impact upon the

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<sup>40</sup> *Sheffield Junior Chamber of Commerce*. 1927-1933. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1993). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3935> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>41</sup> *Sheffield Junior Chamber of Commerce*. 1927-1933. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1993). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3935> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>42</sup> Cook, C., & Stevenson, J. 2013. Preface and acknowledgements. In: *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression*. Chicago: Routledge.

Chamber of Commerce, as Mr Ibberson and the other fellows from the Chamber of Commerce seem unaffected by its devastating results in this footage. This contrasts with what was happening economically within Sheffield as it was badly affected by the economic crash as some firms went under, but this does not seem to be portrayed<sup>43</sup>. The film portrays the development of air and sea-based technology, and also the upper-middle class activities that Ibberson embarked upon, but it is difficult to understand how the effect of the economic depression in England affected this film or if the upper-middle classes were affected by these changes occurring within society.

Ibberson also produced another film in 1930, *U.S. J.C.C. National Convention Brooklyn*<sup>44</sup>, which depicts the first time that Great Britain was represented at the 11<sup>th</sup> annual convention, by Hyman Stoner, Kershaw and Ibberson. The initial viewing of this film shows the J.C.C convention in Brooklyn, however this makes an interesting comparison to what was occurring within society at the time. This debuts Ibberson's visit to New York a year after the Wall Street crash and Depression, and the film demonstrates the considerable wealth that Ibberson has as a cutler and that was held within the chamber of commerce. The delegates also visit the Battleship Wyoming, showing their admiration for sea vessels as had previously been shown in the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. Ibberson's footage is not only an insight into his private life within the chamber of commerce but also questions the definition of those who make and produce amateur, professional, and home movies as he was obviously from the upper-middle classes due to his occupation. According to Charles Ibberson, Billy's business was thriving up until the outbreak of WWII, which was probably why he was able to produce these films<sup>45</sup>. What is perhaps limiting from viewing amateur film footage is it does not show the effects of the Great Depression or if it affected Ibberson's business. The audience is only shown what happened as part of the convention, which limits the wider understanding of what was happening in society. These films yet again demonstrate a rather limited perception of what was happening as the audience can only gain an understanding of what the upper-middle classes were doing from a business perspective and in their leisure activities through viewing these films. Moreover, this does not instil a sense of the imagined community as many people would not have participated in these activities. According to

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<sup>43</sup> Tweedale, G. 1987. *Sheffield Steel and America: A Century of Commercial and Technological interdependence 1830-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>44</sup> *U.S. J.C.C. National Convention Brooklyn*. 1930. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 4590). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9061> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>45</sup> Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.



Zimmerman<sup>46</sup> these differing films show both family events and community events, meaning that Ibberson is defined as an amateur filmmaker as his films include home movies but also coverage of events such as meetings of the chamber of commerce.

It is crucial to understand how communities were shaped and crafted by the films of amateur filmmakers using British films from the YFA. On the other hand, to give an enriched understanding of these films in the 1930s it is important to understand what was happening societally and economically within other countries, in particular within Germany. At the same time as these films were produced in England, the film *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt?*<sup>47</sup> came out in the Weimar Republic in Germany, the title of which roughly translates to Empty Stomach or Who owns the World? The film was banned by censors in Germany, as it showed a negative depiction of the economic state of Germany, and the precarious nature of employment within the Weimar Republic<sup>48</sup>. The initial viewing of this film shows the level of unemployment in Germany and workers searching for employment, using medium and close-up shots of men looking for employment using bicycles.




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<sup>46</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>47</sup> *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* 1932. [Film]. Slatan Dudow. Prometheus Film: Weimar Republic.

<sup>48</sup> Welch, D. 1981. The proletarian cinema and the Weimar Republic. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 1(1), pp. 3-18.

The wider impact has a deeper significance. After World War One<sup>50</sup> Germany was asked to pay the equivalent to 20 Billion Gold Marks in gold, commodities, and other products. This meant that Germany's economy was propped up by loans from America, but during the Wall Street Crash these stopped and Germany's unemployment rate soared, with people even using currency as bricks because of its worthless value, due to hyperinflation in Germany<sup>51</sup>. It was these devastating economic conditions that can be seen within *Kuhle Wampe*, the empty stomachs, the endless job searching and precarious nature of Germany that acts in stark contrast to the Commerce events that Ibberson depicted. On the one hand, what Ibberson produced is an amateur film, alternatively *Kuhle Wampe* was scripted, directed, and crafted to demonstrate the dire conditions within the Weimar Republic. So *Kuhle Wampe* was a professional film produced and directed as propaganda to deliberately demonstrate the dire conditions in Germany, whereas Ibberson's amateur films were not deliberately produced to show his wealth even though unwittingly this is what they reflect. In addition, as Ibberson shot both amateur films of events and films of his private life, he is an amateur filmmaker. However, viewing this piece of propaganda does show the audience the lower end of communities who were struggling for work. It does not give an impression of an idyllic imagined community or even an imagined national community who were brought together by these events. But to some extent the German community who suffered under these conditions were brought together as these events and the horrific effects of financial hardship encouraged the rise of the National Socialist Party.

Ibberson can be considered an amateur filmmaker. What defines other filmmakers as unique within this time is the intertitles which they use that are identifiable and attributable to each filmmaker's collection. Whereas, the Ibberson films do not have many intertitles but the audience can begin to understand the lifestyle of Billy Ibberson through the events that were filmed and through the insight that is given by analysing his family life. Both the collections of Ibberson and Beardsell straddle the line between amateur and home movies, but on reflection, according to Zimmerman<sup>52</sup>, both these collections can be considered amateur collections.

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<sup>49</sup> *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* 1932. [Film]. Slatan Dudow. Prometheus Film: Weimar Republic.

<sup>50</sup> Ferguson, N. 1998. The Balance of Payments Question. In: Boemeke, M. F., Feldman, G. D., & Gläser, E. (Eds.). *The Treaty of Versailles: a reassessment after 75 years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 401- 441.

<sup>51</sup> Wicker, E. 1986. Terminating hyperinflation in the dismembered Habsburg monarchy. *The American Economic Review*, 76(3), pp. 350-364.

<sup>52</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Both collections are in 16mm that was first developed in 1923<sup>53</sup>, which was cheaper than 35mm and made amateur filmmaking more accessible. However, 9.5mm was even cheaper than 16mm and was produced by Pathé Frères in 1922; three strips could be made from one strip of 35mm film without perforations<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, other amateur filmmakers also used 9.5mm within Yorkshire in the 1930s but more of the collections feature 16mm film as it appeared to be a more popular type of film.

Henry Foster was an amateur filmmaker in Yorkshire who shot predominantly in 9.5mm film. He was a butcher in Acomb in Yorkshire, and his films focus more on events occurring within York rather than on his personal and family life. The cheaper film and setting of Foster's films reflect his more skilled manual working-class background in comparison to Beardsell and Ibberson from the upper-middle class. One of the films that focuses upon events within York is *Walking Race*<sup>55</sup> which captures footage of people from all walks of life walking throughout York at a pace, but clearly this was Foster capturing events within Yorkshire rather than his private life, thus making him an amateur filmmaker. These films also give an insight into various communities in York in the late 1930s as they show crowds of people gathered watching the walking race. Many different types of people gathered to watch the walking race, young boys gathered in smart jackets, boys and men in flat caps, girls in dresses, women in suit jackets and skirts, police officers in the crowds, people cycling behind the walkers. Given the large number of people gathered together in the crowds the audience can get an understanding of what the local community was from this film. However, it is difficult to determine who was in the crowd judging by appearances alone, because there appears to be a mixture of a working and middle class community watching this race. This demonstrates the transitory nature of the imagined local community, as people from different backgrounds came to watch this specific race and support the walkers because it was an event organised locally that they could participate in and watch. Amateurs do not film ordinary events outside their private lives unless it is an event that brings communities together. Sport has always held an important place in British working-class culture and events like this were organised by working men's clubs. Working men's clubs were originally created to encourage recreation, refreshment, the means of conversation and business. In this film, the Clubs and Institutes Union (CIU) seem to have had a role in organising this event, as it is one of the buildings

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Kattelle, A. D. 1986. The Evolution of amateur motion picture equipment 1895-1965. *Journal of Film and Video*, pp. 47-57.

<sup>55</sup> *Walking Race*. 1938. [Film]. Henry Foster. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5704). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/11229> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

where the film curtails and ends<sup>56</sup>. It is however almost impossible to determine people's class judging by their appearance alone but given the involvement that the working men's club had in this event it does appear to be both a working and middle class community. Therefore, this film shows the audience an idyllic imagined community comprising a mixture of working and middle class people with officials presenting prizes at the end of the race. On the other hand, what is missing from this film is any different races and ethnicities, as from watching the film it seems to be a predominantly white British working and middle class community who are watching the event.



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Another of Foster's films captures scenes from the *Fire Brigade, York*<sup>58</sup> and follows a team of firefighters dousing and putting out a fire at the Rialto Cinema in York. The cinema was owned by John Prendergast, the father of John Barry, the English music composer, and the film shows Prendergast reviewing the damage to the cinema after the fire, with the ceiling collapsed and walls heavily damaged. The firemen can be seen at various locations tackling the fire within the building. Foster's films can be described as actuality films<sup>59</sup> that capture real life events without any manufactured storyline, which are often the most realistic films as there is no specific intention other than to capture the scenes as they were at the time. This predates the development of the documentary movement which happened in the 1930s and 1940s and

<sup>56</sup> Wheeler, R.F. 1978. Organized sport and organized labour: the workers' sports movement. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13.2, pp. 191-210.

<sup>57</sup> *Walking Race*. 1938. [Film]. Henry Foster. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5704). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/11229> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>58</sup> *Fire Brigade, York*. 1935-1938. [Film]. Henry Foster. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5578) Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10980> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>59</sup> Chapman, J. 2007. Re-presenting war: British television drama-documentary and the Second World War. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(1), pp. 13-33.

occurred on a wider professional filmmaking scale<sup>60</sup>. This film has been shot in two parts, the first of which shows the opening of West Bank Park on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1938 and depicts a relatively upper middle class community gathered to see the area opened, including many girls dressed in uniform. The second half shows the burning of the Rialto Cinema, the destruction of the cinema roof and John Prendergast inspecting the damage in his raincoat. As described above, this piece of footage is actuality footage that captures the event as it happens and does not have the purpose of being crafted as propaganda or for any promotional purposes; it demonstrates a historical record of the scene.



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Therefore, the local community that is represented within the films of Henry Foster<sup>62</sup> varies significantly from those of Ibberson and Beardsell and his films give a more rounded

<sup>60</sup> McCluskey, M. 2016. Humphrey Jennings in the East End: Fires were started and local geographies. *The London Journal*, 41(2), pp. 170-189.

<sup>61</sup> *Fire Brigade, York*. 1935-1938. [Film]. Henry Foster. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 5578) Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10980> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>62</sup> Henry Foster also made a film in 1943 entitled *Our Trade*. This focuses upon the butchers within York and their cattle within the cattle market, with other men from the York Butchers Association being involved. The initial viewing of this farmers' market shows different farmers selling and distributing cattle within York market. The deeper reading of this shows primarily working-class men at their trade, at least part of their trade, as he introduces various butchers and their job titles; furthermore, there are no women represented within this film. The different film quality and the fact that it is less expensive demonstrate the various backgrounds of people within Yorkshire and how their income affected how and what they filmed. However, this film was shot in 1943 so obviously reflected that a certain amount of wealth or importance was attributed to what butchers produced due to the food rationing that was imposed across the U.K. during WWII.

perception of what was happening within society from a private and public perspective; hence, analysing these together enhances the historical value of this research. From viewing these films audiences can get an insight into community events and more private family affairs, from an upper-middle class perspective. However, from the films discussed so far, while there is an insight into the family relations of the community in the upper-middle classes, the working classes are always depicted from afar or in a crowd in a public scene or event. Moreover, although the content of these films covers similar topics, such as events happening within the local region, it is unknown whether these films were funded or unfunded. The films in the interwar period contain interesting footage that focuses on both the skilled manual working classes and upper-middle classes, but the class of the filmmaker and films can often be distinguished through the quality of the film.

From analysing films in the 1930s it is clear that a variety of depictions of society are shown to the audience, and the audience can see the upper-middle and lower classes, but the quality of the film often dictates who is depicted and from what perspective. When understanding communities from the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft*, and also the different classes, community can be seen as divided on an economic basis in the 1930s. The patriotism that constituted the imagined community during WWI diminishes during this time or at least is not depicted with as much vigour, although there is a sense of an imagined community in some of this footage. On the other hand, there are female filmmakers and other members of society who emerged during this time, and this will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

## Chapter 4.2: Diverse voices in filmmaking

The first section of this chapter concentrated upon the emergence of the amateur filmmakers, which is continued in this section. The wider accessibility of film and film footage during the 1920s did not just extend to men, or to those from the middle and upper classes, it popularised filmmaking for all. Although, this democratisation was demarcated and reflected to a certain extent through the film stock individual filmmakers used, and this helps to distinguish each class of film from another. This section discusses and examines the contribution of female filmmakers and those of different ethnicities and the social situation within the 1930s. The reason both women and the Jewish community are included within this part of the chapter is because these groups are not part of what could be determined as the 'mainstream' male dominated white community. These female and Jewish filmmakers also have a strong presence in the footage from the YFA. This section therefore focuses on the analysis of films from people from diverse backgrounds:

- Lucy Fairbank was from a middle class background but through unusual means was able to afford an upper-middle class lifestyle.
- Amy Johnson and Hannchen Drasdo were women from upper-middle class backgrounds.
- Alec Baron and Monty Rosen were from the Jewish community but had the upper-middle class means that enabled them to pursue filmmaking.
- T.H. Brown, Charles Chislett and Mr Folliot-Ward enjoyed upper-middle class lifestyles, and finally Ernest Horton came from a skilled manual working-class background.

This section demonstrates the class-based cross-section of community that the 1930s allowed the audience to view and filmmakers to depict. Secondly, primary research has been conducted by interviewing the relatives of the filmmakers to gather further information regarding their filmmaking, except in the cases of Rosen and Amy Johnson. These interviews have led the structure of the chapter, rather than examining the films entirely chronologically, they will be examined as a collection for each filmmaker in comparison with others.

One of the prolific female filmmakers in the 1930s was Lucy Fairbank, a member of the Huddersfield Cine Club and a P.E teacher at Linthwaite School. According to Motresu-

Hayes and Nicholson<sup>63</sup>, her films challenged traditional attitudes towards Britain's Northern working communities. This could be due to the sheer diversity of films and locations that she captured. Her films begin in 1934, she took a break from filming after 1941 but continued to make films in the 1950s. Lucy shot her films on a Siemens cine camera<sup>64</sup>, which cost roughly £29 in 1939, but would cost roughly £1900 by modern standards<sup>65</sup>. Like Beardsell and Ibberson, Fairbank also shot in 16mm. One of her first films, *Munich to Innsbruck*<sup>66</sup>, features footage of her holiday and captures her travels in Europe in 1934, specifically at the Passion Plays in the Bavarian Alps in Oberammergau in 1934. This film is distinctive as it features footage of Hitler visiting the Passion Plays through a medium shot of his car passing by Lucy Fairbank in 1934. The Passion Plays first began in 1634, so by 1934 this world renowned event had been going for 300 years<sup>67</sup>. Hitler became Führer in 1933, a year before Fairbank visited the Passion Plays, which explains the hysteria that is apparent among the crowds amassed within the footage. This was the first Passion Play since the rise of the Nazi Regime. Within the film footage Fairbank captures the actors from the Passion Play through medium shot and intertitles, the hysteria of the crowds amassing as Hitler passes in his car, and the Nazi symbol displayed on multiple buildings in Oberammergau. The initial reading of this film documents the travels of Fairbank as she travels from Munich to Innsbruck. However, this demonstrates firstly a female filmmaker on her travels in a foreign country (which was novel during the 1930s) and secondly the idea of community is built upon how the film depicts the changing face of European communities. This film documents the transforming communities in Europe and how Germany was changing in the 1930s, particularly after the effects of the Treaty of Versailles and the economic depression. In addition, her other shots of the local area depict people in local dress, for example, in the Bavarian Alps she depicts people wearing lederhosen and both a woman and a couple wearing traditional dress. This contrasts with the later footage of Oberammergau where the members of the crowd are shown to be wearing more formal attire, perhaps demonstrating the differences in values and lifestyle between the

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<sup>63</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 141.

<sup>64</sup> Kattelle, A. D. 1986. The Evolution of amateur motion picture equipment 1895-1965. *Journal of Film and Video*, pp. 47-57.

<sup>65</sup> Parker, R. A. C. 1983. The Pound Sterling, the American Treasury and British Preparations for War, 1938-1939. *The English Historical Review*, 98(387), pp. 261-279.

<sup>66</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>67</sup> Walsh, R. 2011. The Christians Kill Jesus Again: Spectacle, Drama, and Politics at Oberammergau, *Bible & Critical Theory*, 7, 1.



rural community and the local population in the more densely populated town<sup>68</sup>. This does not reveal anything particular about the Yorkshire community, but does reveal what type of holidays these filmmakers went on, the middle-class ability to travel, their interest in other cultures, and what cultural insights they may have brought back.



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<sup>68</sup> Musser, C. 1993. Passions and the Passion Play: Theatre, Film and Religion in America, 1880-1900. *Film History*, 5(4), pp. 419-456.



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<sup>69</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

One of the elements of these films is that they allow the audience to gain an insight into the public and private lives of the filmmakers. Lucy showed these films to children from her school to share her experiences with others and educate them in viewing other places in the world<sup>70</sup>. Furthermore, from viewing Fairbank's films what can be interpreted is her middle class means and occupation but also her love of travelling which integrates into her public and private life.



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<sup>70</sup> Baxter, Ian. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Lucy Fairbank*. Filmed semi-structured interview. York, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018.



What the shots of Hitler reveal are how people reacted to him abroad and the type of hype, excitement, and fascination that people experienced when Hitler arrived in Oberammergau. The crowds reacted and were reaching out towards Hitler to show the type of effect that he had upon the community as a leader. This film gives a small insight into what response different people had to his charisma and leadership at the time. This fascination and hype surrounding Hitler acts as a warning for what was to follow. While this footage reveals Fairbank's upper-middle class means through the fact that she could comfortably travel and also reveals the contrast between the rural quiet communities and the crowds gathered in Oberammergau, these pieces of amateur footage do not demonstrate the imagined community to the audience as that was not the intention.

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<sup>71</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

Another one of Fairbank's films was *Holiday Memories*<sup>72</sup>, which traces her trip on the R.M.S. Queen Mary to New York. All of the passengers on this ship<sup>73</sup> are from middle to upper-class status as shown by their recreational activities on board, including mini hockey and some enlarged board games. Additionally, planes can be seen flying over the ship, indicating the privileged status of those aboard. One of the notable features of this film, in addition to Fairbank's privileged means that enabled her to travel far and wide, was a meeting with another famous character, John D Rockefeller Jr, demonstrated through a close up, who was reportedly one of the richest men in the world at this point, or at least his father was<sup>74</sup>. From analysing Fairbank's depiction of her holiday to New York upon the ship, and meeting John D Rockefeller, audiences can interpret from this film that she was upper-middle class, which can also be determined by her use of 16mm film. This was reasonably expensive to obtain and as with Ibberson, and Beardsell acts as an indicator of her status and class within society. This film very much demonstrates Fairbank's privileged means to the audience and through this lens the audience can determine her social class, but this film does not reveal much about the imagined community either. From viewing these films and the company which Fairbanks kept, audiences can determine her relatively high upper-middle class status within society, which was relatively rare among women at the time.

According to Motrescu-Hayes and Nicholson<sup>75</sup>, Fairbank made films until 1941, although her footage available in the archives goes up until 1938 and then her next film is in 1950. A reason for her reduction in filming was that film was rationed within this time and it was important to concentrate upon the war effort. On the other hand, viewers can understand her public life as well, since there are many films focusing on P.E. classes at *Linthwaite School*<sup>76</sup>, where she was a P.E. teacher and helped to run the infant department until 1952<sup>77</sup>. These films are shot mainly through medium shot with children partaking in various physical activities, with many of them running back and forth, and some scenes in slow motion. On the other hand, Lucy was a primary school teacher and her mother was a burler<sup>78</sup>, which implies that

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<sup>72</sup> *Holiday Memories*. 1936. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5198). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10235> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>73</sup> This ship was to some extent built as a conscious answer to the depression.

<sup>74</sup> Yergin, D. 2011. *The prize: The epic quest for oil, money & power*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

<sup>75</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University

<sup>76</sup> *Linthwaite School 1*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3408). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6768> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>77</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>78</sup> According to Merriam Webster a burler is: one that removes loose threads, knots, and other imperfections from cloth. Please see source: *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2021 s.v. "burler," Available from: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/burler>. [Accessed February 21, 2021]

her background was more middle class on the basis of her occupation; however, her father invested in stocks and shares, so he was of fairly wealthy means and contributed to her income, meaning that she could afford to travel<sup>7980</sup>. From these films, it is clear that contemporary audiences can understand Fairbank's middle class occupation, her leisure activities and how children were an integral element within her local community. However, what is not as clear through these depictions is her unusual means of income that allowed her the opportunity to enjoy the lifestyle of a more upper-middle class person and to travel extensively. This limited knowledge of Fairbank is one of the disadvantages of viewing archived knowledge alone as it was only through primary research that further contextual information was obtained.

There are a few other female filmmakers from the 1930s in the YFA; alternatively, Amy Johnson is the focus of quite a few films, due to her pioneering aviation efforts. For example, *Amy Johnson in Hull*<sup>81</sup> shows Amy landing on the airfield and being greeted on landing with a bouquet of flowers by the Lord Mayor. The maker of this film is unknown although it seems to be part of a newsreel for events in the area. There was no-one available to interview regarding Amy Johnson as she is the central focus of the films being made and the films were made by various professional filmmakers. Although Johnson was not behind the camera, it demonstrates how times were changing within society as women were not often central to the films that were being made within the 1920s or during WWI. This changed in the 1930s. There is also an official ceremony where Amy is being greeted coming out of her GAAA-H plane. Amy famously flew to Australia on a solo mission. What the film instils is an increasing idea of community and how the events of WWI gave women not only the right to vote but increasing power to film and be the centre of the films being shot, rather than purely men as previously this was a male dominated role. The initial viewing of the film shows Amy Johnson returning to Hedon, but the underlying message behind these films is much more liberal when referring to the increased agency of the female community. However, when analysing her class, Amy's privileged background has to be acknowledged as her father was a solicitor and she even

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<sup>79</sup> Lucy came from an unusual background as her father's name was not on her birth certificate; although there was a close relationship between her mother and father, he was never formally involved. From interview with: Baxter, Ian. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Lucy Fairbank*. Filmed semi-structured interview. York, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>80</sup> Although her mother and father had a close relationship, Lucy retained her mother's surname and completed her school education to become a teacher. See Source: Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

<sup>81</sup> *Amy Johnson in Hull*. 1929-1933. [Film]. Director Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4858). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9579> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

graduated from the University of Sheffield, which was uncommon, especially for women at this time. Therefore, this reveals the type of privileged means that were available to those from the upper-middle classes, as those who did not have the money or means would not have been able to go to University or fly a plane. Female agency was largely based on social status. Similarly, *Hull Local Studies Reference Film 2*<sup>82</sup> includes film footage of Amy Johnson, who later married Jim Mollinson, and depicts Johnson's great flight to Australia, including a brief visit to Japan and greeting 52,000 men of Metro Goldwyn. This is shot primarily in medium and long shot due to the fact it was logistically more viable to film these flights through these means. The second half of this film depicts a crash landing in Connecticut in an attempt to reach New York. Although the maker of this film is unknown, both these films were made in 16mm and distributed by Movietone, a professional production company, so these films were newsreels and were probably shown in many location theatres across the UK. To a certain extent this film firstly had women front and centre of the footage; it demonstrated her upper-middle class status through this leisure activity. It also reveals to the audience this imagined community because many of the audience will have supported Amy due to her British nationality and ground-breaking role in aviation in England and abroad. This is a more specific use of imagined community, as these films can give an appearance of a consistent unified community because events like this bring people together. This appearance is transitory though, as in that moment, it demonstrates the collective community brought together for this event but these moments quickly diminish after the event has passed. Johnson's depiction as part of the imagined community is perhaps not as obvious as this was not propaganda but its intention will have been to have the audience identify and support her because of her flying ability, her travels over the world and partially due to her British nationality. Therefore, in the 1920s and 1930s communities had somewhat changed as women were more accepted within the society and celebrated in film during that period, especially if they were from the upper-middle classes.

The second half of this section focuses on filmmakers of Jewish ethnicity but will begin with a female filmmaker of mixed European ethnicity. Hannchen Drasdo was a female filmmaker, and her story is part of *The Filmmaker's Tale: Hannchen Drasdo*<sup>83</sup>, a Google Cultural Institute curated archive. Hannchen Drasdo was born in Hull in 1886, her father was

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<sup>82</sup> *Hull Local Studies Reference Film 2*. 1930s. [Film]. Director Unknown. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 3841). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7613> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>83</sup> Watts, M. 2020. *The Filmmaker's Tale*. Yorkshire Film Archive: Google Cultural Institute. Available from: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/the-film-maker-s-tale/kAJCF9YMC-A-Kw?hl=en-gb> [Accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2020]

from Berlin and her mother came from Norway. Drasdo is the only female filmmaker in the YFA who transitioned from an amateur to professional filmmaker between 1910-1954. Drasdo's father worked in Hull as an immigration agent, helping families flee persecution in Europe, including those from Poland or Russia. Hannchen Drasdo was from an upper-middle class background as she was educated at a private school in Hull, and studied voice technique and acting in London, as a result of which she participated in a series of elocution recitals all over Europe<sup>84</sup>. Drasdo's first film is amateur footage entitled *Hull From Morn Until Midnight*<sup>85</sup>, which captures the morning with ships arriving in the docks, deliveries being made by horses and carts, and the chimneys of factories billowing out smoke. This is then intercut with fisherman catching the fish. After this, in medium shot it captures a bustling city centre full of life, with people from an upper-middle class background as indicated by men wearing bowler hats and smart suits. In the next shots the camera points at a downward angle showing primarily people's legs and feet. This shot is then contrasted with a high angle shot where the camera can be seen above men in long coats and flat caps, perhaps reflecting their status. The city centre is then shown bustling with life, with trams and young boys in uniform crossing the road. This is followed by a man in a flat cap eating his lunch, which is then juxtaposed with a shot of people in upper-class attire in a tearoom. The next shots show music being played and people dancing at a jazz club. The final shot ends at the docks underneath the moonlight, ending where the film began. This film shows a very public display of life, even though it is an amateur film and shows the trade in Hull City. It adopts some qualities of professional film footage but is not made with an intention to be sold but shows trade and public life in the area. Furthermore, this film has qualities that are similar to Fairbank's as it captures the daily life in Hull, the trade of the skilled manual working classes through showing the fisherman at the docks, the carts delivering in Hull, and factories billowing out smoke. The shots of fishermen with catch of the day further highlight this skilled manual working-class profession that Drasdo was able to capture. This film shows many juxtaposing shots of the upper-middle classes, including those in the jazz clubs, people in smart attire, it also shows fishermen at the docks and workers using a horse and cart. Drasdo's depiction of Hull shows the public sphere and a cross section of working- and middle-class society. The intention of this film appears to have been to show life as it was and it reveals the actions of the working community. In contrast to Fairbank's films there is not the intimate connection between the filmmaker and her local community in this film, because it is a bigger city. On the other hand, there is a closeness in

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<sup>84</sup> Singleton, D. 1955. Lover of Stage, Film and Travel. Daily Mail. January 14<sup>th</sup> 1955. Available from: [https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/\\_ZQEDP5RzEEh\\_5A](https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/_ZQEDP5RzEEh_5A) [Accessed 15th November 2020]

<sup>85</sup> Hull From Morn Until Midnight. 1932. [Film] Hannchen Drasdo. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 5579). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/10981> [Accessed 2nd July 2021]



the fishing community and their journey from sunrise to sunset, that is depicted within this film. This film appears to be one of the steps in her cultural journey as she played a varied role in the cultural life of Hull, as a puppeteer, broadcaster, actor, stage producer and filmmaker. She played a large role in the formation of Hull Little Theatre, and in the 1920s she was a regular contributor to the wireless radio station in Hull with her dramatic recitals and into the 1930s, at around the same time as this film was made<sup>86</sup>. Drasdo transitioned from radio, to theatre, to filmmaking and setting up her own company. Drasdo also transitioned from amateur to professional filmmaking, as in the 1950s she made road safety films for the police. She is the only professional female filmmaker that is analysed in this research. Her road safety film will be examined in Chapter 6.

Representations of the Jewish community in the 1930s can be seen through the films of Alec Baron and Monty Rosen. Alec Baron was a Jewish tailor and amateur filmmaker. He produced many films that concentrate upon the Jewish community. Although his occupation was as a tailor, this did not truly reflect Alec's passion for the arts as he was heavily involved in theatre and film throughout his life<sup>87</sup>. Many of his films focus on the Judean Society Club and all his films focus on the Jewish community. For example, one of Baron's films is from the Jewish film society of the *Judean Club in Leeds*<sup>88</sup>; this footage depicts boys in medium shot playing snooker, checkers, boxing, skipping, and the girls participating in physical activity. These films are crucial as they show members of the Jewish community and how they were integrated with some form of gender balance within their community. On the other hand, this film does not demonstrate how Jewish members of society assimilated with members of the non-Jewish community as informal segregation occurred within Britain during this time<sup>89</sup>. What this film certainly shows is firstly a culturally formed community who are brought together because of their shared religious belief and the *gemeinschaft*. From viewing these films of the Judean Club audiences can get the impression of the close community bonds that are shared between the different people involved in their community activities and that their Jewish is what helps to bind them together. The activities of boys playing snooker and girls participating in exercise as part of a community club are to a certain extent representative of the wider

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<sup>86</sup> She also learned to move puppets and put on shows for the Children's Society.

<sup>87</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>88</sup> *Judean Club in Leeds*. 1935.[Film]. Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4703). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9282> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>89</sup> Searle, G. R. 1979. Eugenics and Politics in Britain in the 1930s. *Annals of Science*, 36(2), pp. 159-169.

community as such community activities often brought people together and improved the closeness of their bond.





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There are some films of the Jewish community that suggest their integration with the rest of society, such as the *Cinema Ball*<sup>91</sup>, which shows many members of communities who were not exclusively Jewish. Although the *Cinema Ball* shows a fun, public community event, most of the shots focus on celebrities in the area or people having a fun at a public event, therefore audiences do not get a strong idea of the integration of these communities from this scene. For example, most of Baron's films focused specifically upon the community bonds built within the Jewish community, as the *Judean Club in Leeds* concentrates exclusively on the Jewish community. However, given the title of the film it naturally would not show broader integration of communities. This film pointedly demonstrates that members of the Jewish

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<sup>90</sup> Judean club in Leeds. 1935.[Film]. Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4703). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9282> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>91</sup> *Cinema Ball*. 1936. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4689). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9256> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

community participate in leisure activities in the same way as other communities participate in these activities.



According to interviews with his relatives, Alec Baron shot another film, *Remembrance Day*<sup>93</sup>:

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> *Remembrance Day*. c. 1935. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4704). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9284> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

“...It might well have been that the Remembrance Day March, there’s an important Jewish point. That these are Jewish ex-soldiers from the First World War so anything about Jews being... [erm].... I dunno yano... they don’t fight or they don’t.... for instance, like the boxing scenes from the Judean club, that’s very much countering some Jewish stereotypes”<sup>94</sup>

There are then elements of this film that combat negative stereotypes regarding the Jewish community<sup>95</sup>; there is a focus upon boxing in Judean club which suggests perhaps a view of masculinity in line with northern youths from other ethnic groupings. In this period in Germany the Nuremberg laws were introduced in 1935<sup>96</sup>. These laws were introduced to prevent Jews in Germany from being citizens of the Reich. Hitler attacked their social and economic power, prohibiting them from working as civil servants for the government or in other areas of the public sector. These laws pre-empted the harsher laws and more violent anti-Semitic attacks that would later lead to the Holocaust. On the other hand, a high proportion of the Jewish community were integrated in Leeds through their involvement in tailoring, which was for many a sweated trade<sup>97</sup>. Class definitions are problematic when applying them to Jewish people in this time. This demonstrates how they had an important role that integrated them with parts of other communities, unlike in Germany. Although the Jewish community were somewhat excluded, they still played an active part in the communities within Leeds. It is increasingly evident that there were strong bonds between members of the Jewish community as there were various community groups that were created to support the Jewish community, including the Judean club.

Alec Baron shot other films, including *Cinema Ball*<sup>98</sup>. These films were made in Standard 8, as opposed to 16mm film<sup>99</sup>. This film was shot at the Leeds Town Hall in 1936, with members of the local community in fancy dress. Two men that were of prominence

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<sup>94</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed Semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>95</sup> Hoberman, J. M. 1995. Otto Weininger and the critique of Jewish Masculinity. In: *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed, Harrowitz, N.A. & Hymans, B. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 141-53.

<sup>96</sup> Finch, G. A. 1947. The Nuremberg Trial and international law. *American Journal of International Law*, 41(1), pp. 20-37.

<sup>97</sup> See Sources: Berman, J. 2018, April 12. The Jewish Community of Leeds. *Jewish Communities and Records*. Retrieved from: <https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/leeds.htm>; Pilzer, J. M. 1979. The Jews and the Great "Sweated Labor" Debate: 1888-1892. *Jewish Social Studies*, 41(3/4), pp. 257-274. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4467054> [Accessed 22nd February 2021]

<sup>98</sup> *Cinema Ball*. 1936. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4689). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9256> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>99</sup> Standard 8 consists of 16mm with twice the perforations along the edges. See source: Shand, R. 2008. Theorizing amateur cinema: Limitations and possibilities. *The Moving Image*, 8(2), pp. 36-60.

featured in this: Roy Fox, a British born band leader in medium shot, and Neil Hamilton, a politician, who is in close-up. This film features prominent local celebrities; this highlights the status of Baron and the events which were attended. It gives the audience an insight into the lifestyle of Baron, through the company he kept and high-profile public events that he attended, however from this event audiences do not get a strong impression of an imagined community or the *gemeinschaft*. His love of cinema led him, with his friends, to set up Leeds Film Group, showing German, Russian, French, and other Art Cinema films not shown at commercial cinemas. This went on to become the Leeds Film Institute Society<sup>100</sup>. These films demonstrate the type of community in which Baron mixed socially as he was a filmmaker and mixed with members of the theatrical community. Baron was also a Jewish tailor, but it was problematic to define his class given what was happening in the wider Jewish community. However, although the occupation of Baron and his ability to pursue his passions are problematic to examine from a class perspective, it appears to reflect his standing within the middle-class community. It also highlights the Jewish community in Britain and its relative class status during the 1930s within Britain.



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<sup>100</sup> Later, it became Leeds Film Society.



According to interviews with Alec's relatives, the aim of Alec Baron's films was to capture the Jewish community participating in their social activities<sup>102</sup> and give the audience a understanding of the Jewish community. Another Alec Baron film that highlights the Jewish community and their unified strength is *Remembrance Day*<sup>103</sup>; this challenged some stereotypical views that were held by members of the community like the British Union of Fascists<sup>104</sup> about the Jewish community and their lack of fighting spirit. The ex-servicemen in this film clearly demonstrate that they were veterans of WWI<sup>105</sup>. This footage shows Jewish ex-WWI servicemen march by the cenotaph, listening to the Rabbi speak.

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<sup>101</sup> *Cinema Ball*. 1936. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4689). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9256> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>102</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>103</sup> *Remembrance Day*. c. 1935. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4704). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9284> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>104</sup> Love, G. 2007. What's the Big Idea?: Oswald Mosley, the British Union of Fascists and Generic Fascism. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 42(3), pp. 447-468.

<sup>105</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.



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This was shot a month after the Battle of Cable Street and two months after the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws<sup>107</sup>. It demonstrates the unity and resilience of the Jewish community in this context. Earlier, in 1935, the Jews were attacked by mobs for not putting forward their support for the war, as Britain was allied to Russia where Jews had fled many dangerous programs. However, 41,000 out of a population of roughly 280,000 British Jews served in the war, which was the highest proportion of volunteers from a specific group<sup>108</sup>. The Battle of Cable Street spelt the end to British Union of Fascists; roughly 100,000 people signed a petition against the march for many reasons, including a distaste for the treatment of the Jewish community in Germany in the 1930s. The Battle of Cable Street was an anti-Semitic March organised by the British Union of Fascists who disliked the Jewish community. The 'Blackshirts' walked through the East End of London, which had a heavy concentration of the

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<sup>106</sup> *Remembrance Day*. c. 1935. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4704). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9284> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.



Jewish community and ended with a conflict between the police and British Union of Fascists. It ended badly, with 175 injured and 150 people arrested. In 1936 the Public Order Act was introduced which required police consent for marches and wearing political uniform in any public space of meeting<sup>109</sup>. On the one hand, there was a strong Jewish community as is evident throughout the films. On the other hand, the film does not demonstrate the anti-Semitic feeling within the United Kingdom without being informed by the wider context of information. To a certain extent this is due to the minority support that the BUF received throughout England. Although this was a movement that was widely reported, much like the English Defence League it did not have a majority hold in terms of the number of people willing to protest, in particular due to the contrast between what was happening in England and what was happening in Germany<sup>110</sup>. Furthermore, what all these films demonstrate to the audience is the cultural and to some extent imagined Jewish community because these people were brought together due to their faith, which is what created a close bond between these members of the Jewish community. It is through the strong actions of the cultural Jewish community, their marches, and their clubs that the audience can see the *gemeinschaft* in action and also it reinvigorates imagined cultural community that brings together people of the same religion.

The films directed by Alec Baron demonstrated his strong connection to the Jewish community but none have this connection depicted as clearly and poignantly as *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*<sup>111</sup>. According to interviews with the relatives of Alec Baron:

“...In a lot of ways his main motivation is exploring film technique [In Talmud Torah] and influenced by the Russian filmmakers in particular... On the other hand he then chose... a Jewish story, a Jewish subject for it”<sup>112</sup>. This footage was inspired by directors such as Sergei

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<sup>109</sup> Thurlow, R.C.2006. *Fascism in Britain: from Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*. 2nd ed. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

<sup>110</sup> Richardson, J. E. 2013. Ploughing the Same Furrow? Continuity and Change on Britain's Extreme Right Fringe. *Right-wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, pp. 105-120

<sup>111</sup> *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*. c.1936. [Film]. by Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4690). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9258> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>112</sup> Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

Eisenstein and *Battleship Potemkin*<sup>113</sup>, which was a Soviet propaganda film aimed at bringing the working classes together to unite against the bourgeoisie<sup>114</sup>.

Baron was an amateur filmmaker and was inspired by Eisenstein as he used emotive language and scenes to bring together the Jewish community in the same way that it had brought together the Soviet community. Baron was an amateur filmmaker and made his films primarily about the Jewish community, on the other hand, this footage was deliberate PR and propaganda aimed at building the Jewish community for future generations. This could be seen as Sergei Eisenstein type propaganda as there is a clear agenda in this film to mobilise the Jewish community and promote unity<sup>115</sup>; however, rather than state sponsored propaganda these films portray the perspective of the amateur filmmaker and were intended for viewing by small audiences in Leeds rather than on a national perspective. This film can be considered as propaganda as its main aim was to convince people of an argument from the filmmaker's perspective by presenting facts and information in a certain manner<sup>116</sup>. For example, the intertitles are intercut with a Rabbi preaching: "We must teach our children... we must teach them the customs, teach them the faith, CHILDREN... teach them the ritual, teach them the heritage, Talmud Torah". The aim of this is to encourage the Jewish community to unite, in particular as Baron uses the power of three with the repetition of teach them throughout the intertitles. The use of the power of three in language is intended to have a powerful effect upon the audience. Thus, this is crafted and aimed to encourage the growth of the Jewish community despite the turmoil that was occurring wider afield, particularly what was occurring within Germany at the time. The film shows the unification and teachings of the Jewish community. The effect is to demonstrate the unifying of the Jewish community. Baron seems have produced this film to pointedly contrast with the hardship and segregation that the Jewish community suffered in the 1930s in Britain and Germany, and bring together the Jewish community for generations to come<sup>117</sup>. This film was built upon the imagined cultural community within the Jewish community who were brought together by their religion, and Baron used a rabbi to communicate the message across to the wider Jewish community in this piece of propaganda. It deliberately is aimed at the imagined cultural Jewish community

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<sup>113</sup> *Battleship Potemkin*. 1925 [Film]. Sergei Eisenstein. Mosfilm: Soviet Union.

<sup>114</sup> The aim of this film is to bring together the people against the oppressive Soviet government and their Tsar. Eisenstein used emotive scenes, montages and emotive language intertitles as propaganda in his film, including the atrocity on the Odessa Steps.

<sup>115</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 46.

<sup>116</sup> Rizvi, W.R. 2014. Politics, propaganda and film form: *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) and *Triumph of the Will* (1935). *The Journal of International communication*. pp. 77-86.

<sup>117</sup> Thurlow, R.C. 2006. *Fascism in Britain: from Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*. 2nd ed. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

through their religion (not their nationalism) to bring them together, however class as a factor defining the Jewish community does not have a role within this film. On the other hand, this film is limiting because exclusion of the Jewish community cannot be seen within this film, but it is likely that the treatment that Baron experienced inspired him to produce this film.



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<sup>118</sup> *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*. c.1936. [Film]. by Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4690). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9258> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

Monty Rosen is another Jewish filmmaker who produced films that highlight the culture of the Jewish community. In one of his films, *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*<sup>119</sup>, veterans from the First World War are shown celebrating patriotism in the country through the forthcoming Coronation of George VI and these Jewish ex-servicemen are shot in medium and long shots to show their strength, unity and numbers.



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<sup>119</sup> *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20879). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25670> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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If viewers look at the appearance of the ex-servicemen in the footage it could be interpreted that they are upper-middle class because of the smart clothing that men and women are wearing. However, it is almost impossible to judge people's class from this parade as most people will have dressed smartly specifically for this public event and a lot of the ex-servicemen are wearing an element of uniform by having their medals attached to their clothing. The main intention of the footage is to show the *Gemeinschaft* between the Jewish community and their close bonds as well as their imagined idea of national and cultural Jewish community through their patriotism. The patriotism that is depicted through the veterans marching past the Lord Mayor has a dual purpose. This film depicts Jewish First World War Ex-Servicemen marking the coronation of the new King. This film also presents a movement against the Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF), also known as 'Blackshirts'<sup>121</sup>. The BUF was established as a far-right political group in 1932 within the United Kingdom. Similar to the Nazis, the 'Blackshirts' had a strong anti-Semitic ideology which caused violence, particularly within inner cities. Although the Blackshirts' following was centred more towards London, they also had a strong following in Yorkshire's inner cities<sup>122</sup>. Therefore, the deeper reading of this film shows how the Jewish community united together to act as a *Gemeinschaft* to protect their friends and family from the growing threat of racism by using and then demonstrating their collective strength and patriotism. The North East Branch of the

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Love, G. 2007. What's the Big Idea?: Oswald Mosley, the British Union of Fascists and Generic Fascism. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 42(3), pp. 447-468.

<sup>122</sup> Benewick, R. 1969. *Political Violence and Public Order*, London: Allan Lane, pp. 279-282

Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women (AJEX) was established in 1934<sup>123</sup> to counteract the movement of the Blackshirts and this peaceful parade to celebrate the monarchy was also an important act demonstrating the unity of the Jewish community against the anti-Semitic Blackshirts that only sought to divide communities.

Another filmmaker who briefly highlights the circumstances of the Jewish community in one of his films is T.H. Brown, whose film *A Tour of Central Europe*<sup>124</sup> gives the audience an insight into Europe from a British amateur perspective. This footage is examined later in the chapter. T.H. Brown's earlier films portray a lighter approach to filmmaking that has not been evident so far through the films that have been examined. For example, *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*<sup>125</sup> has more of a comedic value as this film is a spoof of Sherlock Holmes made by members of the Teesside Cine Club, which was a community of cinema enthusiasts. These films allow us to read how amateur filmmakers of the time were inspired by cinema and literature, as Sherlock Holmes was originally released in novel form in 1887 and his stories were released until 1927<sup>126</sup>. In 1899, William Gillette wrote a play combining a number of Holmes plays which in 1916 was made into a film entitled *Sherlock Holmes*<sup>127</sup>, and went on to inspire *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*<sup>128</sup> in 1929<sup>129</sup>. *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*<sup>130</sup> was the first Sherlock Holmes sound film and could have inspired this film made by Teesside Cine Club.

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<sup>123</sup> *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20879). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25670> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>124</sup> *A Tour of Central Europe*. 1937.[Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10251). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/15990> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>125</sup> *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*. 1931. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10478). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16173> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

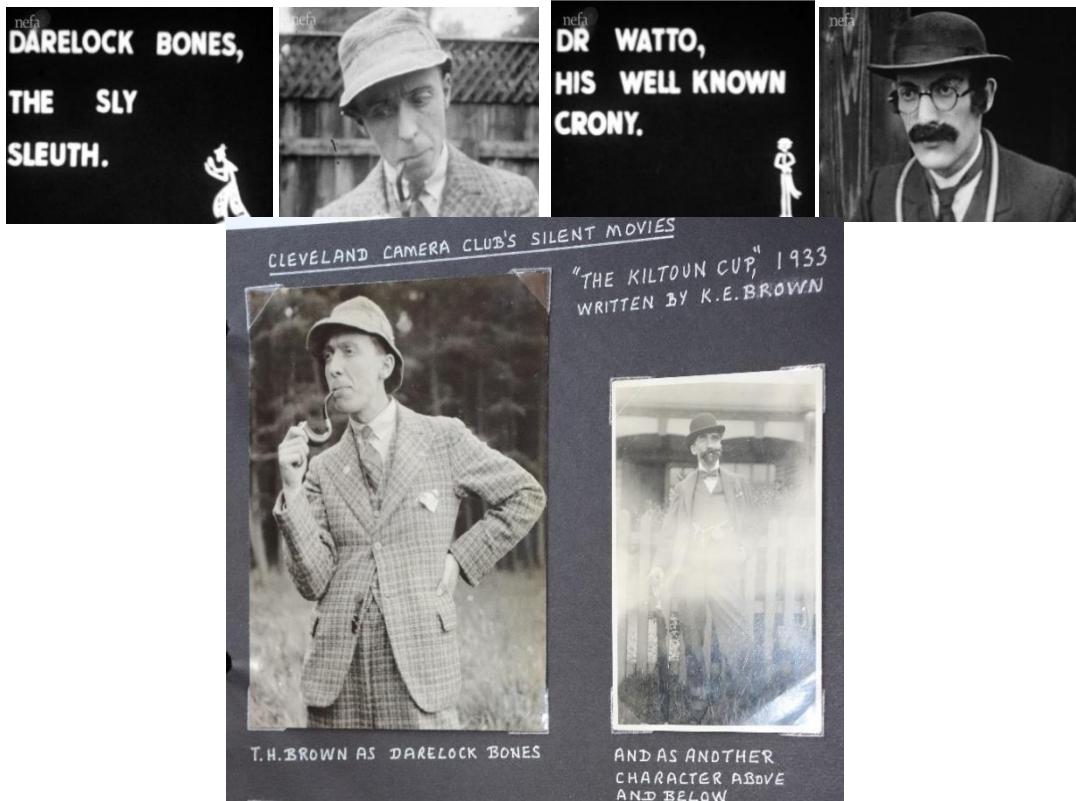
<sup>126</sup> Riggs, R. 2009. *The Sherlock Holmes Handbook. The methods and mysteries of the world's greatest detective*. Philadelphia: Quirk Books.

<sup>127</sup> *Sherlock Holmes*. 1916. [Film]. William Gillette. United States: Essanay Studios.

<sup>128</sup> *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*. 1929. [Film]. Basil Dean. United States: Paramount Pictures.

<sup>129</sup> Eyles, A. 1986. *Sherlock Holmes: A Centenary Celebration*. New York: Harper Collins.

<sup>130</sup> *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*. 1929. [Film]. Basil Dean. United States: Paramount Pictures.



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Rather than taking a role behind the camera T.H. Brown adopts the role of the protagonist, Darelock Bones, his father Tom Senior has the role of the major, meanwhile Kate Brown wrote and produced the drama for the Teesside Cine Club and it was photographed by Wilf Maxwell. This film was written and produced by K.E. Brown. Kate's role within this film was uncharacteristic of women at the time. She also stands out as unrepresentative of the community; she had a degree from the University of Durham, further highlighting her upper-middle class status<sup>132</sup>. It was unusual to have a woman produce and write a film in the 1930s<sup>133</sup>. This is reinforced by written work and interviews with the relatives of T.H. Brown, stating that "It [The Kiltoun Cup] was written and produced by Kate... We are told that 150

<sup>131</sup> *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*. 1931. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10478). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16173> [Accessed 23rd April 2021] and From the personal collection of Antony Brown, gathered from interview: Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T H Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>132</sup> Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T.H. Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*.

people watched a screening of their latest film production, 'The Kiltoun Cup'<sup>134135</sup>, demonstrating that films like this could be produced by women and would receive a popular reception. The only other example within the archives of a woman having a prominent role in production is the female filmmaker Lucy Fairbank and Hannchen Drasdo in the 1930s<sup>136</sup>. In addition, the fact that *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*<sup>137</sup> could be made suggests that the filmmakers had a production team and disposable income to produce this film through the Teesside Cine Club. The people within this film have leisure time, and the community of filmmakers within this film, including Kate Brown, were not always present on the screen, more was done behind the scenes. This was further indicated through the occupation of T.H. Brown as a dentist who had leisure time to pursue his passion of filmmaking; similarly, another member of the Teesside Cine Club, Wilf Shaw, was a clock maker which was another middle class occupation<sup>138</sup>. The Kiltoun cup is a fictional comic drama that centres on the theft of the Kiltoun cup and the quest of Darelock Bones and Dr Watto to locate the missing cup, and was obviously inspired by the adventures of Sherlock Holmes. Each scene focuses upon each character in close-up, accompanied with an intertitle and one of Kate Brown's pin men (this can be seen above in the bottom right hand corner of the intertitles for each character), which were used as storyboard devices<sup>139</sup>. Being made at the beginning of the 1930s it demonstrates the formation of a community around filmmaking through cine clubs. The medium of filmmaking had expanded from a lucrative enterprise for professional filmmakers into something that amateurs could enjoy and through which they could demonstrate their creativity. This demonstrates a popularisation of filmmaking and how it had become something that everyone could enjoy and create, rather than just the middle to upper classes making films for profit. However, the people within this film all are from a relatively upper-middle class background and the events being depicted are fictional, so what this shows is limited and the interest is more directly about the people who made it. It is significant that they had the disposable income and leisure time available to produce a spoof of this sort. Another point is

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<sup>134</sup> Brown, A. T. 2008. *Kyloe to Cleveland, 300 years of Northumbrian Family History*. (n.p.): Brown, A.T. p. 181.

<sup>135</sup> Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T.H. Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>136</sup> Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local Lives and communities. In: *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.

<sup>137</sup> *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*. 1931. [Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10478). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16173> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>138</sup> *Quest for Youth*. 1935. [Film]. C Roeder. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (NEFA 20870). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25662> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>139</sup> Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T H Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.



that it is mainly professional cine clubs that produce fictional spoof films, amateur filmmakers mainly make family films or shoot public events and do not usually produce spoof films unless they are part of a cine club, which in part could be due to a lack of resources and people. Although it is a fictional drama, audiences get a sense of their close community bond through the Teesside Cine Club, as audiences can see the *gemeinschaft* and close bonds reflected in this film.

Alongside these comic films and films of family holidays the T.H. Brown collection focuses upon family events including the *Wedding of K.E. Spittle and T.H. Brown*<sup>140</sup>. This film shows the marriage of K.E. Spittle and T.H. Brown. The intertitles of this film demonstrate the Northern community through the dialect operationalised, such as 'Er arriving... 'Im An 'Er... 'Er in Bournemouth. To a certain extent this could be used for comedic purposes, but it also reveals the type of community that T.H. Brown and Kate Spittle were integrated into in Middlesbrough. Similarly, this type of language was also used by Ibberson in his film *The Longstone Chronicles II Quintessence of Hilarity*<sup>141</sup>. The shortening of language appears to have occurred often in amateur films, even if the filmmakers were upper-middle class, which reflects something about the dialect used by the Northern community, whether in jest or not. T.H. Brown began his filmmaking in the early 1930s using 9.5mm, which was a cheaper film stock, then later in 1935 he moved on to 16mm film, buying a Cine-Kodak BB 16mm movie camera that cost roughly 15 guineas<sup>142</sup>. It appears that the 16mm film reflected T.H. Brown becoming more engaged with his filmmaking hobby. Additionally, an article published on the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1931 highlights the unusual nature of their wedding and Kate Brown having a bachelor's degree, making her achievements particularly uncommon at the time<sup>143</sup>. Community is portrayed through the familial bond in this wedding. This wedding shows the *gemeinschaft* through the close community and family bonds.

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<sup>140</sup> *Wedding of K.E. Spittle and T.H. Brown*. 1931. [Film]. Directed by T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives(NEFA 12145). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/17767> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>141</sup> *The Longstone Chronicles II Quintessence of Hilarity*. 1931. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2001). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3951> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>142</sup> Brown, A.T. 2008. *Kyloe to Cleveland, 300 years of Northumbrian Family History*. (n.p.): Brown, A.T. p. 145.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, p. 180. This is a news article about the marriage of Tony Brown to K.E Spittle.



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Similarly, another film following this is called *Our Gang Mayors Sunday*<sup>145</sup> and focuses on the friendships between the filmmakers and their community spirit. This film shows the snow fight between different members of the gang, and Professor Shampooski (a nickname given to T.H. Brown in front of the camera) doing two jumps in the middle of the film. These scenes of a snow fight and the jumps show the fun that was clearly had by the wider amateur filmmakers in the area, while also showing the gemeinschaft type of close community that was present in this footage. The gemeinschaft refers to a grassroots closely bonded community such as can be seen in this film. There is also a section halfway through the film that concentrates on aerial photography as indicated through the intertitles that show a small plane taking off from the aerodrome. These demonstrate firstly the community spirit and jovial atmosphere between the communities; secondly, they show the upper-middle class hobby that T.H. Brown pursued with his interest in aerial photography. These demonstrate how people were more able to afford to pursue the hobby of filmmaking within the 1930s if they had relative means and leisure time to allow them to do so, as is demonstrated through both these films as T.H. Brown had the means and leisure time to pursue his filmmaking passion with the other members of Teesside Cine Club.

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<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> *Our Gang Mayors Sunday*. 1930-1932. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (NEFA 12151). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/17772> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

On the other hand, there was a growing negativity towards the Jewish Community that is highlighted in a film called *A Tour of Central Europe*<sup>146</sup>. In the beginning of this film T.H. Brown and his wife Kate Brown, a couple from Middlesbrough go on holiday to Europe and arrive in Munich after 20 hours of travelling. The first German newspaper they are confronted with in a medium shot is called *Der Stürmer*, the motto of which is 'Die Juden sind unser Unglück!' or 'The Jews are our misfortune!'. At the bottom of the initial shot, this is followed by a close-up where the audience can see anti-Semitic caricatures. This film was shot in 1937 when the Nazi ideology was integrated throughout Germany. Later in the film two soldiers with Nazi Swastika armbands walk by, and Kate Brown is captured through a medium shot standing next to a bus that has the Nazi flag waving from the front of it. Thomas Henry Brown came from a long line of dentists and his wife, Kate Brown, was one of the pioneering women to gain a degree from the University of Durham under a scholarship<sup>147</sup>. This suggests that the background that Thomas came from was affluent upper-middle class. The relationship between Thomas and Kate Brown through their holiday and their evident affluence supports this view of their class. This is perhaps compounded by education and awareness of international affairs, through their choosing to film the Nazis within this film, whose influence across Europe had evolved since the previous *Munich to Innsbruck*<sup>148</sup> film. There is a more sinister overtone being depicted within the film by Thomas Brown and as film makers they appear to have focused on the political scene that was unfolding. Viewers can understand this from the newspaper motto of *Der Stürmer* that rejects the Jewish community and blames them for Germany's misfortune, whereas at the time of Hitler's visit to Oberammergau he had only just been elected and this anti-Semitic sentiment was not as visible in *Munich to Innsbruck*. Given the depiction of communities in Britain their defence of Jewish rights against the British Union of Fascists is a stark contrast to the events occurring within Germany. This demonstrates the importance of community in these films internally within Great Britain and there is also a focus on social matters which is suggestive of the education and class of the filmmakers.

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<sup>146</sup> *A Tour of Central Europe*. 1937.[Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10251). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/15990> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>147</sup>Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T H Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>148</sup>*Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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In terms of a closer contextual reading of this film, it depicts people in Munich continuing with their daily lives and other than the deliberate shots depicted by T.H. Brown shows how the Nazis assimilated and blended with communities. Similarly, in Oberammergau T.H. Brown also shows people wearing traditional German Lederhosen which was previously demonstrated in a similar location in Fairbank's *Munich to Innsbruck*<sup>150</sup>, but this was in the more rural Bavarian countryside in Fairbank's film. Among the other features of the film are the showing of a car crash on their travels and people wearing traditional black clothing and black hats in Berchtesgaden. This yet again reveals the contrast between the life of people within the town and the more rural areas of Europe in Germany and Austria, and perhaps is reflective of the type of holiday that filmmakers like T.H. Brown and Lucy Fairbank departed on. On the other hand, this does not particularly reveal much about the local community of Yorkshire, other than their holidays in the 1930s. It reveals the difference between the rural and urban communities, and the more traditional standards adopted by the rural communities, but it does not reveal much about class, which is harder to identify in rural communities. A closer reading of these films demonstrates what depiction of Europe was being brought back

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<sup>149</sup> *A Tour of Central Europe*. 1937. [Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10251). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/15990> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>150</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

to the United Kingdom through the upper-middle class people who were holidaying in these areas, and consequently how their film footage was influenced by their cultural experience in Yorkshire. However, this footage is not indicative of the relations within the Yorkshire community other than demonstrating how they spent and portrayed their leisure time.



Another film by Thomas Henry Brown is *Movie 24: Belgium and Holland August 1939*<sup>151</sup>, which was shot just prior to the beginning of WWII, as war was declared on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1939. This film depicts the family's continental trip to Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in 1939. It shows the construction of the German Siegfried defensive line and

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<sup>151</sup>*Movie 24: Belgium and Holland August 1939*. 1939. [Film]. Thomas Henry Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10491). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16185> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

concrete bunkers filmed in the Ardennes region around Cleveraux. This was essentially one of Germany's main defensive lines and was opposite to the Maginot Line<sup>152</sup>. This film similarly depicts the holiday of Thomas and Kate Brown in Europe and demonstrated their affluent upper-middle class means; this is further highlighted by the fact that this was filmed in 16mm and Duffaycolor which would have been expensive to purchase at this time. This further demonstrates, a month prior to WWII, the preparations Germany was making to defend its borders. On the other hand, this film also shows the more rural community working in the fields, a choir singing and the children playing in traditional clothing in the countryside. There is a level of naivety and innocence in this film as there is still a sense of community which can be perceived from this footage, whether it be rural people working, choir singing or children playing, it acts as a signifier to show these people having a close bond which contrasts to the subtle inclusion of the Siegfried Line within the footage that served to divide the international community in preparation for war.



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T.H. Brown was an amateur filmmaker as he filmed for his own enjoyment and for non-profit purposes and as his films include family events and holiday films showing more public events, so there is a mixture of personal, private, family and community bonds into which the audience are given an insight. However, he also captured events during his filming that have had a lasting historical impact. Despite being an amateur filmmaker many of his films were scripted and edited with intertitles. Furthermore, T.H. Brown's films show the audience an insight into European affairs in the build up to WWII that not many amateur filmmakers were able to recognise, certainly not capture. What makes the films of T.H. Brown unique is the

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<sup>152</sup>Spykman, N. J. 1942. Frontiers, security, and international organization. *Geographical Review*, 32(3), pp. 436-447.

<sup>153</sup> *Movie 24: Belgium and Holland August 1939*. 1939. [Film]. Thomas Henry Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10491). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16185> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



collaboration between him and his wife Kate Brown who often had a role in scripting his films and thus made her role as important as his within the filmmaking process<sup>154</sup>.

An example of professional propaganda that was filmed in 1939 is *Britain, Peace and Propaganda*<sup>155</sup>. This film was aimed at America to persuade them to join the war effort. The film depicts British patriotism, values, and standards, through showing a replica of the coronation crown, and soldiers. One of the lines used in this deliberate propaganda states that “occupying a greater area than any other participant in the fair are the buildings of the British Commonwealth of nations.. England is more desirous of promoting US goodwill and friendship than at any time since her dark days of 1914. The theme of the exhibit is the common bond linking England and the United States”<sup>156</sup>. This is accompanied by propaganda imagery of the British flag and an exhibit of the Magna Carta. The aim of this propaganda is to target the imagined British and American national community, through deliberately playing upon the bond and nationalism that has brought England and America together since WWI. In this film the imagined and cultural community are utilised to bring England and America together in their sense of comradeship; their national and even international ties that the countries have had since WWI. Both these films by T.H. Brown and the propaganda by *The Times* demonstrate an awareness that Britain had towards what was happening in Europe and the dangers that lay ahead. On one hand, this film is deliberately a piece of propaganda to encourage America to go to war and *The Times* who produced this film are aware of the danger that Germany poses and need for American assistance. Alternatively, the film by T.H. Brown showing the Siegfried line has more of a subtle message against WWII that is aimed at capturing what was happening rather than a deliberately targeted message. Although, with hindsight, it is not clear how many people saw this film that T.H. Brown captured in that context and how many would have understood the context, it is only with contemporary archiving that these deeper readings of the film can be interpreted in this way by modern audiences. T.H. Brown chose to capture this footage and demonstrate what was happening for a purpose, even though he was just an amateur filmmaker. To conclude, the values encouraged through the films of T.H. Brown demonstrate the awareness of what was happening in Germany from his perspective. These both share the values of Anderson’s *Imagined Community* where patriotism is reflected through national propaganda and concentration on national symbols of unity in this footage,

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<sup>154</sup>Brown, Antony. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of T.H. Brown*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Middlesbrough, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>155</sup>*Britain, Peace and Propaganda*. 1939. [Film]. Time the Weekly Magazine. United Kingdom: British Film Institute. Available from: <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-britain-peace-and-propaganda-1939-online> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

although the imagined community may not have been consciously depicted in T.H. Brown's footage.

In contrast to these depictions leading up to war, there are numerous films towards the end of the 1930s that particularly concentrate upon the private unit comprising family and friends, including *1937 Out 1938 In*<sup>157</sup>. This film focuses on the *gemeinschaft* close community type relations within the community and the distinction between working and middle classes. This film was by Mr Folliot Ward, who was from an upper-middle class background as a solicitor and councillor in Malton. This footage shows the family life and various social events. There are also intertitles that indicate the social class of the people with the intertitle stating: "New Year's Eve/ 1939 the House of Lords", men then look towards the camera in suits and smoking a pipe in a saloon bar. These intertitles are then followed by "New Year's Eve 1938/9 The House of Commons". This intertitle is quickly followed by one man balancing some beer on another man's head in a public bar, demonstrating in some respects the difference in etiquette between these two classes although obviously this film was made in a jovial fashion. This demonstrates the political and class distinction that existed between the House of Lords with the men smoking pipes in a saloon bar in contrast with the House of Commons drinking beer in a public house, between the upper classes and lower classes. The difference between these bars is that the saloon bar was perceived as respectable whereas a public bar could have had the reputation of being the domain for the 'working man'. The final shot captures people hugging and smiling at the camera. This footage from 1939, prior to the outbreak of World War Two, contrasts with later footage by Mr Folliot-Ward that concentrates on the family unit and their private bonds, as well as the evacuees rather than social gatherings with groups of adults which did not seem to occur (at least in the evenings) during WWII for many reasons. This film is jovial, does not pre-empt what was happening in Europe or how community bonds would be altered and changed from these events. This suggests a level of accuracy and authenticity in the film, as, unlike other filmmakers, they did not pre-empt what was happening. In these gatherings that are depicted the older generations often demonstrated their wealth and middle class by being in the lounge or saloon bars, which were seen as more genteel and respectable than public bars. The younger generations of more working-class individuals were more often seen in a public bar in the same pub, which was the area of the working classes. Women were not seen in public bars because of the bars'

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<sup>157</sup> *1937 Out 1938 In*. 1937-1938. [Film]. Mr Folliot Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1976). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3904> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]



lowly reputation or they might have been barred depending on the establishment, as these bars were for working men. The distinction between the lounge bar and public bar in the pub could have been the source of the 'Lords and Commons' joke in this film<sup>158</sup>. It further demonstrates the imagined community, as well as the distinction between working and middle class. This is firstly through showing the different bar areas and also showing people's patriotic ideals on a national scale and on a local scale by using this joke in reference to the national institution and differences between the House of Commons and House of Lords in a tongue in cheek manner. Therefore, there is a mixture of working- and middle-class identity and certainly strong community bonds present in this film. These bonds and values altered during WWII as these social gatherings were no longer possible, firstly because communities were dispersed and secondly because of the blackout on evenings throughout the United Kingdom<sup>159</sup>.

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<sup>158</sup>These pubs would have had a reputation of being 'rough' or 'respectable' depending upon their clients and where the pub was. This is referenced in a piece of fictional WWII propaganda *The Goose Steps Out* about mistaken identity, in the infamous classroom scene, where Nazi students are told to discuss war news in an English pub. This film also demonstrates the *gemeinschaft* as the local community are having fun, smoking pipes, drinking beer and being able to have these tongue in cheek jokes between members of the community who are in the pub. Please see source: *The Goose Steps Out*. 1942. Directed by Bill Hay and Basil Dearsden. United Kingdom: Ealing Studios.

<sup>159</sup>Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.



yfa  
**NEW YEAR'S EVE  
1938·9  
THE  
HOUSE OF LORDS**



yfa  
**NEW YEAR'S EVE  
1938·9  
THE HOUSE OF  
COMMONS**

In contrast to the above examples leading up to war and made a year after *1937 Out and 1938 In* was *Rachel Discovers the Sea*<sup>161</sup> which is an amateur film that depicts a family's seaside holiday in Whitby and Filey. This continues the jovial tone that was depicted within the previous film, *1937 Out and 1938 In*<sup>162</sup>. This concentrates upon Rachel, Charles Chislett's daughter's first visit to the seaside. The film depicts Rachel's first visit to the seaside through a mixture of medium shots and close-ups of a family holiday to Scarborough. What may not have been the filmmaker's intention is the depiction of innocence through Rachel's initial discovery of the sea. Chislett made a speech when he showed his film in 1939, stating that he viewed as himself being 'a fond parent'...He goes on to describe his intentions as being to portray, 'a world where everything is new and exciting and full of thrilling possibility, yet so delicate that it may be destroyed by the careless word of an unsympathetic dictator.'<sup>163</sup>. Chislett often showed his films to a church going audience, it being part of this local community's experience to see films. This suggests that Chislett was aware of what was happening in society and contrasted this depiction of innocence with the buildup prior to World War Two. Chislett was a bank manager at Williams Deacons in Rotherham and later at the Royal Bank of Scotland; Chislett was also a very skilled filmmaker, working from the 1930s to 1967. He was a member of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. Although he never made his films for profit he was an avid participant in his local community and his films concentrated primarily upon members of his family. Meanwhile, Britain was on the precipice before the outbreak of war, with Germany occupying Czechoslovakia in March 1939. In Spring 1939 Britain and France signed a pact to protect the integrity of Poland should it be invaded, then on September 1<sup>st</sup> Poland was invaded, and on 3<sup>rd</sup> September the United Kingdom declared war<sup>164</sup>. Therefore, in these films the connection of innocence and community bond between the filmmakers and their family demonstrates how people were continuing with their lives as best as they could in contradiction to the violent events that were occurring in Europe building up to World War Two.

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<sup>160</sup> *1937 Out 1938 In*. 1937-1938. [Film]. Mr Folliot Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1976). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3904> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>161</sup> *Rachel Discovers the Sea*. 1939. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 354). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/857> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>162</sup> *1937 Out 1938 In*. 1937-1938. [Film]. Mr Folliot Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1976). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3904> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>163</sup> *Rachel Discovers the Sea*. 1939. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 354). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/857> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>164</sup> Brown, Jr, W. O., & Burdekin, R. C. 2002. German debt traded in London during the Second World War: a British perspective on Hitler. *Economica*, 69(276), pp. 655-669.

This film, although it was amateur footage, depicts an idyllic image of the private family that is innocent prior to WWII, and deliberately contradicts the building tensions that were occurring prior to WWII. For example, as Zimmerman states<sup>165</sup>, these films are often created for smaller audiences and not with a specific purpose of propaganda, the intention of these films was more to capture people continuing with their lives as usual despite the changing circumstances within Europe.



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<sup>165</sup>Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 46.

<sup>166</sup>*Rachel Discovers the Sea*. 1939. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 354). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/857> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

In contrast to the innocence that is depicted within Chislett's film, the *Sheffield Peace March*<sup>167</sup> was filmed three years earlier in 1936 by Brian Pickersgill to highlight the dangers of war. This film is separated into two sections, the first of which depicts the marches in high angle medium shot and tracking long shot occurring through Sheffield with men and women holding placards including signs saying 'construction not destruction', accompanied by intertitles stating, "March for Peace" and "Men, women and young people hold mass meetings against war". What is particularly significant is how many women were involved in this Peace March against war as men can be seen protesting alongside large numbers of women within this film. The second half of this film consists of newspaper cuttings creating an image of the events and to increase fear such as 'defence against gas', 'Paris fears' and 'We must settle with Germany' to create an representation of what was occurring in Europe; this is then intercut with images of a dead tree, fire, a skull and weapons of war, and the final intertitle ends with 'No More War'. This film is clearly propaganda against war. The background of Pickersgill is largely unknown, although he did produce the film for the Sheffield and District Workers' Film Society.

The importance of propaganda in film was recognised to be hugely important for communicating political objectives and in 1937 the Co-operative Movement created the National Co-operative Film Society, and a year after the Co-operative movement had started to become involved in film. This captures an interesting snapshot of what happened as this anti-war stance on the left was also shifting in favour of anti-fascism<sup>168</sup>. This included depicting those from working-class backgrounds in collaboration with the Labour Party. In 1938 this was accompanied by the Worker's Film Association and these films would have been involved with the Sheffield and District Workers' Film Society<sup>169</sup>. This film appears to be propaganda as it was clearly filmed to persuade the audience of a certain argument, although the audience who viewed this footage is unknown and this was produced on what was a small local scale. However, defining propaganda on a local scale is difficult as the local media depict local events, so although amateur propaganda may exist with a small audience on a local scale this may differ from professional propaganda on a national scale<sup>170</sup>. Thus from watching this film

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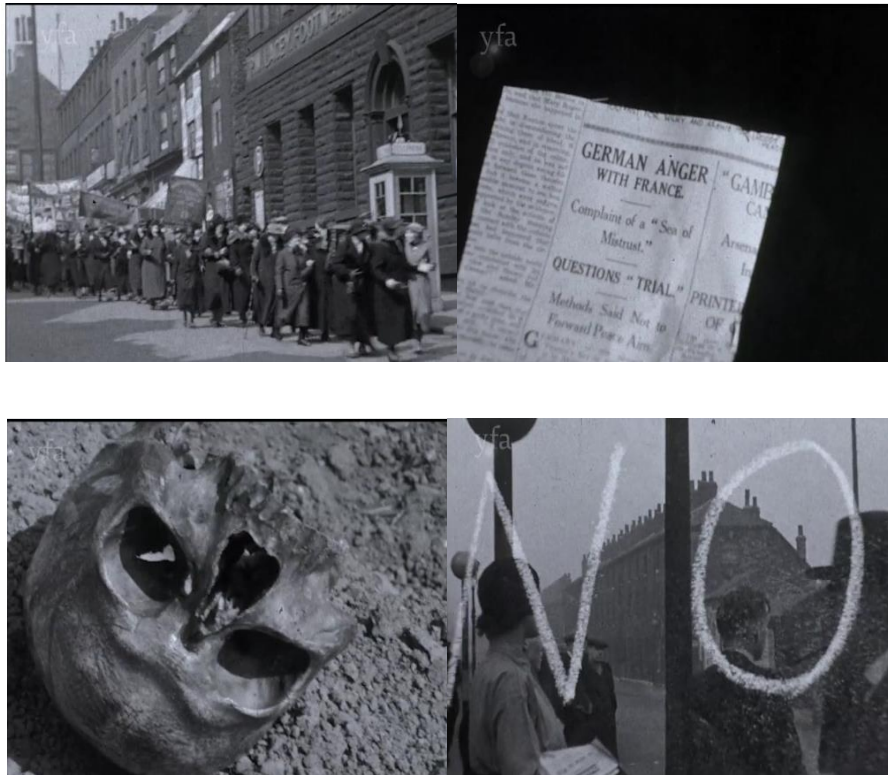
<sup>167</sup> *Sheffield Peace March*. 1936. [Film]. Brian Pickersgill. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3143). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6249> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>168</sup> Gottlieb, J. V. 2012. 'Broken Friendships and Vanished Loyalties': Gender, Collective (In) Security and Anti-Fascism in Britain in the 1930s. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 13(2), pp. 197-219.

<sup>169</sup> Burton, A. 2005, *The British Consumer Co-operative Movement and film 1890s-1960s*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>170</sup> McQuail, D. 1999. Solidarity and Social Identity. In: *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: SAGE publications. p. 268.

audiences can see how the working class unified against the idea of war, and also that there was an awareness of the events in Europe, as demonstrated through this propaganda and can be perceived through footage such as T.H. Brown's *A Tour of Central Europe*<sup>171</sup>. However, the viewing of *A Tour of Central Europe* would only be limited to those within the local community as this was an amateur film and not produced for propaganda purposes. The number of women in *Sheffield Peace March* is as pictured below<sup>172</sup>:




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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> *Sheffield Peace March*. 1936. [Film]. Brian Pickersgill. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3143). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6249> [Accessed 26th April 2021]





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This shot is dominated by women. This is an urban working class being mobilised to protest under the banner of a liberal political movement, which is significant regarding the politicisation of the working-class local community in Sheffield at the time. To a certain extent this allows the audience to perceive a deeper understanding behind the film of the politicisation of working classes under the Labour Party in Sheffield, as well as how the local community came together for one stronger national and political cause<sup>174</sup>. This film is fundamentally different to the depiction within other films, where what is shown in private or within middle class households may differ quite drastically to these more public films and include the political involvement of women and the working classes. On the one hand, amateur films demonstrate the private events and can give the audience a greater insight into what happens in private households, whereas what this propaganda demonstrates is the wider working-class movement and unification to prevent war and their awareness of what was happening overseas. There was a large working class in Sheffield involved with the production of all types of steel<sup>175</sup>, which suggests a large amount of support for this Labour led Peace March. This is firstly due to the loss of life that occurred in WWI and secondly could be connected to the munition manufacturing that would occur within Sheffield should another war break out<sup>176</sup>. For example, during WWII Billy Ibberson's<sup>177</sup> knife manufacturing factory was used to produce knives for services for the sailors and commandos, as well as spare parts for spitfires and heliograph mirrors for signalling, rather than just normal cutlery. Through watching this, to a

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Burton, A. 2005, *The British Consumer Co-operative Movement and film 1890s-1960s*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>175</sup> Charlesworth, S. J. 2000. Rotherham: history, demography and place. In: *A phenomenology of working-class experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 32-63.

<sup>176</sup> Braybon, G., & Summerfield, P. 2013. Part One: The First World War. In: *Out of the cage: Women's experiences in two world wars*. London: Routledge. pp. 8 -115.

<sup>177</sup> Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.



public audience it demonstrates the wider mobilisation of women and working class, and thus demonstrates why propaganda was necessary to produce a more in-depth understanding of communities. Additionally, this piece of propaganda depicts the working-class community and women, and to a certain extent these bring together the imagined community on a local scale, as they are all protesting to defend the rights of the national community and showing how these differing local groups from Sheffield have worked together to achieve the same goal.

On the other hand, to add to this depiction of the working classes there were other filmmakers at the time who originated from skilled manual working-class backgrounds that produced amateur films which showed different areas. Ernest Horton was a Rotherham steelworker who only made one film in the YFA. This film is entitled *Chapters in Our Lives- Horton Family*<sup>178</sup> and focuses upon the family events of the Horton family between 1938-1950 just prior to WWII and just afterwards. Ernest was a skilled manual worker who started as a steelworker in Rotherham but then went on to construct wagons in his later years<sup>179</sup>; he was exempt from military duty as he was in a protected profession.

As stated by a family member, he came from: “A working class family... I think his dad worked at the steelworks, and then Dad [Ernest Horton] worked at the steelworks when he grew up but he was working from about 13. His mum took him out of school. He was the eldest of the three. So she took him out of school to...[so mum’s told me all that]...to earn some money. To help. The other two went to grammar school.... So he had a good job at the steelworks...It was a dangerous job, he was what you called a steel slitter so it was dangerous and hot”, whereas later he changed job, “He worked at the pit... he wasn’t a miner, he worked on the surface. He was a wagon repairer...”<sup>180</sup>. Therefore, Ernest could be perceived to be from a skilled manual working-class background, depending on his position in the hierarchy where he worked. He was able to produce films as he was passionate about making them. Ernest saved his money from working from an early age, so even though he only had a skilled manual job his savings allowed him to purchase filmmaking equipment. His film is in colour and focuses on his two young daughters, Margaret and Vera, on their bikes, in the garden, playing with their toy dog and playing with their toys around the Christmas tree, then in 1950

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<sup>178</sup>*Chapters in Our Lives- Horton Family*. 1938-1950. [Film]. Ernest Horton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2169). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4273> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>179</sup> Driver, Vera. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Ernest Horton*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Doncaster, 18<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>180</sup>Ibid.

the film depicts a family holiday to Flamborough Head with the girls swimming in the sea. On the one hand, the film demonstrates the domestic life in the area and development of a family, as they grow and their activities which do not differ from those of the upper classes as portrayed in the film. Alternatively, this film was shot in 9.5mm that was cheaper stock than 16mm<sup>181</sup>, which to some extent this demonstrates the different background that Ernest came from. The film stock indicates the background of Ernest Horton but other than the type of film being used there is nothing that would make these films different from those of other filmmakers in the same time from an amateur perspective. There was also a 6-year break in his filming between 1941- 1947, due to the rationing of film stock<sup>182</sup>. This film demonstrates that amateurs from skilled respectable working-class backgrounds had the means to produce films in the 1930s. However, they were limited due to the stock that was used and the quantity of films being made, which suggests how class may have affected and limited portrayal of community in this context. There were many upper-middle class filmmakers who did not film during WWII because of the rationing that occurred in Britain. This amateur film footage gives the audience an insight into the private life of Horton, his family and what activities they did, and shows the audience what activities the working classes did in this time. Although Horton's occupation was relatively working class, and this film is based in Rotherham, most of the film is shot in a relatively rural countryside locations which makes it difficult to categorise his films as showing the working classes. Therefore, this film mainly gives the audience an insight into the private family lives of working classes just before and after WWII, even though it is hard to distinguish what makes the activities of the working classes any different to those of the middle classes.

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<sup>181</sup> Kattelle, A. D. 1986. The Evolution of amateur motion picture equipment 1895-1965. *Journal of Film and Video*, pp. 47-57.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid.



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The increase in the number of filmmakers that were considered to be from the skilled manual working class continued in the 1930s for those who were passionate about their pursuit of filmmaking. Their movement into filmmaking coincided with the national documentary movement that occurred in the 1930s, where their aim was to educate others about society. The aim of these films was to highlight the work of the working classes, evidently using middle-class narrators, so seemed to some extent a condescending, top-down exploration into the working classes. In 1936, *Night Mail*<sup>184</sup> highlighted the work of postal workers, and praised the work of working-class men. This film was produced by the GPO Film Unit which would later go on to be part of the MOI. This film shows various types of workers,

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<sup>183</sup> *Chapters in Our Lives- Horton Family*. 1938-1950. [Film]. Ernest Horton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2169). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4273> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>184</sup> *Night Mail*. 1936. [Film]. Harry Watt and Basil Wright. United Kingdom: General Post Office.

including men working with pickaxes, postal workers, railway conductors and workers in the control room for the railway station. This film gives the audience a sense of the imagined national community through looking at what is a working class community, by showing people working hard in their labour, and gives a cross section of different areas of postal work to show how they are collaborating. The aim of this film was to make the working man a hero on screen and show this national sense of community through different groups working together to achieve the same purpose by delivering the night mail<sup>185</sup>.



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Although this film was fairly successful it was not until the dawn of WWII in the early 1940s, and with the inclusion of the films of Humphrey Jennings, that the documentary movement had a large impact nationally<sup>187</sup>. The growth of the documentary movement expanded due to propaganda in WWII as will be examined in the next chapter.

To conclude, it appears that the 1920s and 1930s reveal several factors about the community and identity. The 1920s was the decade of the Economic Depression, and it was also when 16mm was developed as stock and sold commercially, thus making filmmaking more accessible for amateur filmmakers. Further to this, the 1930s allowed women to step into filmmaking, although there was only really Lucy Fairbank and Hannchen Drasdo who made films in this time. Women such as Amy Johnson provided role models for women in the 1920s and 1930s, but yet again, she had an upper-middle class upbringing. Kate Brown was the wife of T.H. Brown and produced many of the scripts for the films that were made by the Teesside Cine Club, and like Amy Johnson she was a rarity as a woman with a BA degree.

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<sup>185</sup>Ibid.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Deacon, M. 26 July, 2011. The British Documentary Movement. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8660672/The-British-Documentary-Movement.html> [Accessed 27th October 2018]

Overall, the 1930s provided some small liberation for women as they were able to contribute more conductively within society and filmmaking; although this is only suggested through the limited number of examples that have been viewed in the film archives. Another community that emerged through the 1930s is the Jewish community who, despite the efforts of the BUF, have been represented as a strong, unified section of society, even having their own Judean community club to dispel myths regarding the Jewish members of society. During the First World War most of the films being made were produced by professional filmmakers from an upper-middle class background, whereas the 1920s and 1930s demonstrated a different type of community. In the 1920s and 1930s the knowledge and availability of footage saw the skilled manual working classes being able to produce films and be represented within them as well. This has expanded the contemporary understanding of various elements of communities through the expansion of filmmaking and broadening of communities. Furthermore, throughout the 1920s and 1930s the audience are given a greater insight into the private lives of the filmmakers and interspersed throughout most of the films are subtle indications of an imagined community, whether it be an idyllic community or those protesting for the rights of others these films reflect a strong element of patriotism. On top of reflecting nationalism many of the films demonstrate how the imagined and cultural community is represented locally, in both the films of the Jewish community, the various films of the cine-clubs and also the Sheffield Peace March that shows the local Sheffield community coming together and collaborating for one collective cause. This footage demonstrates a different perspective; rather than purely seeing films focused upon the public sphere such as parades, events, and propaganda, in this time audiences can see family events, birthdays, holidays and even Christmas time. The 1930s, in particular, have increased modern perceptions of the private sphere in amateur and professional films and have provided a more complex comprehension of life and community from all perspectives. As this section concludes towards the development and rising tensions of the WWII, it is crucial to use this framework to understand what happened between 1939 and 1950 and how this was depicted in both an amateur, professional, and home movies context.

## Chapter 5: World War Two

The interwar period, particularly after 1923<sup>1</sup>, was a time when amateur filmmaking increased in popularity leading up to WWII. People gained more access to affordable filmmaking equipment and took these cameras with them when they travelled abroad. Amateur filmmakers used their cameras to document their travel experiences in the same way that previous generations had catalogued this through art or written means<sup>2</sup>. These amateur filmmakers also documented the unstable atmosphere in Europe leading up to WWII. These films gave the audience a wider understanding of the dynamics of these communities on a public and private level in the UK and abroad.

WWII changed the dynamics of filmmaking as most luxuries were rationed, and it was more difficult to obtain film stock. As a result of this there were fewer films produced by amateur filmmakers<sup>3</sup>. This chapter examines amateur and professional filmmakers during WWII and what their films show us about the changing dynamics within communities. There are four main areas for analysis: films about the private lives and families of amateur filmmakers; the increasing lack of distinction between amateur and professional propaganda films; professional national propaganda films during WWII; and films made by women. The main difference between amateur and professional films was that professional films were often distributed to a wider audience; however, regarding amateur films and amateur films with professional qualities the reception was unknown and could have been limited to just family. So, the impact of these changes in filmmaking is variable. The first area is films in the private sphere of amateur filmmakers, where the 1930s was the first time that audiences saw the private lives of amateur filmmakers and their relationships with their families. In this chapter audiences see an increasing number of amateur filmmakers who solely focus on their families within their films to the extent where war is deliberately excluded from some of their films. The second area is the altering boundaries between amateur and professional propaganda films; this is where amateur films during WWII adopt similar replicable qualities and filmmaking techniques to encourage recruitment that were previously only seen within professional propaganda. The third area is professional national propaganda, which had powerful influence

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<sup>1</sup> Swanson, D. 2003. Inventing Amateur Film: Marion Norris Gleason, Eastman Kodak and the Rochester Scene, 1921-1932. *Film History*, 15(2), pp. 126-136. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3815505>

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, H. N. 2004. At home and abroad with cine enthusiasts: Regional amateur filmmaking and visualizing the Mediterranean, ca. 1928–1962. *GeoJournal*, 59(4), pp. 323-333.

<sup>3</sup> Burrige, J. D. 2008. The dilemma of frugality and consumption in British women's magazines 1940–1955. *Social Semiotics*, 18(3), pp. 389-401.

over audiences in WWII and was prevalent as there were 30 million weekly admissions to cinemas in 1944 and 1945<sup>4</sup>. The fourth area is films made by women, where films were made by a small minority of women during WWII and focused on both the public and private spheres. These four areas are the focus of this chapter.

The changes that happened in these areas in filmmaking in WWII included a distinct shift from amateur to professional filmmaking. One reason for this was that amateur filmmakers produced propaganda films that encouraged people to believe in the war and to participate in it. These films were also replicating what was depicted within national propaganda, that was watched by audiences of up to 30 million. This was done by showing how the qualities and values of the imagined community were represented on a smaller scale within more constructed local communities. There was a changing distinction between what films were professional and what films were amateur during WWII, because amateur filmmakers were increasingly producing films that acted as propaganda and captured public events. Meanwhile, professional films were often high quality films, made by a group of people who edited and scripted films, and these films were made to be sold for a profit, more of a detailed explanation of professional films can be found in chapter 2.4. In WWII amateur filmmaking still existed but there was more of an overlap between amateur, professional, and propaganda footage covering wartime events. This growth in filmmaking was accompanied by an increase in professional propaganda that was made by the GPO or Crown Film Unit and that had the primary intention of encouraging people to become involved in war, one of these ways being through enlistment. Cinema propaganda plays an important role towards the end of this section as part of the Ministry of Information (MOI), whose aim was to “present the national case to the public at home and abroad”<sup>5</sup>. The films from the MOI are films focusing on the home front from the documentary movement that had the nation’s interests at heart. Films in WWII also had a large audience of up to 30 million weekly admissions. The overall aim of these films on a national and international scale was to convince the public of the brutality and wicked nature of Germans, and to bring together the wholesome British community<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, in Yorkshire and the films during WWII, there were other amateur filmmakers who, rather than focusing on national or international events, increasingly turned their camera inwards, focusing on family bonds and the private lifestyles of families, as

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<sup>4</sup> Glancy, M. 2011. Picturegoer: the fan magazine and popular film culture in Britain during the Second World War. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. XXXI(4):p. 453.

<sup>5</sup> McLaine, I. 1979. *Ministry of morale: Home front morale and the ministry of information in World War II*. London: Allen & Unwin. p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Aldgate, A. and Richards, J. 2007. “Went the Day Well?” In: *Britain can take it: the British cinema in the Second World War*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 133.

many of the people who could afford to make film and had the resources focused on making films with their families and people in their immediate communities. There is a notable absence of war in these films, as some films only focus on private family scenes. There was only a small number of these amateur films and home movies made between 1939-1945 that concentrated solely on families. Furthermore, some amateur films included family and community events, but also captured an element of war such as gasmasks or the evacuation as an unwitting element of their film.

There were several films made by female filmmakers, most of which had a connection to teaching. Although these films are in the minority, they developed from the initial female filmmakers in the 1930s. They give an in-depth perception of women as filmmakers, in their working lives and at home, and these filmmakers are investigated later within the chapter. There are no films made by Jewish filmmakers in this period in the YFA. There are a multitude of potential reasons for this; firstly, Jewish filmmakers in the YFA were in the minority and some of these filmmakers fought in WWII so could not make films<sup>7</sup>. From what was established in the interwar period and what happened during WWII, communities were different in WWII than in the interwar period and in WWI. This chapter explores the communities during WWII, the private films of amateur filmmakers, the shifting dynamics between amateur and professional filmmaking, and the films of female filmmakers.

Most people were terrified of reliving the events of WWI and knew of the toll war could take. There were also different forms of media in WWI than in WWII. Although factual film was popular in the form of newsreels during WWI, most of the propaganda was newspaper led and through propaganda posters, at least until the end of WWI<sup>8</sup>. In contrast, during WWII, while newspaper and poster propaganda were still popular, radio was an essential component of propaganda (however radio propaganda is not analysed in this thesis) and propaganda films on a national scale played a large role. In 1944 and 1945 there were over 30 million weekly admissions to the cinema, out of a total British population of roughly 48 million<sup>9</sup>. Filmmaking and propaganda were more established and organised in WWII. Rather than being issued by many separate organisations, as had been the case in WWI, in WWII, the MOI headed most

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<sup>7</sup> Brosnan, M. 2018. What was the Holocaust. *Imperial War Museum*. Available from: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/what-was-the-holocaust> [Accessed 29th July 2020]

<sup>8</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Glancy, M. 2011. Picturegoer: the fan magazine and popular film culture in Britain during the Second World War. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. XXXI(4):p. 453.



of the propaganda nationally<sup>10</sup>. Filmmakers were more widely spread and not just professionally based. In WWI, filmmakers were primarily professional and produced films with the intention of them being sold and viewed as propaganda. In WWII, there was a variety of filmmakers from amateur and professional backgrounds, some of whom only filmed private scenes with their families which deliberately focused on family events and not the war. Other amateur filmmakers made films that acted as propaganda, while professional filmmaking showed a more diverse community than it had done previously. For example, the documentary movement focused on the working classes but often from a top-down perspective<sup>11</sup>. WWI had changed the role of many people, including the working classes, middle classes, and upper-middle classes, and made them more equal<sup>12</sup>. Marwick reinforces this by stating: “it does distinctly appear that a permanent levelling of standards was effected”<sup>13</sup>. The role of women changed between WWI and WWII, as women had more voting rights after WWI and more working opportunities, in some cases to work in male dominated roles<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, women were in some ways still perceived in the same way as in WWI as in some pieces of poster propaganda they were still depicted in their traditional domestic roles as nurses or in a maternal context. This is represented in propaganda posters that are explored later within this chapter.

In the 1930s there was the looming spectre of war over Europe. This was captured by amateur filmmakers to some extent in the previous chapter<sup>15</sup>. It was clear that there was an awareness of what was happening as the amateur filmmakers towards the end of the 1930s noticed and documented the rise of the Nazi party and Hitler’s rise to power. World War Two changed everything, and everyone lived in fear of a repeat of World War One. Neville Chamberlain had tried almost everything through his appeasement in his hope to attain ‘peace for our time’<sup>16</sup>. Chamberlain agreed to Hitler’s demands over the Sudeten land, in hopes this

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<sup>10</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Jackson, K. 2004. The War Years 1939 to 1942: From First days to Fires were started. In: *Humphrey Jennings*, London: Picador. pp. 220-268.

<sup>12</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the first world war*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>13</sup> Marwick, A. 1968. The Impact of the First World War on British Society. *Journal of Contemporary History*, . 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> Todd, S. 2004. Young women, work and family in inter-war rural England. *The Agricultural History Review*, pp. 83-98.

<sup>15</sup> Please see films: *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *A Tour of Central Europe*. 1937.[Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10251). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/15990> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>16</sup> Hunt, L., Martin, T.R. & Rosenwein, B.H. 2004. *The Makings of the West*. Gloucestershire: Bedford Books.

would curb Hitler's ambition by agreeing to his terms. This failed, as on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 Germany invaded Poland, and Britain declared war on Germany on 3<sup>rd</sup> September<sup>17</sup>. British life altered drastically. In order to better prepare for the war against Germany, Britain replaced its existing national government with a Coalition Government in May 1940, containing factions of Conservative, Liberal and Labour politicians, with Winston Churchill at the head. However, Churchill was focused on winning the war and Ernest Bevin was the Minister of Labour. Although Churchill is most often remembered for his role in WWII, Attlee was deputy Prime Minister and Labour ran the domestic side of things. These Labour ideals permeated the intervention in the war as well, with filmmakers such as Humphrey Jennings even permeating propaganda after the war. This mixture of a wartime cabinet meant that there was no official voice during the war as part of the governmental and larger society side of *gesellschaft*. This in turn meant that there was a variety of messages coming from the government. The government began with an interventionist attitude towards the British people, as they had done in WWI. There were many ways in which the government intervened in people's lives, with evacuation and rationing being among the key policies that affected everyone's lives. Ironically, after WWII people missed the structure of war as there was nostalgia for the rhythm of war and the clear purpose people had that disappeared afterwards.

One of the initial steps in intervention was Operation Pied Piper, whereby 3.5 million children and teachers were moved in 1939 from large cities to the countryside; many were returned home in 1939 as there was no bombing, but after the Blitz a second wave of evacuation began in 1940. This caused different classes to mix and clash, as the middle-class occupants held a large role in housing, in some cases, both poor and unhygienic children<sup>18</sup>. As stated previously, Calder describes how 'one and a half million were decanted into the countryside'<sup>19</sup> and 'the official evacuees came disproportionately from the poorest strata of urban society'<sup>20</sup>. This mass evacuation differed drastically in comparison to WWI, when there was no evacuation on a national scale, so although communities mixed, this was often indirectly with people from foreign locations or soldiers from various locations<sup>21</sup>. The evacuation meant that people had to mix directly with children from different classes and locations as they became part of the local community and families, rather than more indirectly

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.40.

<sup>21</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion has a mixture of people from different locations in Yorkshire including: *5th Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

through soldiers moving in WWI. These groups mixing had a significant impact upon the region as, in particular, people from cities mixed with those from regional communities. It would more often be working class children who mixed with middle class families as families made their own private arrangements<sup>22</sup>. This changed the dynamics in various regions, such as Malton, where many children from cities arrived in the rural communities. This also changed the private sphere, as families became extended families where evacuees mixed and became integrated in the family unit. To a certain extent, the evacuees mixing within rural communities was an extension of the imagined community as people from different regions and communities perceived themselves to identify as being part of the same national cause.

The Battle of Britain was waged in British skies and the strategic bombing of the Blitz rained down upon the cities. (Fortunately, the threat of invasion decreased in the second half of WWII, especially when America declared war in 1941). The German blockade had a massive effect on food supplies in WWII<sup>23</sup>. This in part led to the next step of intervention with rationing which began in 1940 with bacon, butter and sugar and was extended to apply to all foods except vegetables by 1942<sup>24</sup>. The government intervened as the United Kingdom had imported 20 million tonnes of food per year up to 1939 and being an island the UK was heavily reliant upon importing items. For many poor people, the introduction of rationing was positive, their standard of life and food supply increased, and they had a better-balanced diet<sup>25</sup>. However, rationing was to get worse towards the end of WWII when commodities like clothing began to be rationed. Rather than buying new clothes people were encouraged to Make-do-and-mend<sup>26,27,28</sup>. Although these changes were difficult for people, there was a commonly held belief that the war effort needed to be prioritised above all else. This was perpetuated on a national scale. In 1940 Britain asked for American assistance and began their lend-lease

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Flinn, J. J. 2007. World War II Cookbooks: Rationing, Nutrition, Patriotism, and the Citizen Consumer in the United States and Great Britain. *Elements*, 3(1).

<sup>24</sup> Burridge, J. D. 2008. The dilemma of frugality and consumption in British women's magazines 1940–1955. *Social Semiotics*, 18(3), pp. 389-401.

<sup>25</sup> Flinn, J. J. 2007. World War II Cookbooks: Rationing, Nutrition, Patriotism, and the Citizen Consumer in the United States and Great Britain. *Elements*, 3(1).

<sup>26</sup> Dirix, E. 2010. *Beauty & the Blitz - WWII Fashion*. In: Under Attack - Lecture series, 7/12/2010, London: London Transport Museum. Available from: <https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/6338/> [Accessed 4<sup>th</sup> August 2020]

<sup>27</sup> Oulton, R. 2011. *British Wartime Food*. Cooks Info. May 3. 2011. Available from: <https://www.cooksinfo.com/british-wartime-food/> [Accessed 4<sup>th</sup> August 2020]

<sup>28</sup> Lightowler, H., & Macbeth, H. 2017. Nutrition, Food Rationing and Home Production in the UK during the Second World War. In: *Food in Zones of Conflict: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*, Collinson, P. & Macbeth, H. Eds. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Oxford: Bergahn books. pp. 107-121.

agreement in March 1941 whereby American helped with food, oil, material, warships, and planes. The agreement essentially ended America's philosophy of neutrality, as it supplied allied forces with resources. The lend-lease agreement worked on the pretence that the material was used until it could be returned, or was destroyed<sup>29</sup>. On top of the lend-lease agreement the nation also accrued a large amount of debt as Britain had borrowed \$3.75 billion from America in 1945, after the US abruptly terminated the lend-lease on the end of the war<sup>30</sup>. Britain as a nation was in a position of poverty.

During WWII Britain was essentially bankrupt but there was virtually no unemployment. As part of this 'Total War' effort, women had important roles as they were mobilised to work in factories, the Auxiliary Fire Service, the ARP, as nurses, as housewives and volunteers in areas such as the Women Voluntary Services and Salvation Army. There was a minority of middle-class female filmmakers who had a connection to teaching during WWII, although their films were mainly of their private family lives. Men were in various factions such as conscription as soldiers, working in factories, working in the Home Guard, and many other roles. People in the city worked hard producing munitions and many worked hard in rural locations such as in the Land Army<sup>31</sup>. WWII was truly a People's war as it affected every aspect of people's lives: women, children, food, people in the country and people in the city felt the effects of the war<sup>32</sup>. The Representation of the People Act 1928 meant that women and men were able to vote from age 21<sup>33</sup>, and the country going into WWII was more unified from a class perspective than in WWI. The Representation of People Act was progressive for women as it changed their role from being considered as occupying traditional domestic and caring roles to an expanded role within the workplace alongside men. This helped women become closer to being considered equal to men<sup>34</sup>. According to Taylor, 'No one in 1945 wanted to go back to 1939'<sup>35</sup>. World War Two changed Britain drastically: it changed communities, which became more diverse and multicultural; it changed women's role by propelling them into the workforce; it forced classes to mix and propaganda to address the diverse class groups more so than WWI; and finally rationing and the collapse of France meant that everything was in short

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<sup>29</sup>Black, C. 2003., *Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Champion of Freedom*, New York: Public Affairs,

<sup>30</sup> Grant, P. A. 1995. President Harry S. Truman and the British Loan Act of 1946. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 25 (3): pp. 489–96.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>33</sup> Thackeray, D. 2013. From Prudent Housewife to Empire Shopper: party appeals to the female voter, 1918–1928. In *The Aftermath of Suffrage*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 37-53.

<sup>34</sup> Freedman, E. B. 1974. The new woman: Changing views of women in the 1920s. *The Journal of American History*, 61(2), pp. 372-393.

<sup>35</sup> Cole, R. 1993. 'Land of Hope and Glory': *English History, 1914-1945 (1965)*, In: A.J.P. Taylor: *The Traitor Within the Gates*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 227.

supply and would remain so until 1954<sup>36</sup>. This had a consequential effect upon filmmakers, as there was only a small amount of amateur female filmmaking between 1939-1945. It also restricted film stock and filmmaking, returning it almost to how it had been in the 1920s, and limiting it to those who could afford it or had stockpiled it prior to 1939. This somewhat confined the audience's understanding of events from these perspectives. Similarly, many amateur films that were produced were of the domestic sphere or crossed the boundary between amateur and professional propaganda, covering different sections of communities including the Home Guard and other civilian units. Thus, WWII changed the face of the United Kingdom and the face of filmmaking.

The previous chapter analysed the rapid expansion of amateur films to interpret changing perceptions of communities. The understanding of the various communities was increased through examining films from the skilled manual working classes, the upper-middle classes, and professional filmmakers. The interwar period highlighted previously unseen areas of communities including working class filmmakers, female filmmakers, and Jewish filmmakers. One of the filmmakers making films in the 1930s in the previous section was Folliot-Ward. Most of the filmmakers made films within the 1930s exclusively and did not make films between 1939-1945 or made only a few films from film reels they had saved prior to WWII. The films of Folliot-Ward cross the pre-war period into the middle of World War Two, and provide an illuminating perspective of what happened in Yorkshire during WWII. Folliot-Ward utilises these films to focus on his family and their relationship with the evacuees during this time, but in relation to wartime activities another amateur filmmaker of this period is Hickling. These two amateur filmmakers are part of the focus of the chapter that examines films made in WWII, as well as those in the previous chapter who were able to produce films. Similarly, the later section of this chapter will focus on female filmmakers who made films at the beginning of WWII, throughout WWII and afterwards. It will specifically focus upon the films of Kathleen Lockwood and Betty and Cyril Ramsden, who are highlighted in other research<sup>37</sup>. This time is revealing in so much as it demonstrates who could and could not make films, and what the films were of, which acts as a distinction of class within communities. Alternatively, in the 1930s there was less focus on propaganda within the exploration of community because of the huge expansion of filmmaking that took place within the 1930s;

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<sup>36</sup> Horwitz, S., & McPhillips, M. J. 2013. The reality of the wartime economy: More historical evidence on whether World War II ended the Great Depression. *The Independent Review*, 17 (3), pp. 325-347.

<sup>37</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 133-162.

whereas this chapter analyses more propaganda during WWII as it began to expand again. This chapter is split into two sections: the first examines films from amateur filmmakers produced during WWII and the second section analyses footage produced by professional film companies for the purposes of propaganda and film produced by amateur female filmmakers. Prior to the analysis of the chapter in these two sections a film from the documentary movement that inspired amateur filmmakers to make films that crossed the boundary between amateur and professional films is examined.

Firstly, it is important to look at a crucial film from the documentary movement that inspired the films of the amateur filmmaking to cross the boundary between amateur and professional filmmaking and the reflection of the imagined community. The popularity of the documentary movement proliferated in the late 1930s and 1940s with films such as *London Can Take It!*<sup>38</sup> that were clearly propaganda aimed at British and American audiences. However, this film was primarily aimed at American audiences, as the intention was to get the USA to declare war on Germany. The domestic title for the shorter version of this film was *Britain Can Take It!*<sup>39</sup>, which showed how the war affected all different types of people and not just London<sup>40</sup>. This film was made by the GPO Film Unit as part of the MOI. The intention of this film was to build morale and encourage recruitment by showing the imagined community working together during the Blitz. It refers to these communities as the 'People's War' and pays tribute to the volunteers, working classes, firefighters, air raid wardens, ambulance drivers and many others. Thus, it shows the audience the patriotic community coming together from many backgrounds during the Blitz to protect their country, in particular London. Instead of the rural countryside, this propaganda was focused on city people from a variety of backgrounds working together in the midst of WWII. The events in this film were narrated by Quentin Reynolds, an American war correspondent. The choice of an American commentator is deliberate to persuade America to join in WWII, with this film stressing how the British people are the greatest civilian army that is in existence. Reynolds refers to the bombings as the 'symphony of war' that plays in London every evening to draw together the imagined collective British community persevering under difficult circumstances. Audiences can see in this footage the devastation of war and the people from all walks of life being affected by war, demonstrating how it is classless. The united British community is demonstrated through this footage, but whether this was constructed purely for propaganda purposes is unknown. On the one hand, this propaganda was created deliberately to reinforce the unity of the British

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<sup>38</sup> *London Can Take It!* 1940. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

<sup>39</sup> *Britain Can Take It!* 1940. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit

<sup>40</sup> Jackson, K. 2004. *Humphrey Jennings*, London: Picador.

community. On the other hand, this depiction of national propaganda seems to be supported by what was filmed regionally in amateur footage that crosses the boundary between amateur and professional films. However, in home movies this does not appear to be depicted, instead there is some small focus upon public events but mainly upon family holidays at home.



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*Family Snapshots*<sup>42</sup> is the first piece of amateur footage to be examined in WWII and was produced by Mr Folliot-Ward, a local solicitor from Malton. There are varying readings that can be interpreted from this film as it depicts differing events prior to and during WWII. The establishing shot begins with Christmas at Thornton Le Dale, 1936, and there are multiple shots of the family smiling at the camera, with two members of the family smoking a pipe or cigarette. The focus then changes with the intertitle “The Younger Generation”, with the young children sat around, including David (in a sailor’s uniform), Heather and Wendy. As is often the case within amateur films during WWII this film focuses on the children<sup>43</sup> throughout. In addition, this is followed by shots of the coronation celebration at Rosewood house which was included within the intertitles. There are many films within the archives from 1937 that include the coronation as this event brought together communities<sup>44</sup>. Although there had been a lot of

<sup>41</sup> *London Can Take It!* 1940. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

<sup>42</sup> *Family Snapshots*. 1936-1942.[Film]. Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 1975). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3902> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>43</sup> Films that focus upon families and children during WWII are:

*Otter Hunting*. 1937-1939. [Film]. Mr Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1974). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3901> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *At The Seaside*. 1939.[Film]. Surgery. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4710). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9296> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]; *Crippled Children’s Outing* 1939. 1939. Director Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4818). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9499> [Accessed 24th April 2021] ; *Dales Days*. 1940. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 328). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/805> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>44</sup> Other films that show the coronation include:

*The Coronation: Newcastle Celebrations*. 1937. [Film]. Leslie Greaves and Mr Bartlett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 21209). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25995> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Wylam Coronation Celebrations May 12<sup>th</sup> 1937*. 1937. [Film]. Dr Swindale. United Kingdom:Yorkshire Film Archives (NEFA 22680).

support for the abdicated Edward VIII, particularly in deprived areas. Wendy and Heather, the Folliot-Ward children, are depicted within this film visiting the Tower of London as a crow sits beside them on a bench in 1938. However, later in 1940 the shots are primarily based in the home and garden of the Folliot-Wards' house or of the girls' school in Castle Howard. The initial reading demonstrates the home life of these girls and the evacuees that also resided with the Wards, with the mother of one of the children depicted sitting next to the lake in Castle Howard. In this film the national community seemed to be united through these events, the coronation was able to unite communities and can be seen in the archives as it was a nationally celebrated event, and the evacuation also affected people nationally. The evacuation split England in many respects as children in large cities were evacuated to rural countryside locations such as Malton and other locations, especially from areas like Hull, which was heavily bombed and the danger of bombing contributed towards the evacuation of children<sup>45</sup>. According to interviews with Heather Reynolds, the daughter of Folliot-Ward, from the programme *The Way We Were*<sup>46</sup>, she remembers an influx of evacuees who came to Malton, especially two evacuees who lived with her called Pat Burns and Eileen Morton. They arrived in 1940 when Heather was 9 years old. According to Heather her father briefly housed members of the ARP and was part of the urban council; overall these interactions benefited Heather's childhood and helped her grow up by interacting with older girls<sup>47</sup>. In addition, Heather stated that her upbringing was dutiful, and it appears she had an upper-middle class upbringing that led her to become a teacher. The events of WWII, through introducing evacuees into their family, built a more diverse community in Malton. This in most cases was beneficial, at least that was how Heather referred to it as the evacuees were like sisters to her<sup>48</sup>.

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Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/27471> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Harrogate Coronation Celebrations*. 1937.[Film]. Mr H.G. Sanders. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 25). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/240> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>45</sup> Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>46</sup> *The Way We Were Interview Rushes*. 2007. [Film]. ITV Documentary Series. United Kingdom: ITV.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.



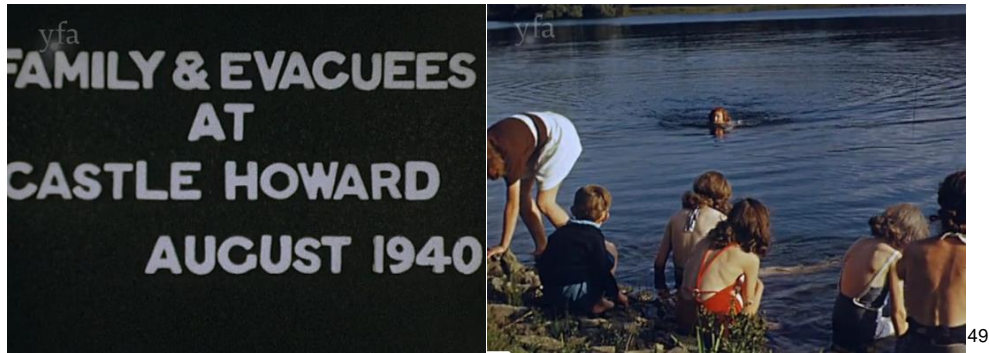
yfa  
**THE  
CORONATION  
AT  
ROSEWOOD  
MAY 1937**



yfa  
**WENDY & HEATHER  
IN LONDON  
MARCH 1938**

yfa  
**THEIR FIRST VISIT  
THE  
TOWER**





In WWII and prior to World War Two, the coronation and evacuation brought communities from different backgrounds and locations together. As can be seen from this film there are members from different communities mixing, for example, Wendy and Heather can be seen mixing with the evacuees from Middlesbrough, Saltburn and Redcar respectively. On the other hand, audiences cannot determine what background the other girls came from within the film. Similarly, this film allows the audience to view the private life of the Ward family, which would not have happened on a national scale other than through staged propaganda films. Mr Folliot-Ward was a local solicitor in Malton, so economically this to some extent was reflected through his housing of evacuee children. Further to this, his daughter, Heather, became a physical education teacher, reflecting the continuation of a middle class background for women. Although, this is an amateur film and not propaganda it represents the imagined community that was shown in wider national propaganda and constructs it (somewhat unconsciously) within real communities through showing the evacuees residing with Folliot-Ward. This may not have been what the filmmaker intended but it reflects a collective community that formed closed bonds as a result of the evacuation. These children are seen participating in family activities including seeing the sights and going to Castle Howard together, actions which would have been representative of other families during WWII<sup>50</sup>. What can largely be interpreted is that during WWII people's leisure time was home based. These

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<sup>49</sup> *Family Snapshots*. 1936-1942.[Film]. Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 1975). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3902> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>50</sup> Many holidays were at home during WWII, as can be seen in some of these films, as part of the holidays at home initiative: *Holidays at Home 3*. 1944. [Film] Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 754). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1609> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *Glimpses of Holidays*. 1941-1942. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 93). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/368> [Accessed 28th February 2021]; *Holidays at Home: Saltwell Park Gateshead*. 1944. [Film]. John W McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12584). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18100> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *Pot Pourri- York*. 1939-1946. [Film]. Director unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire film Archive (YFA 1725). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3416> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

films reveal that people could not travel to Europe in WWII<sup>51</sup>, whereas in the 1930s Europe was an area to which middle class people travelled. The close bondedness in this film between the children constructed an idea of the imagined community through the bringing together of multiple classes in the evacuation, but also an overriding sense of the *gemeinschaft* as there is an close connection between the evacuees and families they lived with.

Another film Folliot-Ward produced that shows this close bondedness and *gemeinschaft* during WWII was *ARP/Malton Evacuees*<sup>52</sup>, which depicts the arrival of the first evacuees in Malton. It shows Folliot-Ward's private life as he helped to organise homes for the evacuees in Malton and had two evacuee children staying with him at the beginning of the war. They were replaced by another three children later in the war. This film is not just a home movie, it moves into the boundary between amateur filmmaking and professional filmmaking, by showing scenes with people wearing gas masks and evacuees in Malton. The first intertitle states "Decontamination squad Malton May 1939", the camera shows a group of people from the ARP wearing gas masks, rubber suits, and boots hosing down the street. A crowd watch as the ARP spray the streets. In WWI Britain was bombed heavily with Zeppelins and other equipment, and a committee was set up after this known as the Air Raid Precautions<sup>53</sup>. Prior to WWII in 1937, the Air Wardens Service was started with the main brief of reporting bombs or other articles. This led to the creation of the Air Raid Precautions Act in 1938, which led to local authorities creating their own ARP for each area. In 1939, this was the time of the Phoney War where the ARP primarily gave out Anderson Shelters, gas masks and offered advice<sup>54</sup>.

The next intertitle reads "Government Evacuation Scheme, First Arrivals in Malton from Hull, 1st September 1939". Outside Malton Railway station, children wait to meet their hosts. These children were accompanied by nurses. The two children that stayed with Folliot-Ward were from Middlesbrough. Most of these children were sent home by Christmas 1939, as it was not until May 1941 when the real devastation hit Hull and Middlesbrough<sup>55</sup>. The next

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<sup>51</sup> Shin, H. 2015. Mobility under pressure: civilian rail traffic in Britain during WWII. *Forum for History of Consumer Culture*. Available from: <https://www-cc.gakushuin.ac.jp/~20070019/Abstract2014/21%20Shin.pdf> [Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> May]

<sup>52</sup> *A R P/Malton Evacuees*. 1939-1941. [Film]. Mr Folliot Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1982). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3914> [Accessed 3rd July 2021]

<sup>53</sup> Thomas, R. 2016. *Civil Defence: From the First World War to the Cold War*. London: Historic England. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170228182456/https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/iha-civil-defence/heag145-civil-defence-iha.pdf/> [Accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2020]

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Atkinson, D. 2017. Trauma, resilience and utopianism in World War II Hull, in D. Starkey, D. A. Atkinson, B. McDonagh, S. McKeon, and E. Salter (eds.) *Hull: Culture, History, Place*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press pp. 238-269

intertitle states: “Pat Burns and Eileen Morton of St Mary’s Convent School Middlesbrough with our children, dogs and croquet garden, Rosewood 8 Sept. 1939”. The two evacuees that stayed with the Folliot-Ward family can be seen playing croquet in the garden and posing in a family picture with the dogs. The next scenes show the girls from St Mary’s Convent playing netball against Malton Grammar school, the fact that they were in a convent school playing against a grammar school giving some indication to their upper-middle class status. Pat, Eileen and Sheelagh Cox are watching the netball match. It could have been quite a cultural shock for Pat and Eileen coming from an inner-city catholic school in Middlesbrough to a rural Grammar School in Malton. There would have been a class difference, as primarily the upper classes would have attended grammar school. Ironically, after the Blitz would have been a good time for the girls to go into cities. Grammar schoolgirls from the upper-middle classes could easily join the WRENS, who were part of the Royal Naval Service, which was a prestigious role<sup>56</sup>.

These scenes at Malton Grammar school are followed by scenes showing the family at Castle Howard standing on the frozen lake together on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1940 and laughing as they struggle to stand on the ice. The next scene shows the girls grouped together at St Mary’s Convent, putting on a co-ordinated P.E. display for various people in the crowd. There is then an intertitle of a “Church Parade at St Michael’s 19 Nov 1939, Northumberland Fusiliers”, where the Fusiliers parade through Malton. This is intercut with an intertitle “The 5<sup>th</sup> West Yorks”, and the 5<sup>th</sup> West Yorkshire band play their instruments through the streets of Malton. The camera then cuts to the Folliot-Ward family watching the procession and some soldiers smiling at the camera, reflecting the jovial atmosphere of the parade. This shows the mixture between the public and private life of Folliot-Ward.

The final part of the film cuts to an intertitle “Home for Christmas! Newlands Convent School 20 Dec. 1939”, as a large group of girls, all in school uniform, look at the camera, at Malton Railway station, ready to go home. It then shows an intertitle of “Eileen Morton”, which is followed by a shot of her in uniform and an intertitle and shot of “Pat Burns”. Both evacuee girls that grew to be part of Folliot-Ward’s family are waiting to go home for Christmas. There is then another intertitle for a group “Home for Christmas! Hull Commercial College 22 Dec 1939”, and more girls posing for the camera. After these scenes it cuts to “Christmas Party for Evacuees 26 Dec 1939”, which shows the boys and girls sat at a table eating food for the

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<sup>56</sup> Savage, K. and Smith, J. 2016. Watching with Mother: ‘rejourning’ the wartime memories of a Wren, 1946-2016. In: *Staging Loss: Performance as Commemoration*, 16th June 2016, Lincoln.

festivities. It also cuts to various members of the local community on camera accompanied with intertitles saying their names, showing Folliot-Ward's close connection to these people.

This is one of the few films that features evacuees in the YFA<sup>57</sup>. The reason why there were so few, given the scale of what happened, was that fewer films were made during WWII, with many of the filmmakers focused upon public events and not necessarily housing evacuees. The evacuees could have been captured unwittingly within public events<sup>58</sup> but may not have necessarily been identifiable as they integrated within the communities. This film demonstrates the representation of the imagined community that is often shown from national propaganda, and how it is unwittingly constructed in real communities as it shows people from multiple backgrounds including the evacuees, ARP, Fusiliers and Folliot-Ward's family social mixing together, which gives the audience a sense of the close bondedness. Whether the imagined community is reflected and constructed in amateur films because of these nationalistic ideas of imagined community in propaganda or because these communities were brought closer together through the evacuation is unknown. It even shows a Christmas party that is being held for the children who were not returning home at Christmas. This film shows a mixture between the public and private with scenes such as the evacuees, girls playing croquet and watching netball, which is then mixed with other scenes such as the Fusiliers' parade through Malton. There is a close sense of community between the evacuees and the Folliot-Ward family; this is reflected through the family picture together, trip out to Castle Howard and the final scenes of the two evacuee girls, Pat Burns and Eileen Morton, at the train station. However, it is clear from the attire of the children and their attendance at St Mary's Convent that this afforded them a privileged lifestyle in terms of such as easily being able to visit Castle Howard and their pristine attire. The film appears in some ways to be a mixture of amateur propaganda as it depicts the reality of WWII by deliberately showing scenes such as the ARP and fusiliers, but it shows this in a positive light. Therefore, there is a blurring

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<sup>57</sup>Some other films held at the YFA that features evacuees is: *Lord Mayor's Year of Office (2)*. 1944-1945. [Film]. Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 777). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1654> [Accessed 4th May 2021]. This film shows some boys that have been evacuated from Bradford to Linton Camp near Grassington. It is not clear from this film whether some of the children are evacuees, but it shows multiple children who are in the countryside, so some of these children could have been evacuees. *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]; *Family Snapshots*. 1936-1942[Film]. Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 1975). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3902> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>58</sup> The evacuees who may have been captured in the film were not the focus in the film but were captured as an unwitting part of the film. *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

distinction of how this film in some ways can be considered as amateur propaganda and reflected the national professional propaganda scenes on a more local level, by representing aspects of WWII in a positive light that were integrated into people's public and private life. However, this is only if the film is intended to be disseminated. This distinction between amateur and professional propaganda is examined in more detail in the next section of the chapter. Overall, this film demonstrates a constructed idea of the imagined community within real communities by depicting a variety of people working together for a collective cause. It also gives the audience a strong sense of the *gemeinschaft* and family bonds that were formed between the Folliot-Ward family and evacuees. The children watching netball, playing croquet, and going to the lake was representative of the wider community in terms of experiences that other evacuees had. An overarching theme running throughout the WWII films is how amateur and professional films represent the imagined community; within amateur films there is a strong sense of a family bond with the evacuees and their host families.

Another family who produced films during WWII was the Hickling family. Bernard Hickling was a local filmmaker and worked in a local business school in Wombwell. He eventually became a teacher of short hand typewriting<sup>59</sup>. Bernard began by working down a mine as previous generations of his family had done, then started his own business and became a lay preacher, speaking at many Methodist chapels<sup>60</sup>. It could be said that he had a working class background, judging from the previous generations of his family<sup>61</sup>. It would of course depend on what position in the hierarchy members of his family held, when they worked down the mine. Hickling's uncle had a semi-professional business of photographers, Hickling Brothers of Featherstone. The films were shot on a film using Kodak 16mm. In WWII film was rationed, however Hickling was friendly with a local film company, meaning he could have sourced some film from there as he was able to produce films during WWII<sup>62</sup>. One of these films was called *Hickling Family During The War*<sup>63</sup> and showed events of WWII. These films demonstrated how war affected communities through gas masks, soldiers returning to see

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<sup>59</sup> Hickling, Alfred. 2019. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Bernard Hickling*. Filmed semi-structured interview. York, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2019.

<sup>60</sup> *Hickling Family During The War*. 1940s.[Film]. Bernard Hickling. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2951). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5870> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>61</sup>Hickling, Alfred. 2019. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Bernard Hickling*. Filmed semi-structured interview. York, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2019.

<sup>62</sup> *Hickling Family During The War*. 1940s [Film]. Bernard Hickling. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2951). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5870> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

their loved ones and how this seamlessly integrated within communities. The depiction of war was incidental in this film as part of people's everyday life<sup>64</sup>. The film opens with two girls stood with gas masks on, which is followed by a member of the Home Guard and another woman exiting an Anderson Shelter. Shortly after, the man lies down preparing to aim and fire a rifle. The film is then interspersed with shots of the family at the seaside and visiting local gardens where other soldiers can be witnessed. Towards the end of the film the Home Guard can be seen racing in a donkey Derby and the film closes with two women smiling and drinking tea<sup>65</sup>.




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<sup>64</sup> The incidental use of gasmasks can also be seen in the film. *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>65</sup> *Hickling Family During The War*. 1940s.[Film]. Bernard Hickling. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2951). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5870> [Accessed 28th February 2021]



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These images captured by Hickling demonstrate how war was integrated with everyday life, how class was transitory and less important. The fact that Hickling came from a working class background and crosses the class boundaries shows how transient communities were during WWII, but similarly this is more his own life's journey rather than an effect of war. Although Marwick's study of class is applicable to WWI, the mixing and

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.



movement of class was actually positive between WWI & WWII<sup>67</sup>. The transformation of class during this time meant people could change their occupation and lifestyle. This allowed the working classes to move to middle class occupations. These lifestyle changes made communities become more inclusive as is reflected within these films. Similarly, this type of transition between classes was more viable and accessible because of the changes in voting and economic lifestyle after WWI. The majority of Hickling's films are shot during WWII but this one includes gas masks, whereas his other films focus upon family shots and events within the area, including a family wedding, tea party and parade. These demonstrate that during WWII the private life was a focus of these amateur collections, however what was happening publicly seeped into the films as part of the unwitting narrative including war and events within the region. The focus of these films is on the family, which illustrates how the family unit was a vital aspect within communities. The family and community are a contingent theme running throughout all the films, as these are the bonds that are central to society, which is played upon within propaganda. Furthermore, this film depicts the *gemeinschaft*, close community and family bond. It also gives the impression of a constructed localised imagined community in real communities through these bonds.

Additionally, Charles Chislett produced the film *Rachel Discovers the Sea*<sup>68</sup> in 1939 as examined in the previous chapter. In 1940 he produced *Dales Days*<sup>69</sup>, which captures children having a holiday within the Yorkshire Dales. On initial reading this appears to demonstrate what happened on holiday. It suggests that people did not leave the United Kingdom for holidays; given the context of this film it is self-evident why families did not leave the UK<sup>70</sup>. In the beginning of the 1940s many were evacuated to the countryside as was made evident through the films of Folliot-Ward. Dale Days is focused in the idyllic setting of the Yorkshire countryside, the film shows the production of curd and children enjoying their holiday. These give the impression of a relaxed environment amidst the turmoil that was occurring within Europe. This film gives an impression of an imagined idyllic rural community and does not give much of an insight into class but demonstrates the close community bonds in this environment. The theme of local family holidays within Yorkshire runs throughout these films, although all the filmmakers come from an upper-middle class background. There is a noticeable lack of war

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<sup>67</sup> Marwick, A. 2006. *The deluge: British society and the First World War*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>68</sup> *Rachel Discovers the Sea*. 1939. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 354). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/857> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>69</sup> *Dales Days*. 1940. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 328). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/805> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>70</sup> Shin, H. 2015. Mobility under pressure: civilian rail traffic in Britain during WWII. *Forum for History of Consumer Culture*. Available from: <https://www-cc.gakushuin.ac.jp/~20070019/Abstract2014/21%20Shin.pdf> [Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> May]

imagery in this film, as if the filmmaker excluded what was happening to preserve the film's idyllic setting.



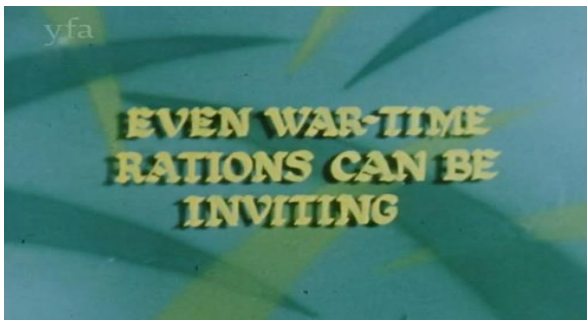
Similarly, during WWII one of the previous filmmakers was Noel Beardsell who only made one film, entitled *Glimpses of Holidays*<sup>72</sup>, between 1941-1942. This suggests that Beardsell was wealthy enough to film during WWII or that he saved the film beforehand as he still used 16mm when rationing was introduced. The whole Beardsell family is depicted in this film so this shows that the children were not evacuated as would happen within densely populated cities. Similarly, this film mainly depicts the holiday, the family garden or the local area as it was almost impossible to travel for holidays outside England during WWII. Even the seaside was difficult to reach as it was heavily fortified, and it was difficult to travel there using a train. This seems to be a common theme in most amateur films as families could not travel abroad. However, this film features a tea party and refers to the wartime rationing in the intertitles. This film suggests that there was more of a collective community and communal gatherings because of the multiple people gathered around the table at the tea party<sup>73</sup>. Other than the intertitles that highlight rationing at the tea party, this was captured as an unwitting and incidental part of life.

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<sup>71</sup> *Dales Days*. 1940. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 328). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/805> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>72</sup> *Glimpses of Holidays*. 1941-1942. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 93). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/368> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>73</sup> Another tea party can be seen in the film: *Hickling Church Tea Party*. 1940s. [Film]. Bernard Hickling. United Kingdom: Yorkshire film Archive (YFA 2952). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5872> [Accessed 24th April 2021]



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Rationing was a prevalent part of British life after the end of WWII as it was not until 1954 that food rationing officially ended<sup>75</sup>. Although the Ministry of Information sought to find ways to help people make food stretch further and alleviate the strain of the rationing, it actually offered the British population a healthier lifestyle than many generations enjoyed before and after due to the varied diet. WWII often conscripted men who were of the relevant age but Noel Beardsell was too old and women were often sent to replace the work that men had done before going to war<sup>76</sup>. This was filmed in 1941 at the time of the battle of the Atlantic, which

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Horwitz, S., & McPhillips, M. J. 2013. The reality of the wartime economy: More historical evidence on whether World War II ended the Great Depression. *The Independent Review*, 17 (3), pp. 325-347.

<sup>76</sup> *Glimpses of Holidays*. 1941-1942. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 93). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/368> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

made food supply precarious throughout the war<sup>77</sup>. However none of this can be seen within Beardsell's footage and it does not impact upon the light and humourous tone throughout his films<sup>78</sup>. Many wartime events occurred during the making of these films and audiences can see a large community gathered at the tea party, which brings into question whether those involved in the tea party were part of the evacuation. The footage does not reflect the wider contextual events that were occurring other than that Britain was going through rationing, which is only evident within the intertitles and a small inference that can be seen through the large gathering at the tea party, although the larger gathering is not necessarily indicative of wartime communities. This restricted view of society is one of the benefits and insights that amateur film footage can give of communities. This film reflects the *gemeinschaft* and strong communal bond among the people at the tea party, as they can be seen eating food and playing games afterwards, demonstrating their communal spirit. All these films in WWII give the impression of a constructed imagined idyllic community (or real, life goes on even in wartime); whether this was the intention of the amateur filmmakers or just them reflecting upon their private family relationships is something that can be questioned.

Unfortunately, the rationing in WWII meant that there was not much amateur film available and what was available was produced for propaganda or often exclusively filmed family. This included the Cole collection that was filmed by Kathleen Cole's father Albert Thornton and documents her birth in 1939 and then all the way through to Kathleen having her own daughter Louise in 1960. Unfortunately nothing more is really known about the filmmaker Albert Thornton other than he produced these films concentrating on family life. There are interviews from *The Way We Were*<sup>79</sup> documentary with Kathleen Cole that reveal they lived in North Street and that her father owned or at least lived above a fish and chip shop. Kathleen pursued a career in teaching. According to her interview the area where she was raised was very communal, everyone knew each other and had strong religious connections that drew people together<sup>80</sup>. Kathleen came from a relatively working class background but this collection is unique in so much as it documents her birth and life, and her daughter's birth and life up until she was 4 or 5, when Albert stopped filming<sup>81</sup>. *Baptism of*

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<sup>77</sup> Field, A. J. 2008. The impact of the Second World War on US productivity growth 1. *The Economic History Review*, 61(3), pp. 672-694.

<sup>78</sup> This same jovial tone is captured in the films of Cyril and Betty Ramsden such as: *Cracoe Whit*. 1945. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3099). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6162> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>79</sup> *The Way We Were Interview Rushes*. 2007. [Film]. ITV Documentary Series. United Kingdom: ITV.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

*Kathleen Cole*<sup>82</sup>; *Kathleen Cole Family, Wedding, Birthdays, Scarborough*<sup>83</sup> and *Kathleen Cole and Family at Scarborough*<sup>84</sup> were films that began in 1939 with the birth of Kathleen Cole and end with Kathleen starting her own family with her own daughter in 1960. These films document the private life of Kathleen Cole, how they visited the same holiday destination and filmed the same familial activities such as baptisms and marriages. The films are shot using 9.5mm<sup>85</sup> film, which indicates that the filmmaker came from a working class background as he owned a fish and chip shop, owing to the cheaper quality film<sup>86</sup>. On the other hand, people from any class had the ability to choose the type of film they wanted, so the film type is not indicative of class, but may suggest to which class the filmmaker belonged. For example, John Beaumont was a solicitor who used 9.5mm to film the Elizabeth Allan collection but his profession indicates his upper-middle class standing. Therefore, there are some amateur films during WWII but these tend to concentrate on the private lives of the filmmakers and what is demonstrated through a wartime sense was incidental. Furthermore, these films are more home movies than amateur films as they show footage of the *gemeinschaft* and close private family scenes but there is no footage of public events other than if they were family events. On the one hand, there is the existence of these films showing the private lives of families, but there is also the absence of filmmakers who filmed in the interwar period but not during WWII.

To conclude, the commonality in all these films is the community spirit, and the fact that many of the filmmakers from the interwar period did not film during WWII. Firstly, due to rationing and secondly as they were called up for military service or producing products that would play an important role within the war. These films reveal how the private amateur filmmaker focused on private family events during WWII and that many filmmakers did not film during WWII. What the following section further reveals is the interconnection of amateur and professional filmmaking that began to occur during WWII.

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<sup>82</sup> *Baptism of Kathleen Cole*. 1939. [Film]. Albert Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 11). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/214> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>83</sup> *Kathleen Cole Family, Wedding, Birthdays, Scarborough*. 1940-1946. [Film] Albert Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 366). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/880> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>84</sup> *Kathleen Cole and Family at Scarborough*. 1960. [Film]. Albert Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 306). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/765> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>85</sup> Then, again Wylbert Kemp from the Holmfirth Camera Club also used 9.5mm: *Holmfirth Tradesmen's Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*. 1939-1944. [Film]. Wylbert Kemp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 514). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1157> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>86</sup> Swanson, D. 2003. Inventing Amateur Film: Marion Norris Gleason, Eastman Kodak and the Rochester Scene, 1921-1932. *Film History*, 15(2), pp. 126-136. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3815505>

### Chapter 5.1: Propaganda, amateur and professional filmmaking.

What provides an overarching view of what was occurring within Britain during WWII was the professional films and propaganda that were created. There is only a small amount of amateur footage and home movies between 1939-1945 that concentrated on family units. This footage captured war as an unwitting element of the film, but there is also a plentiful supply of amateur and professional footage that specifically focused on wartime events. Between 1939 and 1945 these films are a mixture of amateur and professional within the YFA as well as those that were produced on a national scale. There is a large amount of both amateur and professional footage that operates as propaganda as amateur filmmakers crossed the boundary between amateur and professional filmmaking during WWII. These amateur films often represent constructed interpretations of imagined communities (which had previously been seen in national propaganda) on a local scale and public events as part of WWII and give the audience an impression of communal unity. The same aims of these films are reflected in professional and propaganda films and all have the same purpose of promoting communal and national unity for support within the war effort and to encourage others to get involved.

One of the films that was produced between 1939-1945 was called *Somewhere in England*<sup>87</sup> and was directed by Sir Fred Moore. This features footage of Mowbray House throughout the winter and summer in WWII. The film shows soldiers training, and sporting activities, including jogging and star jumps, in black and white and colour. The film shows soldiers marching through the village in colour and black and white. The last scene shows a fancy dress event within the village that could have included some of the evacuees who were sent to the Kirkby Malzeard area from Leeds or Brighton<sup>88</sup>. For the fancy dress event, the children and adults were either in smart attire, uniform or in fancy dress. The smart attire could indicate they were middle class in a rural location, but it is difficult to judge what background they were from as their attire was probably more formalised because of the fancy dress event. The background of the children in these films is unknown. The purpose of this film appears to be propaganda as there are no intertitles and it is unknown where it was distributed but it appears to have been produced to encourage enlistment or merely to demonstrate what activities the soldiers performed on a daily basis.

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<sup>87</sup> *Somewhere in England*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Directed by Sir Fred Moore. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 33). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/260> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*





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The aim of the film appears to be to encourage enlistment and people's involvement in military activities. This film shows the chefs producing food in the kitchen, children parading and military exercises, although the film's intention is not clear. The footage indicates its intention as propaganda through showing these military activities. The audience get an idea of the mixed communities through the blended backgrounds of formally dressed people with their children and the evacuees showing this closeness within communities. The footage gives an impression of a localised imagined community with the soldiers and evacuees. It also shows a diverse community in the area which implies to the audience how this is representative of villages throughout the country, and most importantly it appealed to local and national ideas of community. It is through seeing this footage and the social mixing of multiple communities that people would have been encouraged to become involved in the war, at least that could have been its intention. It is unknown whether this is an amateur or a professional film, but its intention seems to be encouraging people to enlist in the war effort. This blurring of its intention and perhaps the fact that it is difficult to determine whether it is amateur or professional is revealing in itself. On another level the imagined community could be being replicated within this film as a result of propaganda on a national level being reflected through communal activities.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

Another film that was professionally made was *Holmfirth Tradesmen's Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*<sup>90</sup>. This was made by an amateur filmmaker, Wylbert Kemp, using 9.5mm film. Wylbert was also involved with the Bamforth film company who made a series of amateur comedic films during and prior to WWI. One of these films included *Sharps of Flats*<sup>91</sup> which adopted a more jovial style than this factual film during WWII. Later he was one of the founding members of the Holmfirth Camera Club, along with Kathleen Lockwood, whose films are examined later in this chapter. An interview was conducted with Wylbert by BBC Radio Leeds in which he stated that some of the films were shown to audiences in Russia, and that he also worked for his father's barber business. He also wrote plays, poems and broadcasted on Radio Leeds<sup>92</sup>. So it would appear that Wylbert came from an working class background but pursued what might be perceived as upper-middle class hobbies<sup>93</sup>. The establishing shot depicts Wylbert closing his shop that is portrayed as the Holmfirth Chamber of Trade. It then shows groups gathered outside the bus and visiting different sites in the area, including a viaduct, a countryside river, a zoo, and countryside gardens.



The men in the film are shown in smart suits and the women are wearing smart dresses, which indicates that the people were from an upper-middle class background. This is illustrated by their ability to visit different areas during WWII. If this had been a community within a city these distinctions in class and appearance could be used to identify these people. These distinctions of class were not so important within rural communities such as this one in Holmfirth, and most of these men were wearing suits as a matter of civic duty rather than it being class based. All men generally wore suits when they were in social environments, which

<sup>90</sup> *Holmfirth Tradesmen's Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*. 1939-1944. [Film]. Wylbert Kemp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 514). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1157> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>91</sup> *Sharps and Flats*, 1915.[Film]. Bamforth and Company of Holmfirth. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 2235). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4507> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

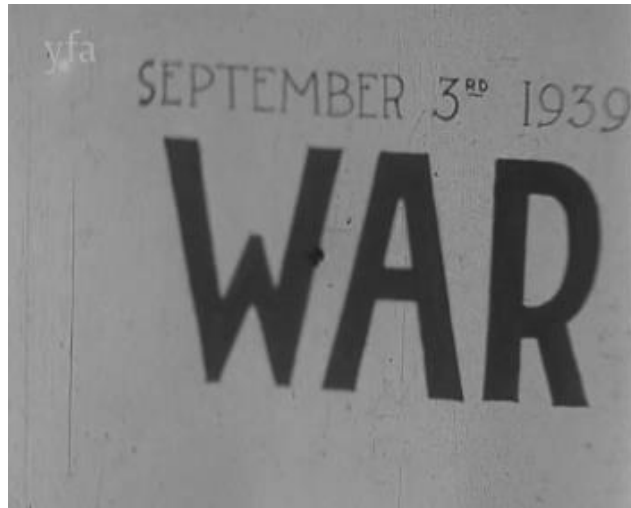
<sup>92</sup> Kemp, W.1989. Interview with Wylbert Kemp. *BBC Radio Leeds*. 13<sup>th</sup> September 1987.

<sup>93</sup> *Holmfirth Tradesmen's Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*. 1939-1944. [Film]. Wylbert Kemp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 514). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1157> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*



was generational rather than class based. These images of the coach trip are shown in the first half of the film, while the second half begins with "September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1939 War". Using a rather sophisticated first person camera technique the town is depicted through the window of a model plane's cockpit. There are also pictures of WWII fighter planes, and what appear to be some damaged buildings but these have been damaged by flooding in Holmfirth as opposed to the blitz damaged buildings that are later shown in Sheffield.



Similar to the last film, this footage depicts images of war and a trip out using a first person perspective and images of fighters. Showing a separate viewpoint of the town from a perspective of a fighter plane provides an interesting viewpoint for the audience. This has the

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effect of reminding the audience of the effects of war from the perspective of the enemy or allied planes flying in the sky, rather than showing ground level views of the people or the damage. In addition, this footage does not have intertitles like the previous film. This suggests that although it is propaganda, it does not have an intentional objective of acting as propaganda<sup>96</sup>, as its main intention is not to encourage recruitment. This further demonstrates how it was an amateur film. There is a selection of these films that capture the events of WWII but do not necessarily have the intentional effect of propaganda as they only appear to film what happened during the war and the connections between people within communities. From this film, the audience can further see the tradesman going on a trip out, and playing cricket. These together give an impression to the viewers of a closely bonded community who were affected by the devastation of war, how the quiet rural setting that they interact in contrasts quite drastically to the damage caused in WWII. This would likely have been representative of the wider rural communities in Yorkshire with similar individuals who were tradesmen, went on trips together and played sports together still being affected by the horrific bombing in WWII.

Another film that follows a similar vein is *Formation of the Homeguard, Thornton Bradford*<sup>97</sup>, which was shot by an amateur filmmaker. This film had more of a witting intention to capture the formation of the Home Guard. The soldiers all stand with rifles in the establishing shot. The intertitle indicates L.D.V. 1940-1944, referring to the Local Defence Volunteers, who were men who could not participate in the war effort for various reasons, often due to age, medical problems or having a protected occupation. A further intertitle then states "patrols are sent out & observation posts manned".

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<sup>96</sup> Even though the shot from inside the cockpit does give a different perspective within the film.

<sup>97</sup> *Formation of the Home Guard, Thornton Bradford*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Sgt Harold Whitehead, Bradford Cine Circle. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 1214) Available at: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2452> [Accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2021]



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The film appears to be more of a witting attempt at propaganda as it references the origins of war and demonstrates what the LDV role entails. Although it is unknown what the reception of this film was, it might be the case that amateur filmmakers were unconsciously adopting the traits of newsreel propaganda. It was produced by the Bradford Cine Club, suggesting a reasonably large reception. This film was produced in 1944, towards the end of WWII, and seems to counter the impression of incompetence of the volunteers that was later depicted within *Dad's Army*<sup>99</sup>. However, the reliability with both sources is limited as *Dad's Army* was a fictional comedy and similarly this film was produced for propaganda purposes so only shows a limited snapshot of WWII. According to Rob Brown, who donated the film, this footage was shot by Sgt Harold Whitehead, who came from the lineage of Julius Whitehead

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> *Dad's Army*. 1968-1977. Created by Jimmy Perry & David Croft. BBC.

and Sons, who made pottery and sanitary ware<sup>100</sup>. Rob Brown's father, Major Brown, is also in the film and paid for it to be made in colour, while Sgt Whitehead was an experienced amateur filmmaker and part of Bradford Cine Circle. This footage was made by an amateur filmmaker in a professional manner so crosses the boundary between professional and amateur filmmaking. The line between amateur and professional is a boundary that was continually crossed, more so in the late 1930s but also into the 1940s, especially if propaganda and the intention of the footage is taken into consideration. The Home Guard were an especially important part of Britain's communities during WWII as their role in the primary years involved spotting enemy aircraft or parachuters and immediately reporting their presence, although fundamentally they were a fighting force. In the later years of the war their role involved helping other voluntary organisations so audiences could immediately understand how vital they were within communities in their own right and in supporting other institutions including the Women's Voluntary Service and Civil Defence Unit<sup>101</sup>. Although this film may seem to be insignificant propaganda that demonstrated their training and routines, their role was hugely important during WWII. The bonds between the members of the Local Defence Volunteers from this footage appear to be close knit, each of their training exercises demonstrates their collective spirit. This propaganda did not have the intention of showing the imagined community but through showing their collective actions it will have inspired others to enlist and become involved locally to protect their national community on a larger scale. It is also difficult to determine their class as for most of the film they are in uniform. This uniform had an important levelling effect as it made everyone equal in class and status. On closer analysis this footage indicates the role the LDV had, but audiences cannot understand how they contributed towards the wider community through this footage alone. It is one of the limitations of viewing archived footage that you cannot interpret the wider context.

Another piece of professional propaganda during WWII that specifically highlighted the women was *Munitions Factory*<sup>102</sup> with an intertitle stating, "Showing method of handling and machine operations on 84 pounder shell". This demonstrates the type of work women were performing during WWII; even though this film was based in Aberdeen it demonstrates the work women were doing in Yorkshire. Unfortunately, there is no more information about this

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<sup>100</sup> *Formation of the Home Guard, Thornton Bradford*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Sgt Harold Whitehead, Bradford Cine Circle. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 1214) Available at: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2452> [Accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2021]

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *Munitions Factory*. 1940s. [Film]. C.F Wilson & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2287). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4606> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

film<sup>103</sup> but there were many professional films produced as part of the MOI's<sup>104</sup> propaganda encouraging various members of communities to contribute towards making resources in WWII. Much like the films of Humphrey Jennings, these films showed people in their industrial work and were made specifically to depict women performing traditionally male roles in the workplace<sup>105</sup>. The year of 1940 was one of the most difficult times of the war as it was predicted that 5 million munition labourers were needed to supply the relevant munitions to the frontline, whereas there were only 3.5 million employed to work in the factories. The workforce in the factories was roughly 50% women and the men tended to occupy the higher positions. Even though women gained the right to vote and were part of the working community after WWI, there was still an internal divide and stratification that meant they occupied the lower positions in the workplace<sup>106</sup>. This would be influenced by the temporary nature of their work, but there would be more opportunity in office work. This is one of the few films that highlights women's roles in the workplace during WWII as other propaganda footage focuses on the Home Guard or other male dominated roles.



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These films show women in the workplace and despite the lack of female filmmakers they were able to demonstrate women's contribution to the war effort. This is a professional film showing female Munitions workers in Aberdeen. There is also an amateur film, *Women*

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> McLaine, I. 1979. *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II*. London: Allen & Unwin.

<sup>105</sup> Hart, R.A. 2007. Women doing men's work and women doing women's work: Female work and pay in British wartime engineering, *Explorations in Economic History*, Issue 44 (1), pp. 114-130.

<sup>106</sup> Moss, R. 2005. 'A Manufacturing City During Wartime - Leeds in World War Two'. *Culture* 24. 18<sup>th</sup> May 2005. Available at: <https://www.culture24.org.uk/places-to-go/yorkshire/leeds/tra28213> [Accessed 11th July 2019]

<sup>107</sup> *Munitions Factory*. 1940s. [Film]. C.F Wilson & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2287). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4606> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

*Munitions Workers, Sheffield*<sup>108</sup>, which was made by a chemistry teacher, William Gregory, who taught at Sheffield's Central Technical School. When discussing this film, I will further discuss the role of women in the workplace and munitions factories during WWII. Most of the films that William Gregory made were to encourage his students to use their skills to get jobs, and in 1941 he made a film *Tinker, Taylor...? World of Opportunity*<sup>109</sup> for the Education Committee of the City of Sheffield. The title refers to the skills shortage in wartime that would have also existed after the war, and this film shows numerous skilled jobs that were taught at technical colleges and what lessons were offered in the classes. In 1945 he made a film entitled *The Story of Good Steel*<sup>110</sup>, which shows the production and measurements for making steel, no doubt to encourage his students to go on to engineering or technical jobs. These films highlight Sheffield's crucial role in the war effort.

Sheffield was crucially important for making munitions during WWII. It is not known in what factory this film was shot, but virtually every factory in Sheffield had a small role in producing munitions or military equipment<sup>111</sup>. One has to consider Sheffield regionally as many women were required to work in munitions factories in larger cities. The large groups of people working in munitions factories would have made class distinctions in the factory and the divide of labour between men and women more apparent. Overall, these films reveal to the viewers men and women working collaboratively in factories. There are careful class distinctions that can be drawn from these depictions in the city, although it may not immediately be apparent to viewers. However, women were needed to work in these factories as there was a huge labour shortage during WWII, meaning that in December 1941 women were included in the National Service Act which called up unmarried women aged between 20 and 30. This was later applied to married women except for those who were pregnant or had young children. Women had the choice of women's munitions, civil defence, and many were allocated to the Auxiliary Territorial Service industry. This extended the role of female employment away from traditionally feminine roles in domestic service and textiles to roles that were considered

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<sup>108</sup> *Women Munitions Workers, Sheffield*. 1940. [Film]. William Gordon Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4895). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9649> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>109</sup> *Tinker Taylor...? World of Opportunity*. 1941. [Film]. William Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4074). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/8070> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>110</sup> *The Story of Good Steel*. 1945. [Film]. William Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4936). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9729> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>111</sup> Dalton, S. 2004. *Sheffield: Armourer to the British Empire*. Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books.

masculine, such as engineering<sup>112</sup>. It seemed that women's role in employment was expanding, more so than in the interwar period. However, Summerfield claims that "Women's access to 'men's work' was extremely limited"<sup>113</sup>. There was a total of 1.5 million women working in factories overall, and they greatly outnumbered the men. Among the new workers 75% were married women who more than likely had children as the number of nurseries grew phenomenally. The total number of married women and working widows reached 3 million<sup>114</sup>. However, women working in the factories and doing skilled roles got significantly less pay than their male counterparts. Women's pay did increase throughout the war, but they had to fight against trade unions such as the AEU<sup>115</sup><sup>116</sup>. At the end of the war, women's pay was better, but it still did not match men's, even if they were doing the same jobs. Although some women returned to their home lives after the war, there were still 683,000 more women working in industry as a whole in 1948 than had been prior to WWII. Therefore, WWII had a positive effect on women's role in the workplace.

There were wartime propaganda posters aimed directly at women to encourage recruitment, showing women as young, heroic, and carrying on the work that was previously done by men.

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<sup>112</sup> Pattinson, J. 2016. 'Shirkers', 'Scrimjacks' and 'Scrimshanks?': British Civilian Masculinity and Reserved Occupations, 1914–45. *Gender and History*, 28 (3), pp. 709-727.

<sup>113</sup> Summerfield, P. 1998. *Reconstructing women's wartime lives: Discourse and Oral Subjectivity in oral histories of the Second World War*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 3.

<sup>114</sup> *Women Munitions Workers, Sheffield*. 1940. [Film]. William Gordon Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4895). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9649> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>115</sup> The AEU did not employ women until after 1942.

<sup>116</sup> , J. 1995. The Women's Army. *Socialist Review*. Issue 184. Available from: <http://pubs.socialistreviewindex.org.uk/sr184/orr.htm> [Accessed 20<sup>th</sup> June 2020]





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For example, the two propaganda posters above, encouraging women to join the Land Army and go into munitions factories, show single, hard working women. From their appearance, these women appear to be earnest and hardworking, dedicated to helping their country, and therefore these posters appeal to feelings of patriotism and imagined community in urging women to help their fellow countrymen. Many posters like this were used and deliberately targeted women to encourage them to join in the war effort. To combat the idea of propaganda only targeting young single women, national propaganda such as *Millions Like Us*<sup>118</sup> was produced. The protagonist is a young single Celia working in an aircraft factory making parts for the planes that would fight in the war, however many women working in the factory in this film were mothers who can be seen working side-by-side with their daughters. This would have been the case in some of the factories and represented what was happening in the wider community. This film shows a level of social mixing in the factories between girls

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<sup>117</sup> Image on the left:

Phillip, Z. 1941. *Women of Britain- Come into the factories*. [Propaganda Poster]. Great Britain: Imperial War Museum. Available from: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/38928> [Accessed 22nd June 2020]

Upton, C. 1941. *For a Healthy, Happy Job- Join the Women's Land Army*. [Propaganda Poster]. Great Britain Imperial War Museum. Available from: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/36790> [Accessed 22nd June 2020]

<sup>118</sup> *Millions Like Us*. 1943. [Film]. Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder. United Kingdom: Gainsborough Pictures.

and women of different classes and ages. The use of these images of iconography varied between films and other forms of propaganda, as they were consumed differently by the audience. The use of this iconography in posters differed to that in films, as their aim was much more explicit, their content was either instructional or to build morale. For example, the two propaganda posters above have an instructional basis to encourage enlistment and urge people to participate in the war effort. These two pieces of propaganda can be compared directly to the *Remember Scarborough*<sup>119</sup> propaganda during WWI, where the image of the mythic Britannia instructed audiences to enlist now. Whereas in WWII there was a multitude of motivational campaigns including *Keep Calm and Carry On*, the intention of which was to raise morale<sup>120</sup>. These pieces of poster propaganda tended to be on more of a national scale. Although it is not analysed in this thesis, radio propaganda was more international as it was broadcast in 23 languages and proved highly effective in the war. For example, Edward Murrow's factual broadcasts about the Blitz had a large effect on propaganda in the USA<sup>121</sup>, as did the newsreels about the Blitz, particularly regarding St Paul's in London<sup>122</sup>. Cinema propaganda on a national level was slightly more complex as it was inextricably linked to the Ministry of Information. The MOI's main aim was to "present the national case to the public at home and abroad"<sup>123</sup>. The MOI produced entertainment films and films in the documentary movement that furthered the national cause.

Many of the British war films made use of a suspenseful story that showed the audience propaganda ideas in favour of the allies. The main aim in 1940, much like in WWI, according to Kenneth Clarke, head of the film's division at the MOI, was "... that the public must be convinced of German brutality", "the line we should take in home propaganda was that the enemy were much worse and we should emphasise wherever possible the wickedness..."; this was done in propaganda films aimed at home audiences and those abroad<sup>124</sup>. Some of these films will be analysed in more detail later in this chapter. Therefore, audiences can see how the iconography and messaging in these films differed depending upon the audiences on a national and international scale. For example, in *Millions Like Us*<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> PRC (Parliamentary Recruiting Committee). 1915. [*Propaganda poster*]. *Remember Scarborough*. Middlesex: Imperial War Museum.

<sup>120</sup> Slocombe, R. 2010. *British Posters of the Second World War*. London: Imperial War Museum. p. 6.

<sup>121</sup> Rhodes, A. 1976. *Propaganda: The art of persuasion: World War II*, Chelsea House Publishers: New York.

<sup>122</sup> Overy, R. 2006. 'Bombers and Bombing'. In: *Why the Allies Won*. 2nd ed. London: Pimlico. p.133.

<sup>123</sup> McLaine, I. 1979. *Ministry of morale: Home front morale and the ministry of information in World War II*. London: Allen & Unwin. p. 12.

<sup>124</sup> Aldgate, A. and Richards, J. 2007. "Went the Day Well?" In: *Britain can take it: the British cinema in the Second World War*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 133.

<sup>125</sup> *Millions Like Us*. 1943. [Film]. Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder. United Kingdom: Gainsborough Pictures.

the love interest of the main protagonist, Celia, was a Scottish Flight Sergeant who was killed in a bombing raid over Germany only shortly after the couple were married. Even this film, which is seemingly based upon munitions, has the element of the brutality of German forces pervading the storyline. On the one hand, audiences had to consider these varying pieces of propaganda against each other; amateur propaganda about munitions and other wartime efforts was likely to be consumed on a local level. Propaganda posters had direct messages that were instructional to the audience or motivational. Radio had a wider reaching effect on an international scale. Film had an effect nationally and internationally through the MOI in fictional and documentary films where the British imagined community is seen to pull together collectively, even if they do not know each other personally, because they all identify as one nation. They also have an aim to emphasise the wicked nature of the German forces to mobilise communities against the axis forces. Overall, *Millions Like Us* showed the evilness of the German forces as the film ended in the main character's heartbreak over her husband's death. In terms of the representation of women this film demonstrates their patriotism through women of any age and background getting involved and working together, in an imagined community, as a rallying cry to encourage women to help in the war effort.

It was propaganda like this that helped inspire *Women Munitions Workers, Sheffield*<sup>126</sup>, which opens with Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> September being torn off a calendar to reveal Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1940, namely one year after Britain's declaration of war. Then it cuts to the intertitle "War! Local Munitions". In colour it shows a pile of scrap metal, with a board saying the word 'From'. It briefly shows a female worker at the lathe, then cuts to two men sorting through a pile of scrap metal and a man taking this in a wheelbarrow in a lift towards the furnace. In colour, molten metal can then be seen being handled by a man and multiple men pour the molten metal into moulds. In black and white a woman in protective equipment operates a large grinding machine. Another woman operates a lathe in her ordinary clothes. It then cuts to colour where a large vice can be seen with a woman and man working together. The final shots show the female munition workers cuddling and laughing in uniform or with headscarves on. It is unclear why the film flickers between colour and black and white, but it could be because film was difficult to obtain during WWII. This was also shot in the bustling city of Sheffield, which geographically covered both rural and urban land<sup>127</sup> but would have had the

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<sup>126</sup> *Women Munitions Workers, Sheffield*. 1940. [Film]. William Gordon Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4895). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9649> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>127</sup> Defra, 2001. *Sheffield: Census 2001 and Access to Services Focus on Rural Areas*. Defra Rural Statistics Unit: Yorkshire and Humber Government Office Region. Available from:

same requirement for munitions workers as any other city. Overall, this film depicts women and men working together in the factory, in what would traditionally be a masculine dominated role. To a certain extent it shows female munitions workers to be older women or from a working-class background, judging by their headscarves, which could have also been a safety feature. Audiences have to consider in a regional context that many of these roles in munitions factories were required in larger cities so class distinctions would have been apparent within working roles in the factory and the divide between men and women. Thus, there is a careful class distinction that can be drawn from this depiction of munition workers in the city, although it is not immediately apparent to the reader and it is more difficult to define these class distinctions in rural communities. On the other hand, halfway through the film, there is a woman shown working in her ordinary clothes and it is difficult to define her class from her appearance. The film shows a quiet sense of camaraderie and close community through the women silently working together in the factories and working side-by-side with men. This was an amateur instructional film; the intention was for Mr Gregory to encourage his students into more technical roles. The film exemplifies a technical and manual role during WWII. This is not through showing a crafted piece of fictional propaganda; while the film would have shown what was happening in the factory, it would have been edited to show and promote certain parts of the factory. It shows women doing previously male dominated roles in the factory; however, it depicts men rather than women working with the more dangerous sides of munitions and handling the molten metal. The film shows a constructed idea of the imagined community in real working communities with women and men working together in the factory; a close community bond as they work together and can be seen having fun in the final scenes of the film. This would likely have been due to the circumstances of these people working together. Finally, it also demonstrates women working in roles that were previously seen as masculine manual roles. However, this film was crafted as an educational film to promote working in the munitions factory.



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From viewing these films, the audience can see the various aspects of the community that contributed collectively in WWII and how it was truly the people's war. There are a few other films that focus on female roles, including *British Red Cross Society Youth at Nurses camps, Longhoughton 1944 and Rothbury 1945*<sup>129</sup>, which focus on young women volunteers and their training to become nurses. There is a strong impression of *gemeinschaft* within these communities. Unlike the role of munitions worker, this was a traditional female role but these images are still propaganda to encourage people's involvement in the workplace<sup>130</sup>.

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<sup>128</sup> *Women Munitions Workers, Sheffield*. 1940. [Film]. William Gordon Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4895). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9649> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>129</sup> *British Red Cross Society Youth at Nurses camps, Longhoughton 1944 and Rothbury 1945*. 1944-1945. [Film]. Peter Beatty. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (NEFA 21212). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25998> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>130</sup> There are also nurses shown in the film: *Royal Army Medical Corps. Snapshots During Training, 2<sup>nd</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> Northern) No 8 CCS*. 1949. Directed by Dr H Brenton Porteous. United Kingdom: YFA.



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One of the previous films regarding the munition workers was made by a semi professionalised film company in Aberdeen and shot by Peter Beatty, an amateur filmmaker and member of the Newcastle & District Cinematographers Association. Both films were filmed by men depicting women and their roles, but again seem to be blurring the distinction between amateur and professional filmmaking. The film demonstrates the close bonds between the nurses and *gemeinschaft* in a working setting, as they participate in many communal activities that are part of their training, including carrying a body on a stretcher, and leisure time, including playing table tennis. There are scenes such as raising the British flag which rally a sense of patriotism within the audience, so this film seems a more targeted piece of propaganda that highlights the stereotypical role of women. The previous films in munitions factories were primarily in cities like Sheffield or Aberdeen. In terms of WWII, Sheffield had a pivotal role to play in manufacturing steel and munitions for the war effort, so this made it a necessity for women to take over men's roles in the workplace. Whereas the last film examined was in more of a rural setting, this film seems to reinforce traditional gender-based roles of women caring and men being soldiers, whilst also giving the audience the sense of the *gemeinschaft*. The class-based roles are more difficult to determine in a rural setting.

There are a few female filmmakers who primarily filmed in rural settings, which reinforces their role as caregivers, as they primarily worked as teachers. This contradicted women's traditional roles as these women came from middle-class backgrounds and had the social status and agency to become teachers and also made films, which not many women did. There were only a few female filmmakers who made films between 1910- 1954, and only a couple of these filmmakers made films that are available in the YFA in WWII. According to

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<sup>131</sup> *British Red Cross Society Youth at Nurses camps, Longhoughton 1944 and Rothbury 1945*. 1944-1945.[Film]. Peter Beatty. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (NEFA 21212). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25998> [Accessed 1st March 2021]



Motrescu-Hayes and Nicholson<sup>132</sup>, Fairbank, whose films were analysed in the previous chapter, made films until 1941. These films are not available in the archives. The female filmmakers in WWII that will be analysed are Kathleen Lockwood and Betty and Cyril Ramsden. The films they made just prior to and during WWII were primarily of private scenes or, as in the case of Lockwood, showed this blurring distinction between amateur and professional filmmaker, as has been reflected previously within this chapter. However, Lockwood's footage did not have the intention of being propaganda and mainly shows the distinction between public and private life.

I will firstly analyse the films of the prominent female filmmaker, Kathleen Lockwood, whose films in the YFA began in 1939 and continued until the late 1980s. According to an interview with her niece:

*"She was her own person, she did what she wanted, when she wanted...Grandad he was a school master and Grandma stayed at home... They were not without money..."* Angela Haywood then goes on to say that: *"..Well her father, my grandad, he used to be the Mayor of Holmfirth... so she's always been interested in the community"*<sup>133</sup>

*"...And then she [Kathleen] went off to College and she came back and I think she only taught at 2 schools. Her photography, that was her life, it was her children, she didn't get married, she didn't have children"*<sup>134</sup>.

From this interview, it is clear how important a role her photography had in her life; it helped to define her life and the relationship she had with the camera, and the films that she shot had a deep personal meaning to her. In terms of her background, her father was a headteacher and was at one point Mayor of Holmfirth, so this may have had an influence on Lockwood's interest in communities. She lived in Holme Valley, West Yorkshire with her parents, which incidentally was close to where Fairbank lived, although it seems their paths did not cross<sup>135</sup>. Therefore, it would appear from her father's background and her own occupation as a primary school teacher that she was from an upper-middle class background. It is clear from the films that filmmaking was more than just a hobby for Lockwood, it was a

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<sup>132</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 145.

<sup>133</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 137.

passion and a huge part of her life. Lockwood used a Cine Kodak Model 20, first in standard 8 and then moved to the use of Super 8mm film. Even in her later life, Lockwood was passionate about filmmaking<sup>136</sup>. Her influence on community through her filmmaking was reciprocated as Longley Farm Dairies<sup>137</sup> commissioned a film about her filmmaking for the Holmfirth Film Festival, entitled *Miss Lockwood- The Lady Behind the Lens*<sup>138</sup>

Her passion in filmmaking in part was due to her involvement in Holmfirth Camera Club, as she felt she had to compete with the men as she was the only woman there for a long time.

*“I don’t know when she joined the camera club in Holmfirth, but she always felt she had to go one better than the men. I think she was the only woman for a long time, and she felt that they were picking on her... But she won lots of cups and lots of prizes for her photography. And then a lot of hamlets around this area were up in the hills.. particularly the older people they were stuck up there. Auntie would take her cine films and give them film shows. She was giving a film show every week somewhere...But whatever was going on in the community, Auntie [Kathleen] was there. It didn’t matter whether it was something really amazing or quite mundane... and Auntie kept them in touch with what was going on in the area... She was a teacher, a primary teacher.”*, Angela later goes on to describe the main places she showed her films: *“Apart from her own front room... I think [the main place] it would be Choppards... where she grew up... but... she went all over the place”*<sup>139</sup>.

Lockwood had an important role as one of the few female filmmakers in Yorkshire, competing in an area dominated by men, and she felt that her films needed to stand out. This is testament to the passion she had in her filmmaking. The reception of her films was important and reveals more than is available from viewing films alone. Her role in the local community was enabled due to her upper middle-class status, her singlemindedness, and her ability to drive, as it helped to connect the rural communities and keep people updated with the news. Haywood goes onto state:

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<sup>136</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>137</sup> Yorkshire Live. 2011. ‘DVD Tribute to Holme Valley Filmmaker’. 30<sup>th</sup> July 2011. *Yorkshire Live*. Available from: <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/local-news/dvd-tribute-holme-valley-film-4972754> [Accessed 19th June 2020]

<sup>138</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020. Image from Angela Haywood collection.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.



*“Her family were everything to her...And she loved the community, and they loved her. The school children and the camera were her family. But the community was as well”<sup>140</sup>.*

Audiences can see from these films that her family had an important role to her, although they are often not seen in her films, but she captured a lot of her life on camera through capturing local events and showing them to people all over the community. The members of her local community were as important to her as a family would have been. These films helped to spread news in her local communities and connect them together, they acted as a historical record for what was happening. The reception of her films was far reaching.

*“I think the only way she did shape the community was just going round to show all the films to everybody... She would even do them in Holmfirth, people would still come to Holmfirth to watch it”.*

Lockwood captured many films of the area, some of which are stored in the YFA<sup>141</sup>. Lockwood worked as a primary teacher at Hepworth School and filmed communities in Holme Valley and Holmfirth during WWII. Both Fairbank and Lockwood were teachers and had many factors in common. There was a strong feeling of a *Gemeinschaft* within the local community, as they were hit hard by wartime losses and shortages. Haywood recalled stories of how her aunt loved her local community and showed her cine films to people in many different hamlets that brought news to the people and brought them together<sup>142</sup>. Therefore, it was actions like these that reflected the close bondedness within the Holme community.

Lockwood played a fundamental role in the Holmfirth Camera Club, as she eventually became vice present. She was co-founder member along with Wylbert Kemp and two doctors<sup>143</sup>. She was only the only regularly attending female in the Holmfirth Camera Club, see *Holmfirth Tradesman’s Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*<sup>144</sup> in the previous section of this chapter.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. Unfortunately, Kathleen Lockwood gave her cine films of local events to the Holmfirth civic society, and when the chairmen died the films disappeared, and no-one knows what happened to them.

<sup>142</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>143</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 138.

<sup>144</sup> *Holmfirth Tradesmen’s Trip & Blitz in Sheffield*. 1939-1944. [Film]. Wylbert Kemp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 514). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1157> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

Her films include *Scotland (Oban) 1<sup>st</sup> Film Aug 11, 1939*<sup>145</sup>, which is of her holiday to Scotland and focuses on various scenic shots of Dunollie Castle. The audience are also shown a sword dance and a marching band. This film shows a mixture of public and private events. Another one of her films, *When We Were Young*<sup>146</sup>, concentrates on baby animals and children, and children pretending to be adults by doing adult chores such as hanging up the washing. These films all give the impression of a closeness within her local community. There is an absence of war, which does not permeate the quaint innocence within this film.

There were other films that she made, such as *Holme Valley in the 1940s*<sup>147</sup>, which captured her changing between colour and black and white. Her first shot captures a farmer driving his plough, it is then intercut with men on a fire engine testing their hose pipes. Lockwood gives the audience an impression of the diversity in the wartime community with a mixture of typically rural tasks, which is then intercut with a more urban occupation of firefighters. This is followed by a school children's outing where people are wearing religious attire, as there is a marching band with women and girls wearing quite formal dresses and hats. Lockwood then cuts to black and white and the audience see boys and men following the priest at the rear of the marching procession. After this there is a procession for the May Queen where the buildings are decorated in bunting, and the girls are dressed in white dresses with flowers in their hair. This reinforces this idea of female innocence that was represented by the Maypole Queen just prior to WWI. There is a multitude of people in the crowds, some in fancy dresses watching the marching band go by. In this event there is a strong element of social mixing among the people in the crowds watching the parade. A few scenes later the buildings are covered in bunting to "Welcome to Our Elizabeth and Phillip, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1949", as a mixture of older and younger women with boys sit on the side of the road waving their flags. These scenes carefully show the closeness within the local community, but further to this is an idea of patriotism, which is shown with the bunting that is lining the streets. This would have been for Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip before Elizabeth became Queen, but this represented the constructed idea of the imagined community (as depicted in national propaganda) and encouraged the national spirit during this difficult time, even though this

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<sup>145</sup> *Scotland (Oban) 1<sup>st</sup> Film Aug 11, 1939*. 1939. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 811). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1719> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>146</sup> *When We Were Young*. 1939. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 812). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1722> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>147</sup> *Holme Valley in the 1940s*. 1940. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 783). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1666> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

communal unity would have quickly diminished after this event. They also demonstrate the public events that were occurring and social mixing that was happening within communities.

Her next film, *Holme Valley in the 1940s and 1950s*<sup>148</sup>, had a more serious tone. It shows the devastation that happened to the Holme Valley because of a flood, and the people's effort to rebuild the village. It includes headlines from the newspapers on May 29, 1944 such as 'Houses, Shops and Mills Wrecked, 1,500,000 tons of Flood Water. Dramatic Escapes'. This flood damaged many local areas including mills and factories, which had a further negative economic impact. After Lockwood filmed this they said they would never build over the River Holme. Years later she filmed them building a supermarket over the area where it had flooded; even though she might not agree with events, Lockwood still filmed them<sup>149</sup>. This demonstrated how Kathleen Lockwood captured changes that happened in the Holmfirth community over a long period of time. This film is followed by her film *St Anne's and Keswick*<sup>150</sup>. This film shows a trip she made to the Lake District, showing the people who she travelled with and the local scenery. This film shows various images of her friends walking in the forest, two couples walking arm in arm along a seaside promenade at St Anne's and quite a few shots of the scenery. These demonstrate her private lifestyle and the gemeinschaft type close bonds that she built with her friends on holidays, to give an impression of her local community.

However, a crucial film that she shot was *Holmfirth in Wartime*<sup>151</sup>, as it shows a mixture of public and private and encourages patriotism through showing a variety of aspects of the community. It begins with a hunt and people dressed in formal attire. The film then cuts to War Weapons week from Jan 25<sup>th</sup> to February 1<sup>st</sup> 1941, and the footage shows a marching band, and a parade of the Home Guard and military police marching in uniform, who are followed by other agencies. According to Haywood, her other grandfather was a special constable in this film and walked through this. Thus, Lockwood captures members within her local communities

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<sup>148</sup> *Holme Valley in the 1940s and 1950s*. 1940-1950. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film archive (YFA 596). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1693> [Accessed 14th April 2021]

<sup>149</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>150</sup> *St Anne's and Keswick*. 1940. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 813). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1723> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>151</sup> *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

who had a strong connection, including members of her family<sup>152</sup>. This then cuts to a shot of a Messerschmitt, as German Battle of Britain wrecks were exhibited around the country, usually to help with the marketing of fund-raising drives. It appears that the war was happening as an incidental part of community life, where Messerschmitts were intercut with people parading through the town. After this the film cuts to a display given by the auxiliary fire service of how to put out a fire on a house and other drills. It is then followed by the Wings for Victory Week, April 17<sup>th</sup> 1943, when there was a parade for the RAF and various youth organisations in uniform. It is difficult to determine the class of these people due to the uniform. The following scene shows children from Hepworth school on a walk in the countryside holding their gasmasks and the young boys 'Dig[ging] for Victory' and tending to their gardens. A few of these children could have been evacuees as many children were sent to the countryside from larger cities. Evacuees are also shown in the film *Family Snapshots*<sup>153</sup>. This film footage of the children demonstrates how the wartime lifestyle was captured as part of their daily lives, and how this is unwittingly revealed as part of their country walk. The intention of filming the children is not to show how wartime affected their daily life, yet this film captures the daily changes that were affecting the children. This is also depicted through showing young boys digging in their allotment gardens, as their aim was to help grow food as part of the 'Dig for Victory' campaign. The next shot of the footage depicts the Home Guard on May 16<sup>th</sup> 1943, and shows another parade marching through the city with crowds gathered, mainly of women in formal attire, as a large number of the soldiers would have been conscripted from the outset in WWII. After this it cuts to a newspaper cutting of the Princess Royal visiting Holmfirth, January 29<sup>th</sup> 1944. This is then followed by still images of her with the children and evacuees visiting the Holme House Hostel.

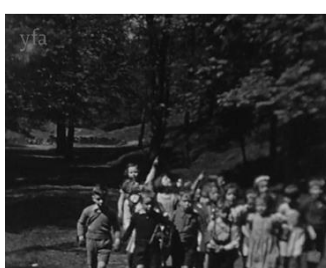
Overall, this is an amateur film that captures a mixture of the public and the private. The film shows primarily public events including members of the local community from a variety of backgrounds, through which the audience get an insight into the work of the firefighters and the many other people within this local community through their parades. The beginning of the film demonstrates an upper-middle class pursuit of people going on a hunt, then it shows a mixture of classes through the many public events that are organised with people parading in uniform, where it is difficult to determine their class status. However, what is crucial to determine about this film is how WWII was represented on camera as an incidental

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<sup>152</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>153</sup> *Family Snapshots*. 1936-1942.[Film]. Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 1975). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3902> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

part of everyday life, how children carry gasmasks on a country walk, dig for victory and how a shot down Messerschmitt is within the town. These show how war was pervasive in everyday life. This film to a certain extent shows the imagined community by showing a social mixture of community in uniforms and crowds gathered in primarily formal attire, however this formal attire could have been specifically for the event. This film depicts a variety of public events and gives the impression of an imagined community through the crowds watching the events and the various agencies walking by in uniform. It also includes still images of the Princess Royal with evacuee children, which creates a constructed sense of an imagined community in this local communities, as she is a symbol for patriotism along with other members parading in events throughout the local community. However, it does not appear that this piece of footage is a deliberate piece of propaganda, as it shows what was happening during WWII on the Homefront rather than intentionally including pieces of footage to encourage others to enlist. It shows scenes of children digging for victory and the evacuees which were wartime initiatives, but it does not appear that the intention of this footage was to capture these scenes to promote these initiatives, but rather to capture daily life.



The next female filmmaker was part of a filmmaking couple, Betty and Cyril Ramsden, who were passionate amateur filmmakers. The earliest film they have recorded in the YFA was towards the end of WWII in 1944, but they have more post war films. Betty and Cyril Ramsden were a couple who made amateur films and were award winning members of Leeds Cine Circle<sup>155</sup>. Overall, they made more than fifty films together, including films they made for the Leeds Cine Circle. Betty was also a teacher but gave this up when she got married, as women were expected to do in this time. Cyril had his own dental practice, where Betty was employed as a receptionist. Betty was responsible for making many of the films as she had a better eye for the camera work. Betty had also taken advanced art as part of her training, which gave her the basics and rules she needed to know, so she understood how to break a picture into thirds. Furthermore, the films of Betty and Cyril captured middle class life across Northern England and they were known for the warmth and intimacy in their films that shines through their camera work<sup>156</sup>. The camera Betty bought in the early 1950s still survives and cost £90 which was equivalent to £3000 in 2006. Betty and Cyril insisted on using quality 16mm film from America<sup>157</sup>. Lockwood, Fairbank and Betty Ramsden, as female filmmakers, all had upper-middle class means, although in some ways, except for Lockwood, they were dependent upon men. There are only three films which are in the archives that they made during WWII, but they were many afterwards, one of which even captured a master carpenter at work. The first film they made together in 1944 was entitled *Fear Family Year One*<sup>158</sup>. This is a film that focuses on family bonds as it focuses on Betty's sister, Eunice, and her husband Leslie Fear. This film begins with the husband smoking a pipe and then Cyril and Eunice roll a ball of wool together whilst Betty knits sitting on a chair. The next intertitle states "Every Little Helps", and this section has been sped up quite considerably as it shows Cyril attempting to sew, but it shows that he makes a bit of a mess of it as the knitting reel comes undone. A few

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<sup>154</sup> *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>155</sup> Motrescu-Hayes, A., & Nicholson, H.N. 2018. Chapter 6: Teacher Filmmakers. *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 38.

<sup>156</sup> *Nation on Film: The Ramsden Collection*. 2006. [Film]. BBC Nation on Film: Birmingham Post Production. Yorkshire Film Archive. United Kingdom (YFA 3899). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7725> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> *Fear Family Year One*. 1944. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3121). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6206> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

scenes later the film cuts to May 6<sup>th</sup> 1945, Leslie takes baby Timothy out of the pram and wraps him in a blanket, and nurses and dotes over the baby. The next scene shows the christening of Timothy James Fear on the 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1945. Cyril is outside the church in his RAF uniform whilst they read a book entitled 'Books for the Godfathers' and smoke pipes. Later scenes show the guests outside the church and them eating, which is then followed by T.J. playing with his toys in September 1945. From examining this film, it clearly demonstrates the strong family connection between Betty and her sister, as well as their child, the only inclination that is given of war is Cyril in his RAF uniform. This film shows the private life of Betty and Cyril, by depicting her sister Eunice and their family bond. This would have probably been representative of what was happening in the wider community. Much like many of the amateur family films, there is noticeable absence of war in this film. This was probably an intentional choice when this film was being made so that it was not dominated by war.

Their next film was made in 1945 and entitled *Cracoe Whit*<sup>159</sup>. It opens with Betty, with her friends, leaving the country pub and having a rural walk outside near a farmer's field. A few scenes later Betty is filmed taking pictures with her camera, and two couples are seen walking down a country road. After this there are scenes of a woman feeding ducks on the field, and Cyril sits with others outside a pub. This is followed by a later shot of the group laid on the grass sunbathing, with tea and cake being brought out to the ladies. The final shot focuses on a cricket match, Newburgh V Tollerton, with a variety of people watching the match and a younger boy updating the scores. The film shows primarily the close *gemeinschaft* relationship between these friends in this film and their private lives. Moments such as having a drink at the pub and walking down a country road would have been reflective of what was happening in other communities. The final scenes of the cricket match show how cricket was continuing in these times and also a brief public event, but this was more because it was part of their private activities. The final film during WWII is entitled *Whipsnade (Twentieth Century Park)*<sup>160</sup> and shows a couple's visit to Whipsnade Zoo in Bedfordshire. This film mainly shows animals and a private outing of Cyril and Betty, so their own personal relationship. These films intentionally do not show the war, which is noticeably absent, so war does not dominate these

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<sup>159</sup> *Cracoe Whit*. 1945. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3099). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6162> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>160</sup> *Whipsnade(Twentieth Century Park)*. 1945. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3114). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6192> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

films. On the other hand, these pieces of amateur film contrasted with those that crossed the boundaries between amateur and professional footage.

One of the propaganda films where war was at the centre was *Settle Warships Week*<sup>161</sup>. This is based upon fundraising efforts in Settle that were held to raise £120,000 towards building military ships. There is also a film called *Settle Wings for Victory Week*<sup>162</sup> which follows a similar theme to Settle Warships week, but was raising funds for airplanes instead of ships, as was a common occurrence during WWII<sup>163</sup><sup>164</sup>. Similar to the last film that was analysed this film documents how a variety of the members from communities united during WWII. The establishing shot shows councillors smoking pipes and is then intercut with other soldiers marching past, while the people included within the march are such as firefighters, Air Raid Precaution members (ARP), members of the Home Guard and St John's Ambulance nurses. Meanwhile, the people watching are members of the public who line the streets. The parade in this footage gives an indication of how communities banded together and raised funds for the war. This film was made by William Greenall, a local amateur filmmaker within this town, it captures the life of the town and what was occurring during WWII. Nothing more is known about the filmmaker. The footage shows people from the factory leaving for work and ends with men clearing rubble off the railway tracks, so audiences can see a multitude of occupations and elements of communities working collaboratively. Although this is another amateur production it does indicate the combination of professional, amateur footage and propaganda that began emerging during WWII. Audiences can gain an insight into people in this local community through these films, but their depiction is limited to what the filmmaker intends the audience to see for propaganda purposes and to raise funds for Settle Warships week. In addition, these community events were held and organised over the

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<sup>161</sup> *Settle Warships Week*. 1942. [Film]. William Greenall. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 67). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/319> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>162</sup> *Settle Wings For Victory Week*. 1943. [Film]. William Greenall. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 68). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/323> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>163</sup> Similar events can be seen at the War-Weapons Week Jan 25<sup>th</sup>- Feb 1<sup>st</sup> 1941. That can be seen in the film: *Holmfirth in Wartime*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Kathleen Lockwood. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 782). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1665> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>164</sup> Edgerton, D. 2005. *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



country in the 1940s to help raise funds for warships and war weapons for Britain<sup>165</sup>. This demonstrates the nationalistic and collective community that was unified through war<sup>166</sup>.

The previous section concentrated upon films that were made by amateurs and were based upon events within the family unit. Whereas what makes this section unique is that the propaganda films appear to be directed by amateurs but depict community events in a professional manner. This was perhaps because they were influenced by the newsreels they had seen in the cinema. During WWII there appears to be a continual blurring of the distinction between amateur and professional footage because of the reception of footage and whether it depicted a private or public event, while in most cases the amateur propaganda depicted a public event that involved many members of differing communities. If the amateur propaganda did not depict many members from various communities, then it depicted one specific section such as the Home Guard who were heavily involved with other members in communities. In addition, other pieces of footage, entitled *Home Guard 2*<sup>167</sup> & *Home Guard 3*<sup>168</sup>, demonstrate training of the Home Guard by showing them the correct and incorrect ways to fulfil their duties.

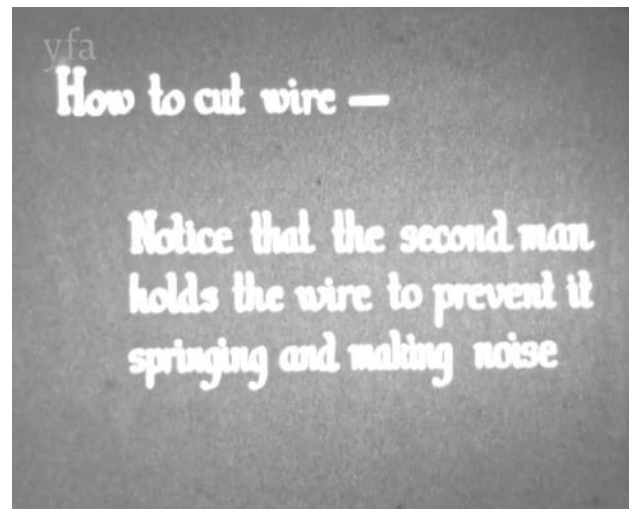
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<sup>165</sup> There are other films in the archives which depict War Weapons Week, these include: *War Weapons Week 1941*. 1941. [Film]. Willie Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2293). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4618> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Ilkley War Weapons week*. 1941. [Film]. Debenham & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3323). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6600> [Accessed 26th April 2021] *Ecclesfield War Weapons Week*. 1940. [Film]. Willie Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2292). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4616> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *War Weapons Week/Grenoside March Past 41*. 1941. [Film]. Willie Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2294). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4620> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *War Weapons Week/ King and Queen Visit Sheffield*. 1941-1945. [Film]. Willie Thornton. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2298). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4627> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>166</sup> Penn, J. 2008. Warship Week 1942. *Canvey Community Island*. Available at: <http://www.canveyisland.org/page.aspx?id=39> [Accessed at 12<sup>th</sup> April 2019]

<sup>167</sup> *Home Guard 2*. 1942. [Film]. Unknown director. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 548). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1218> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>168</sup> *Home Guard 3*. 1942. [Film]. Unknown director. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 549). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1221> [Accessed 24th April 2021]



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The films involving the Home Guard are more instructional films, aimed at showing the audience how to carry out Home Guard duties so it is impossible to tell the class of the members of the Home Guard. Although there is an inherent message of the close community ties through the Home Guard performing group actions and helping the wider community, this film's explicit aim is to show the audience the training exercises as part of this propaganda so not much regarding these bonds is shown other than in training scenarios. Many of the amateur produced films within this time act as propaganda to encourage the war effort and people to be involved within the war effort. In addition, the footage was produced in Standard 8<sup>170</sup> which was a cheaper cut than 16mm, potentially due to rationing or the nature of the

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<sup>169</sup> *Home Guard 2*. 1942. [Film]. Unknown director. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 548). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1218> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>170</sup> Shand, R. 2008. Theorizing amateur cinema: Limitations and possibilities. *The Moving Image*, 8(2), pp. 36-60.

amateur filmmaker. Therefore, amateur propaganda in some cases was shot using lower quality film.

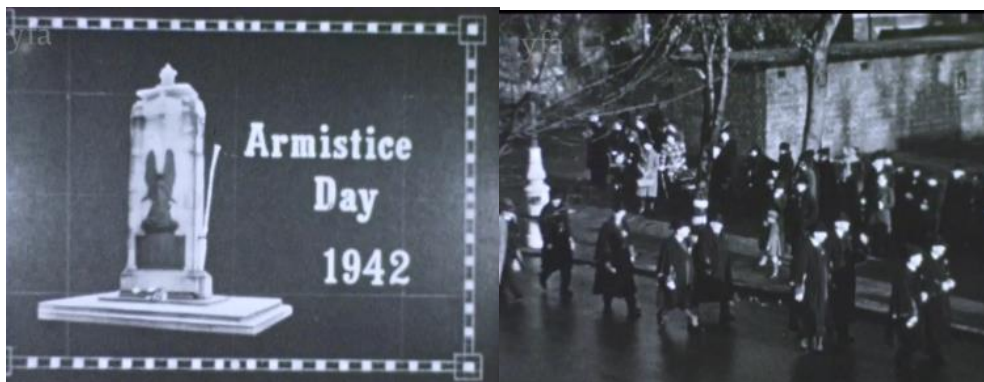
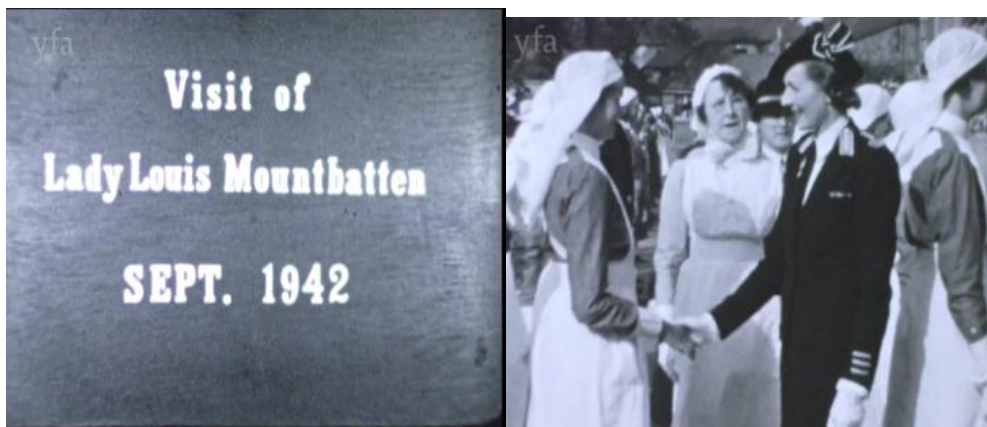
Another amateur film that was shot using Standard 8 was *Visit of Lady Mountbatten*<sup>171</sup>, which was filmed by Mr Quarmby, although nothing more is known of him. This film was shot in Bridlington and focuses on a visit by Lady Mountbatten to the area. It shows various events including a procession of wartime service, people celebrating victory in Libya, Armistice Sunday, and shows bonds being built between British and American children. These all demonstrate how community bonds were being forged and built during this time period, but very much focus on public events rather than what happened in private. This was a clear distinction that usually occurred between amateur and professional footage, but during WWII these films tended to cross those boundaries. The first intertitle states, "The Outpost of Anglo American Pen Friends, at the Town Hall Bridlington, E Yorks, A Youth Rally", with girls and boys holding up placards firstly saying 'Young Bridlington wants to help' followed by 'Young America wants to help'. These indicate how community bonds were being built through international causes not just the local community and services uniting through the war effort. The propaganda seems more sophisticated than previously, as audiences cannot tell immediately that it is propaganda as it is showing events in the area and community activities. This is then shortly followed by the intertitle "Visit of Lady Louis Mountbatten, Sept 1942", where the lady meets nurses and other women in the town hall, followed by "Armistice Sunday 1942" where men put wreaths on the memorial during the ceremony. Finally, it ends with the Laurence Binyons poem 'For The Fallen'.

This film demonstrates the community bonds that were being formed through the international community between America and Britain, as well as women's role in the war through Lady Mountbatten visiting the women and nurses, demonstrating how war involved members from every community and different nations, particularly in WWII. These amateur films all demonstrate how wartime communities came together for one cause and how this could be exaggerated for propaganda purposes. This film deliberately portrayed patriotism through this poem, the mixing of multiple communities and the children interacting on screen, as well as the visit of Lady Mountbatten who is a symbol of national community. It is difficult to determine the class of the people attending this event, as the children are either in formal attire or in uniform, most probably because of Lady Mountbatten's attendance. This film,

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<sup>171</sup> *Visit of Lady Mountbatten*. 1942. [Film]. Mr Quarmby. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 553). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1229> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

through representing local events and bringing together members of community, reflected the imagined community that was represented in national propaganda on a local scale.



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*Visit of Lady Mountbatten*<sup>173</sup> is similar to other films that depict processions as there are multiple pieces of footage containing these in the archives. Similarly there are also multiple films in the archives of holidays at home as this was another initiative during WWII. In addition,

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

there is footage of sporting events including *Rugby League Wartime Matches: Odsal Stadium Bradford*<sup>174</sup>, a film that depicts various rugby league games and fundraising matches. The Rugby League continued throughout the war, other than in 1940, and was a popular pastime that helped to boost communities' morale. A wartime emergency league was set up in 1941<sup>175</sup>, but in November 1939 the Regional Football Union had allowed for players to play for multiple teams across the divide and the sport was organised in a more regional manner than had been done previously. These matches promote an idea of national unity and there is a sense of class that emerges from this film, as rugby was a divisive sport in terms of the class divide<sup>176</sup>. However, many people attending the event were dressed smartly in bowler hats, or were in uniform, as there was a parade of the Boys Brigade and what appear to be the Women's Auxiliary Force before the match. As part of their role within WWII women seemed to be recognised in an official capacity as having a worthy contribution in the war effort. Although Rugby is typically a game that is divisive in terms of class, this film shows many different parts of communities mixing together at a communal event, which gives an idea of an imagined community, and the use of uniform makes it difficult to distinguish class. However, Rugby League had a more working-class character than Union and was very strong in Yorkshire and Lancashire.

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<sup>174</sup> *Rugby League Wartime Matches: Odsal Stadium Bradford*. 1940s. [Film]. Directed by Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 679). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1463> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>175</sup> Collins, T. 1998. *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, London: Frank Cass Publishers.

<sup>176</sup> *Rugby League Wartime Matches: Odsal Stadium Bradford*. 1940s. [Film]. Directed by Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 679). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1463> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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This film contrasts with the next, entitled *Lord Mayor's Year of Office (1)*<sup>178</sup>, which was filmed just before the end of WWII by an amateur filmmaker named Robert Sharp who was a

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> *Lord Mayor's Year of Office (1)*. 1944-1945. [Film]. Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 776). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1653> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

textile retailer from Bradford. This film demonstrates an upper class perception of life, that primarily focuses on public events. Robert Sharp's occupation indicates that his background was upper-middle class, especially since he was filming for the Mayor<sup>179</sup>. Although, arguably the more upper-class element surrounds the activities of the Mayor and what public events he attended. This film footage follows Cecil Barnett, as Lord Mayor between November 1944 and November 1945. The events within these films are public events but are not intentionally propaganda, even though these films seem to have been commissioned. These films demonstrate an interesting perspective of affairs during WWII and although they were filmed by Robert Sharp they demonstrate communal public events. The film also shows a holiday at home promotional event in Bradford. Through viewing these professional and amateur films during WWII the crossover between these categories can be seen. These clearly demonstrate public events and how communities were united through WWII but audiences cannot understand what was happening privately other than by seeing films by amateur filmmakers. This film gives an understanding of the mixture of communities that were supporting the war effort and acts in a certain respect to represent the imagined community from an upper class perspective in official events, with parades depicted and many elements of communities gathered around watching these events, including children and people in uniform. However, while the film is shot from the Mayor's perspective and is therefore slightly removed from the individual relationships and smaller communities, it does give the audience an insight into these different groups who are contributing to WWII on a larger scale. This film demonstrates various aspects of WWII, in a similar vein to the other amateur and semi professionalised films of WWII.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.





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The *Lord Mayor's Year of Office (1)* is an amateur film that adopts a professionalised tone by showing primarily public events as part of the role of being Lord Mayor<sup>181</sup>. This film shows primarily the Lord Mayor's events in a bustling city, to promote public events that were happening there. This contrasts to the following film, *Sheffield At War*<sup>182</sup>. This concentrates on Sheffield and public events, but it contrastingly focuses on these events in the aftermath of a bombing raid. *Sheffield At War*<sup>183</sup> is professional propaganda demonstrating the community morale as they were still participating in public events and community gatherings even after the damage that was inflicted on Sheffield during a bombing raid. The next films that are focused on are *Sheffield At War*<sup>184</sup> and *New Towns for Old*<sup>185</sup>. *Sheffield At War*<sup>186</sup> can be

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>183</sup> Ibid

<sup>184</sup> Ibid

<sup>185</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>186</sup> *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



directly contrasted to the professional film *New Towns For Old*<sup>187</sup>, as *Sheffield at War*<sup>188</sup> shows much of the damage that happened to Sheffield after a bombing raid in December 1940. On the other hand, *New Towns For Old*<sup>189</sup> focuses on rebuilding of Sheffield after the damage that had occurred during WWII. *Sheffield At War*<sup>190</sup> was made by William Baker on behalf of Sheffield Newspapers Ltd, so acts as professional propaganda but with a local focus. The film begins in a rural location with cows crossing the road. This then contrasts with the hustling and bustling urbanity of Sheffield. This film captures the visit of King George VI and his wife, Queen Elizabeth, to Sheffield on January 6<sup>th</sup> 1941. This film shows huge hordes of people as the King and Queen inspect the damaged buildings in Sheffield. According to Healy, there was a bombing raid in December in Sheffield that caused significant damage, with over 75,000 houses damaged and 2,906 damaged beyond any form of repair. Roughly 500-700 people had been killed<sup>191</sup>, although the numbers vary. The main aim of the German raid was to break the civilians' morale. One of the reasons the King and Queen visited Sheffield and other bombed cities was to rebuild people's morale after such attacks. When the King and Queen went to leave Sheffield, they were surrounded by swathes of people in the crowd as they re-entered their car. Their popularity demonstrates the patriotism in Sheffield. Later in the film, parts of a German plane are shown being hoisted up on the back of a truck. There is a large crowd of people gathered round as the workmen hoist the plane onto the back of the lorry, with lots of boys in flat caps and soldiers mixing in the crowd. It appears most of the people gathered in the crowd are soldiers, working class men and boys as is illustrated by their flat caps. After this a women's band in uniform playing trumpets and drums stand to attention, soldiers then march by in procession. People walk around the city in their gas masks, and a woman holds a shopping basket whilst walking through the crowd. Later in the film members of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) set up a large barrage balloon. An officer talks to a line of WAAF women. In the countryside, women linked together arm in arm walk towards the camera, these women appear to be from the Land Army. Women from the Land Army can be seen using their hoes to dig up vegetables as part of the dig for victory campaign. Lots of

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<sup>187</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>188</sup> *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>189</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>190</sup> *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>191</sup> Please see references and text on website for Sheffield at War: *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

women are then seen standing by a bus in their long coats with hoods over their heads. The next scene returns to the city, where there are tanks going down the high street. The last section of the film shows soldiers doing exercises and parading down the street. It then shows firefighters putting out a fire. Members of the Home Guard do an exercise involving a fake battle that they prepare for by looking through machine guns at the supposed enemy. This film shows a variety of locations that vary from the rural to the urban<sup>192</sup>. It contrasts the quietness of rural locations with the cities by depicting the social mixing and large groups surrounding the King and Queen. Furthermore, there are large groups of those who appear to be working classes watching the plane being hoisted onto the lorry. There are also women from the WAAF, the Women's Land Army, people from the Home Guard, soldiers in tanks and other people in the parade. It is clear that this film shows a social mixture of classes, and different members of communities who are involved within this film. Although this film is propaganda it captured public events in Sheffield as they happened, so there is a level of authenticity to this propaganda, even though it will have been edited to be sold to the newspapers. Overall, this film shows various sectors of communities and a level of social mixing; much like women's roles in munitions it also shows how women contributed to WWII rather than being segregated to traditional female domestic roles. Therefore, the variety of people portrayed shows the imagined community simply through the number of people depicted that are contributing towards the war effort as one large community. This would act as encouragement for others to become involved in the war effort. Although this film has no intertitles, it demonstrates the patriotism that was used to bring people together intentionally in propaganda, especially when the King and Queen visited.

The previous propaganda film showed a variety of people, including working classes, Home Guard, WAAF and the Land Army, to represent the imagery of the imagined community and to bring people together in support of WWII. In terms of how this references the imagined community in a nuanced way this is because it can be defined as how people across a nation will never meet, but view themselves to have a similar affinity and identify as being a part of the same nation. In this way all these groups coming together perceive themselves collectively to have the same national identity and in this scenario fight for the same national cause. The next professional piece of propaganda being examined is called *New Towns for Old*<sup>193</sup>, a film commissioned by the MOI with the aim of building morale. This film was scripted specifically for Sheffield by Dylan Thomas and argues that houses should be separated from industrial

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<sup>192</sup> Much like the need for more rural type communities in Sheffield that is part of the next film that is analysed.

<sup>193</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

areas. This film is about Sheffield but not from Sheffield, which contrasts to *Sheffield At War*<sup>194</sup>. In total 54 government films were produced about planning during WWII. There are steam engines going down to the steel factory, with discussion of how children should not have to be raised in these conditions. Both men state that new blocks of flats should not be sited near industrial factories. This film demonstrates mostly areas of slum clearance, and shows the countryside with the potential for 30,000 homes to be built. This represents how communities were changing in Sheffield, which was moving from an urban metropolis to encouraging people to live in the countryside or suburbs to avoid the pollutants created by factories. This draws an interesting contrast between rural and urban life, particularly during WWII, and the need for schools, hospitals and infrastructure. It was similarly useful that this footage was produced with sound. However, both of these people dictating the contrast between city and countryside life are men, and no woman has a vocal role within this footage. The children are shown playing in the street near the factory.



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The new houses are to be built away from the factories in the countryside and away from the dirt, as conveyed by a man with a Yorkshire accent talking with someone with a refined received pronunciation accent<sup>196</sup>. This footage does not demonstrate the magnitude of other events occurring within England and what was happening in WWII, as it focuses upon what houses are needed for after the war. This film is for propaganda purposes and promotes the improved environmental conditions at home for workers by separating the country from the city. Thus this film promotes a higher standard of living for the working classes. The film does not show communities but merely highlights the danger of industrial conditions and the

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<sup>194</sup> *Sheffield At War*. 1940-1941. [Film]. William Baker. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2881). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5734> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>195</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>196</sup> *ibid*

benefits of rural conditions. This is a piece of propaganda with sound from the archives that was filmed in 16mm and serves to persuade the audience of the benefits of town planning, meaning it was intentionally propaganda and has the contrast between local and received pronunciation and accents. The Yorkshire accent reinforces the authenticity and familiarity of the concern for people in the area, in similar fashion to how the popularity of George Formby and his accent gave a sense of familiarity to films with sound<sup>197</sup>. Like Formby's Lancashire accent, the Yorkshire accent is associated with the working classes, while the upper classes would often speak using received pronunciation; therefore, this accent gives the audience a sense of safety through using what can be perceived as the friendly working class Yorkshire accent<sup>198</sup>. Furthermore, the use of an actor with this accent shows working classes were beginning to become represented in their community, at least in a more local piece of propaganda. In contrast, the documentary movement that occurred in the 1930s largely featured voiceovers that used received pronunciation, with men often articulating top down seemingly when speaking<sup>199</sup> (in some way condescendingly) to the audience. Overall, this film appeals to the audience's sense of an imagined idyllic rural community when it discusses how to rebuild the city of Sheffield.

*New Towns For Old*<sup>200</sup> is propaganda focusing on the benefits of living in a rural community, by appealing to the audience's imagined idyllic rural community through the use of a voiceover. The use of voiceovers to appeal to the audience's imagined idea of community and national identity was further reflected through professional propaganda on a national level, including by the documentary movement which became widespread in the late 1930s and 1940s. Much like the commentary that accompanied the film *New Towns For Old*<sup>201</sup>, most of these professional pieces of propaganda were accompanied by commentary.

Another one of these films, entitled *Listen to Britain*<sup>202</sup>, which was particularly popular, had a foreword spoken by Leonard Brockington, a Canadian public figure. Similarly to the previous film, the foreword is spoken by a foreign correspondent for persuasion, but this gives the audience a sense of security when watching the film. The previous film was made by Humphrey Jennings, and throughout WWII his socialist voice became stronger, more visceral

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<sup>197</sup> Shafer, S. 2003. Inter-class romance. In: *British popular films 1929-1939: The cinema of reassurance*. London: Routledge. pp. 112-147.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Although this could be seen to be somewhat condescending to the audience.

<sup>200</sup> *New Towns for Old*. 1942. [Film]. John Eldrige. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 28). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/246> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> *Listen to Britain*. 1942. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

in his representation of communities, especially the working classes. This film was made by the Crown Film Unit as part of the MOI to support the war effort and to rally people's sense of patriotism. The film begins with a poem to address the audience<sup>203</sup>.

The intention of the poem is to connect with the British audience's patriotism, the imagined community, and to connect with international audiences. The purpose of using Brockington as a Canadian actor is to connect with an international and American audience. This footage shows women working in the factories, it shows many people working within communities during WWII. It shows people at home, at work, at war and a variety of classes working together. This propaganda shows British people in a variety of circumstances and classes working together for Britain and builds upon the imagined community to urge people from a national and international perspective to rally together for the allied cause during WWII. The film features different radio broadcasting voices in many languages, people singing together in music halls along with workers in the factory. On initial viewing this depicts what was happening during WWII, however on closer inspection it shows the community, including male and female factory workers, singing in harmony to maintain morale and build community bonds in this time. As has been seen in previous amateur films with the male and female workers within the munitions factories, this film shows the collective community spirit that was depicted in amateur films on a wider scale. It also depicts the parades through the city<sup>204</sup> and men in the factory with the national anthem played as background music. The sounds within this film build an image of patriotism drawing the men and women together. Yet again this film was produced for propaganda purposes and intentionally highlights how communities were participating. This shows soldiers together playing music and smoking cigarettes, farm workers working together and people in the factories being entertained. This reverberated through amateur and professional productions on a local and national scale who demonstrated how the different groups and institutions in communities functioned together. To what extent this naturally occurred or was socially constructed is unknown; on the other hand, the footage

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<sup>203</sup> BBC Four Commissioning. 2017. *Documentary filmmakers offered new opportunity to 'Listen to Britain' with support of BBC and BFI*. Last updated 31.01.2017. BBC: BBC Four Commissioning. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2017/listen-to-britain> [Accessed 22nd July 2020]. *I am a Canadian. I have been listening to Britain. I have heard the sound of her life by day and by night. Many years ago, a great American, speaking of Britain, said that in the storm of battle and conflict, she had a secret rigour and a pulse like a cannon. In the great sound picture that is here presented, you too will hear that heart beating. For blended together in one great symphony is the music of Britain at war. The evening hymn of the lark, the roar of the Spitfires, the dancers in the great ballroom at Blackpool, the clank of machinery and shunting trains. Soldiers of Canada holding in memory, in proud memory, their home on the range. The BBC sending truth on its journey around the world. The trumpet call of freedom, the war song of a great people. The first sure notes of the march of victory, as you, and I, listen to Britain.*

<sup>204</sup> Parades through the city were a prevalent part of WWII, as they happened in many cities and often. There are many amateur films in this chapter that have captured parades.

as part of the documentary movement appears to be heavily scripted and constructed. The aim of the documentary movement was to highlight the working class communities, their role within society and how their efforts contributed towards defeating their German enemies. This benefited these communities through highlighting their work but to some extent these depictions of working class communities in the factories were socially constructed so only showed certain elements of their work<sup>205</sup>.



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Most national propaganda was produced by the Ministry of Information during WWII as it was established only a day after Britain declared war, although they began planning the MOI in 1935<sup>207</sup>. This demonstrates the importance of propaganda as a tool and weapon of war to build morale. The main purpose of the MOI was to 'present the national case to the public at home and abroad'<sup>208</sup>. This was often portrayed by accentuating the evil characteristics of the enemy forces. Films such as *Uncensored*<sup>209</sup> and *The Day Will Dawn*<sup>210</sup> focus on the French and Belgian resistance but unlike the other propaganda films these are fictional. Their attempts through these films were to build morale and show the communities coming together in Belgium and France, without the need for class boundaries to be portrayed within the films. The portrayal of communities through using propaganda was not only aimed nationally but also aimed internationally at attracting allies to help fight against the enemy forces. The bonds that connect people in these films illustrate the importance of allies and how class was not so important during WWII. Each one of these films played a crucial role in encouraging communities to be more collective for morale purposes, although all of these films were

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<sup>205</sup> Taylor, P. M. 2003. The Second World War. In: *Munitions of the mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.208-249.

<sup>206</sup> *Listen to Britain*. 1942. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

<sup>207</sup> McLaine, I. 1979. *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II*. London: Allen & Unwin.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>209</sup> *Uncensored*. 1942. [Film]. Anthony Asquith. United Kingdom: Gainsborough Pictures.

<sup>210</sup> *The Day Will Dawn*. 1942. [Film]. Harold French. United Kingdom: General Film Distribution.

intentionally scripted for that purpose. Other than the home movies all of the films, both amateur and professional footage, show elements of the imagined community but these all appear to be from a propaganda perspective.

In terms of amateur filmmaking, this existed in WWII but there was more of a crossover between amateur and professional films that covered wartime events and some of these films were instructional. However, there were not many women producing films, at least locally in the archives, and this was similarly the case with ethnic minorities. Class was not so important during WWII and neither was gender or ethnicity as people from all ethnicities and from all genders became involved in the war effort. The involvement of those in WWII was inclusive in this respect, although those making films during the wartime period were mainly from an upper-middle class background. While these films reveal what was happening during this time period, it was shown through the class-based or wartime community that was drawn together through their wartime occupation rather than communities formed through their gender or ethnicity.

To conclude, the films within this time primarily portray how communities were involved within the war effort but most of these films were depicted from a propaganda perspective. The home movies demonstrate the perspective of holidays from home and mainly depict private lifestyles and not public events. Thus, the films of WWII show distinct contrasts in terms of home movies that focused on private home events, amateur footage that acted as propaganda and crossed the boundary between professional and amateur footage, and professional film that was propaganda. The popularisation of amateur filmmaking that occurred in the late 1930s still continued, with an increasingly blurred distinction between amateur and professional footage. This initially increased rapidly but due to rationing the rate at which these films were produced and the quantity decreased. Something to note is that there is an absence of ethnicity and only a small amount of films made by female filmmakers<sup>211</sup>.

The following chapter focuses on amateur and professional films, beginning initially with a discussion of professional propaganda after WWII. This is followed by examining professional and amateur depictions of the victory celebrations in 1945, holidays at home and a mixture of amateur films focusing on the public and private. The later sections on post-war filmmaking focus on female filmmakers and Jewish filmmakers. The films of female filmmakers

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<sup>211</sup> Hart, R.A.2007. 'Women doing men's work and women doing women's work: Female work and pay in British wartime engineering', *Explorations in Economic History*, 44 (1), pp. 114-130.

are examined to see how their filmmaking had changed after WWII, as there is a female filmmaker who made amateur and professional films between 1930 and 1950. Similarly, the films of Jewish filmmakers are analysed as most Jewish filmmakers did not make any films during WWII, which could in part be due to the persecution of the Jewish community. The final section of the following chapter returns to amateur filmmakers after WWII, and it also covers film by both amateur and professional filmmakers of similar events.



## Chapter 6: Post War: Victory Celebrations

This chapter begins by giving a general overview of how professional propaganda had changed in the post-war period and then analyses the victory celebrations. A strong element of post war filmmaking was the victory celebrations in 1945 which were a common feature of many amateur and professional filmmakers' collections<sup>1</sup>. This was an important celebration throughout all of England at the end of WWII so was celebrated through amateur and professional collections, and to some extent shows public and private lives. The films show very public celebrations through propaganda of V.E. Day with the citywide celebration in Hull, this is then viewed in comparison to a more localised family amateur film that also shows the celebration, albeit on a smaller scale. Much like other propaganda after WWII, professional propaganda changed in the post-war period, and its aim was not to persuade the audience of an argument to be recruited but rather to manipulate and shape their perceptions through showing the celebrations of victory after WWII.

In this chapter the core concepts that are examined are constructed ideas of community, the imagined community, propaganda, culturally formed communities and the *gemeinschaft*. Constructed ideas of community and the imagined community are quintessentially related. The imagined community is how people who may never meet or come face to face perceive themselves to have a similar affinity and interest because they are from the same background<sup>2</sup>. Constructed ideas of community are how the imagined community is reflected in amateur film footage; often national depictions of imagined community are represented in local events by amateur filmmakers. These are explained in more detail in Chapter 1.2. Propaganda is complex to define and differs over a variety of contexts. Propaganda in this chapter differs from professional propaganda of WWII, specifically with the victory celebrations and the Queen's coronation tour. These pieces of propaganda are not

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<sup>1</sup>These celebrations can be seen in many films including:

*Hull Victory Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Debenhams & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 16). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/233> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Victory Week Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Willie Thorne. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2300). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4631> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *V.E. Civic Service, Bradford*. 1945. [Film]. Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 759). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1618> [Accessed 26th April 2021] *Ibberson Family and VE Day, 1944-1945*. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

public information films, and do not attempt to persuade the audience of a specific argument (for example encouraging recruitment). However, professional propaganda in the 1950s manipulates the perspectives of the audience by promoting the Victory in WWII and celebrating the Queen's coronation tour<sup>3</sup>. These films show specific public events but frame them in such a way that they are shown from a constructed positive perspective. Culturally formed communities are brought together because of their shared cultural and religious beliefs, for example, in this chapter culturally formed communities are based on the relationships formed within the Jewish community. In addition, there is a return to the *Gemeinschaft*, which was previously defined in Chapter 1, as close community bonds and grassroots interactions are reflected in this chapter<sup>4</sup>. These concepts of the community are crucial to this thesis and are complex to define, which is why they have been defined to preface the chapter so that the audience can have an in-depth understanding of these concepts.

Professional filmmaking in the post-war period followed films that were made during WWII. In WWII the professional films that were examined in the previous chapter were propaganda based and professional filmmaking changed after the emergence of the documentary movement<sup>5</sup>. There was also an element of amateur filmmaking that was propaganda based. The documentary movement often analysed working-class professions and gave a top-down perspective of their work, particularly through the films of Humphrey Jennings. After WWII public information films such as *Summer Travelling*<sup>6</sup> and *Another Case of Poisoning*<sup>7</sup> (food hygiene) continued to be produced about everyday topics but not for the explicit purposes of propaganda as had previously been the case. The national propaganda films after World War Two contrasted with what was being depicted during WWII and focused on more routine home events and the country's recovery after 1945. This allowed the audience to relate to communities and comprehend them in a daily and interpersonal manner more than had been the case prior to 1945. These films began as public information films and developed

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<sup>3</sup> Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Waters, T & Waters, D. 2015. *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society: New politics on politics, bureaucracy and social stratification*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 37-58.

<sup>6</sup> *Summer Travelling*. 1945. [Film]. W.M.Larkins. United Kingdom: The Larkins Studio.

<sup>7</sup> *Another Case of Poisoning*. 1949.[Film]. Jon Waterhouse. United Kingdom: Central Office of Information. Available from: <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-another-case-of-poisoning-1949-online> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

more into party political films that focused on rebuilding the UK<sup>8</sup>. There were films that were made for national and international audiences and, similar to WWII films, these films focused on the destruction of war, how it brought communities together and plans for rebuilding cities after the war with urban planning<sup>9</sup>. These pieces of footage relate to the audience in both a private and public setting through the choreographed and scripted pieces of propaganda that depict and instruct the audience how to behave in public or private settings, for example, *Another Case of Poisoning*<sup>10</sup> addresses hygiene in the public food factory and hygiene in the private home.

To begin this chapter and have a balanced view of amateur and professional films after WWII, the portrayal of V.E. Day in the UK is examined. V.E. Day (Victory in Europe day) was celebrated on the 8<sup>th</sup> May 1945. After a war that had lasted 6 years, the Battle of Berlin was one of the last major strategic battles during WWII and was fought primarily by the Soviet Union. Hitler committed suicide and it was his successor that authorised Germany's surrender afterwards. The definitive German instrument of surrender was signed on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1945. More than 1 million people celebrated in the streets across the UK. Millions of people had been listening on the wireless to the news of Germany's surrender<sup>11</sup>. Churchill addressed a crowd at Whitehall, over the radio and in national propaganda<sup>12</sup>, as follows:

“God bless you all. This is your victory. In our long history, we have never seen a greater day than this. Everyone, man or woman, has done their best”<sup>13</sup>.

Churchill appears to speak to the imagined community by addressing the audience in similar fashion to how they had been addressed throughout the war through speaking to them as everyone, man or women, reiterating the idea of the People's War. Churchill also asked Ernest Bevin to share the applause, but Bevin insisted it was Winston's day to celebrate. This nod for Bevin to acknowledge the applause goes some way to demonstrate the integral

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<sup>8</sup> Please see films: *Housing Makes History*. 1953. [Film]. Directed by unknown. United Kingdom: Conservative Party.

<sup>9</sup> *Proud City A Plan For London*. 1946. [Film]. Ralph Keene. United Kingdom: Ministry of Information. *Fire of London*. 1945. [Film]. Army Film Unit. UK: Ministry of Information.

<sup>10</sup> *Another Case of Poisoning*. 1949.[Film]. Jon Waterhouse. United Kingdom: Central Office of Information. Available from: <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-another-case-of-poisoning-1949-online> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>11</sup> Hendy, D. 2016. *VE Day: A day in which the BBC would try to capture the mood not just of Britain, but of the wider world*. History of the BBC [Online]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/100-voices/ww2/ve-day> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>12</sup> *V.E. Day in London*. 1945. [Film] Movietone news. UK: British Movietone. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEavcsrMoMw> [Accessed 26<sup>th</sup> May 2021]

<sup>13</sup> Hermiston, R.2016. *All Behind You, Winston – Churchill's Great Coalition, 1940–45*. London: Aurum Press. p. 355.

importance of Bevin during WWII in intervening to support the British people. Churchill was also mindful of the fact that Japan had not yet been defeated<sup>14</sup>.

One of the professional propaganda films to celebrate V.E. Day was *Hull Victory Celebrations*<sup>15</sup>. This was directed by Debenhams and Co, a professional film company, with the intention of it being sold or showed for profit. The aim of this footage was to show the Victory Celebration and this piece of footage was propaganda, which has been defined as “a deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviours to achieve a response<sup>16</sup>”. Meanwhile, Welch<sup>17</sup> states that patriotism and nationalism were two of the most important themes used in propaganda during WWI. This was not a deliberate piece of propaganda crafted to persuade the audience of an argument, however patriotism and nationalism are at the heart of this piece of footage. Thus, it is a piece of professional propaganda. This was a 40-minute feature film about the different groups involved in the war and their parade. It was produced by Debenhams and Co but depicts scenes like those of national propaganda films, almost emulating qualities of the documentary movement. The introduction of sound and colour in this film, as with the films in the documentary film movement, adds a greater insight into the voice of the commentator. The use of sound also gives an added insight into the voice of people within the films, as it gives the people in front of the camera an added dimension to understanding their character, and similarly allows the commentator to give personality to the description of what is being shown on screen. Furthermore, colour is also an important aspect of the interpretation as audiences can see the attire of those in front of the camera to determine their status and similarly to further determine the scenery that is captured through the introduction of colour. The commentary is spoken by Alvar Lidell. Lidell was a famous wartime newsreader. Newsreaders' names were announced in every broadcast as it was considered important for the public to know their voices, otherwise they could have been enemy imitators. The initial shots begin with the bells ringing and families, soldiers and nurses gathered around the wireless listening to Churchill's announcement of Germany's surrender. The procession then begins with many groups who were involved in the community of WWII. It shows the Lord Mayor and Sherriff addressing masses of people in crowds and then the people joyfully dancing in Queen Victoria

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>*Hull Victory Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Debenhams & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 16). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/233> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>16</sup>Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. 2015. *Propaganda & persuasion*. ed. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. Sixth Edition ed. Chicago: Sage. p. 7.

<sup>17</sup>Welch, D. 2014. Propaganda for Patriotism and Nationalism. *World War One: British Library*. Available from: <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/patriotism-and-nationalism> [Accessed 2nd June 2020]

Square, East Park, and many other locations in Hull in celebration of the end of WWII, women, men and young girls are sharing their jubilation at the victory. This documents the imagined community by showing people from a variety of backgrounds all gathering together to celebrate, yet this also demonstrates an active idea of patriotism in communities, conveying that the imagined community is no longer imagined because these events with people gathering from a variety of communities would have happened without the camera's presence. These scenes of communal cohesion may have diminished after the event. Therefore, this shows the imagined community realised, how the members of the public are being patriotic and celebrating the end of WWII. This community is not constructed for the purposes of the camera, although certain scenes will have been framed and captured in a certain way. The people of York and the Archbishop of York visit Hull, which Lidell notes was the most heavily bombed city in Europe in WWII, with the exception of Malta<sup>18</sup>.



19

There is a church ceremony which is narrated over, where the people pray for those injured in rescue work, fighting fires, they pray for the nurses, the wardens, for the Women's Voluntary Service and the dozens of organisations who rallied round to help these communities. This was clearly a professionally produced film demonstrating the relief that was experienced in Britain and it also shows children in costumes marching through the city streets. This was positive propaganda at the end of WWII, but was not overtly aimed at persuading the audience of an argument other than demonstrating the victory celebrations. The film documents in a similar fashion to British Pathé newsreels, although, ironically, it does

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<sup>18</sup>This statement was reinforced by a statement from Alan Bringham, the chairman of the Hull People's War Memorial in: Wood, A. 2015. Why has the BBC ignored Hull's suffering in the Blitz? *Yorkshire Post*. [online]. 5<sup>th</sup> September 2015. Available from: <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/why-has-bbc-ignored-hulls-suffering-blitz-1813074> [Accessed 6th October 2020]

<sup>19</sup>*Hull Victory Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Debenhams & Co. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 16). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/233> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

not appear that British Pathé filmed any VE Day celebrations outside of London<sup>20</sup>. This was produced by Debenhams and Co as propaganda that concentrated on building a strong sense of patriotism in Britain. This film further builds upon the imagined community which is reflected in real communities and shows a unity through service of people in uniform, with the nurses, the wardens, etc., all the people gathered in the parade who would have been together even if this event had not been filmed professionally. Even the church ceremony that is filmed builds an idea of camaraderie. This camaraderie was built upon in WWII and rallied the nation together through propaganda, so there is no doubt it is reflected in this film, especially with the parade through the city. This differs to wartime propaganda as the parade was not intended to encourage recruitment; this celebratory parade would have happened even if the event had not been filmed. Propaganda of this nature demonstrates the strength of the UK after WWII and indeed focuses on patriotism. It does not have the specific aim of convincing the audience of an argument but manipulates the perceptions of the audience from a positive patriotic perspective. There are some indications of class which are given to the audience as people sit patiently in their living rooms listening to the wireless, awaiting the announcement of the end of the war. Everyone is dressed in smart attire, in large living rooms, giving an impression of middle-class status. However, this scene gives the appearance of being constructed, as it is unlikely the film would have captured the moment when the end of WWII was announced.

To a certain extent capturing these scenes in the moment almost fictionalises what would have otherwise been seen as documentary footage, which is what makes this film propaganda and not documentary film as it is crafted to have an effect upon the audience. It is difficult to determine the class of people within the films. This film gives an impression of people from a variety of backgrounds as some women are wearing formal utility clothing, others are wearing headscarves, Lidell refers to the Make-Do-and-Mend Scheme during the fancy dress pageant. The large amount of people in the crowd shows social mixing of the regional community and of different classes. Although the parade was filmed in the city of Hull, it is difficult to determine from their attire the classes of those who attended as many were in uniform, fancy dress or would have worn formal outfits for the occasion, which shows the levelling effect of war. The class distinctions that were defined more clearly in the interwar period have collapsed again and become less visible in front of the camera, just as they were during WWII. Thus, this demonstrates the levelling effect of war.

The previous film is professional footage that covers the victory celebrations but there is amateur footage which covers the celebrations, made by the Ibberson family and called

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

*Ibberson Family and VE Day*<sup>21</sup> and *Yorkshire Beaches*<sup>22</sup>. Both these films depict holidays and outings in the local area. *Ibberson Family and VE Day*<sup>23</sup> begins with one child playing on a three-wheeler bike and three Ibberson boys jovially feeding lambs at Stanton Woodhouse, Prestatyn in Wales. Immediately the impression from these family films is that the footage focuses upon the idyllic private family life of the Ibbersons, holidaying within Britain at the coast and in the countryside. Another shot shows the exterior of their decorated shop in the middle of Sheffield, covered in bunting, and the children marching past a British flag in a conga line. This is then followed by two 'V's' being illuminated in the darkness to signify the VE day celebrations, and Mr and Mrs Ibberson in formal attire ready for the victory ball. The images of bunting and the British flag are a display of patriotism and perhaps unwittingly the imagined community is realised through showing a symbol of national unity in the victory celebrations. These flags act as a symbol to represent how people, even though they may never meet or come face to face, still identify as being proud to belong to Britain and use the flags to represent this. Ibberson's films have more of a focus on family scenes rather than victory parades in Sheffield. In addition, the context is necessary for the final scene of the victory ball as it cannot be understood through them wearing this attire alone. The scenes, on an initial viewing, demonstrate the victory celebrations but on a closer reading represent the private family connections and how these integrate with the constructed idea of an imagined national community and public patriotic events in which they are participating, including VE day. The imagined community that is shown often in national propaganda is reflected in real communities who celebrated nationally and locally at the end of WWII, especially within the local Sheffield community and smaller individual family celebrations. The qualities of this film mark a return to a similar style of filmmaking that was used within interwar communities and is reflected in films in the period shortly following the end WWII. This is seen particularly in this film's depiction of the private family unit participating in public events as part of their patriotism. One of the reasons behind this is the rise of amateur filmmaking in the 1930s that led to the popularisation of filmmaking capturing the public and domestic sphere<sup>24</sup>. Another reason for

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibberson Family and VE Day*, 1944-1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>22</sup> *Yorkshire Beaches*. 1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2015). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3979> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>23</sup> *Ibberson Family and VE Day*, 1944-1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021].

<sup>24</sup> Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

this was the increase in filming of public events by amateur filmmakers following the end of WWII, with some of these films capturing the family unit<sup>25</sup>.



26

The film *Yorkshire Beaches*<sup>27</sup> documents the family's local holidays in Filey and Whitby after WWII, and is filmed partly in black and white and partly in colour. A shot looms over the VJ celebrations, and documents the importance of the family unit as it focuses on the private family sphere in opposition to public events, although ironically this public event seeps into their private family life. Many of the shots within the film are of the beautiful scenery, family members visiting the gardens, as well as the children holidaying at the beaches. The VJ shot that briefly illuminates the screen is the only allusion to VJ day as no victory celebrations for the family are deliberately shown, but it provides context for the film. VJ day was lower key than VE, in terms of the event and the films that were made. Many of these shots focus on the family holidays within Britain, in areas such as Filey and Whitby. In a similar vein to WWII, the holidays for this family appear to be focused in the local region, probably due to economic restrictions after WWII. For example, it was not until 1954 when rationing was lifted; in addition, there was still unrest in Europe despite the war ending<sup>28</sup>. Even though the war had ended there was still cautiousness in terms of overseas travel and the late 1940s were dominated by

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<sup>25</sup>Other films capturing V.E. Day by amateur filmmakers are: *Victory Week Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Willie Thorne. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2300). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4631> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *V.E. Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>: Thanksgiving May Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. Directed by John McHugh. YFA: United Kingdom.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibberson Family and VE Day, 1944-1945*. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021] Zimmerman, P. R. 1995. *Reel families: A social history of amateur film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>27</sup>*Yorkshire Beaches*. 1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2015). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3979> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>28</sup>Darke, S. J. 1979. A nutrition policy for Britain. *Journal of human nutrition*, 33(6), pp. 438-444.



austerity because of the debt that the UK had incurred<sup>29</sup>. Overseas areas were out of reach for many ordinary people, but they always had been. Furthermore, the relationships and close bonds within this family were likely to be indicative of the wider community and their ability to go on holiday<sup>30</sup>, as they may have been limited financially or cautious of embarking upon travel in Europe<sup>31</sup>. This film gives the audience a real insight into a close family's private events and holidays that happened straight after WWII. This footage evokes the imagery of peace by showing the audience beautiful scenery and holidays on beaches, there is no sense of danger as was apparent in the other films. Even though, showing this scenery to specifically evoke the imagery of peace was likely an unwittingly intention of this film. Overall Britain had borrowed \$3.75 billion from America in 1945 and had another \$3.2 billion in aid from America as part of the Marshall plan<sup>32</sup>. However, this did not seem to affect the Ibbersons economically, because they produced steel knives during WWII and had a successful cutlery business before and after WWII. On the other hand, they may have been cautious, like most people, about the dangers of European travel in this time.<sup>33</sup>

Another amateur film, *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*, was shot in 16mm by John McHugh of the Gateshead Police Photographic Unit and captures VE day in Gateshead<sup>34</sup>. McHugh was an amateur filmmaker and a police officer (who was off duty), which was a lower middle-class occupation. The film captures flags, and bunting strung between terraces, women, men and children celebrating at street parties. This was shown in many panning shots to demonstrate the scale of the celebrations and was an obvious display

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<sup>29</sup> Grant, P. A. 1995. President Harry S. Truman and the British Loan Act of 1946. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 25 (3): pp. 489–96.

<sup>30</sup> There are many films that shows holidays at home between 1945-1954: *Holiday Snapshots 1947-1949*. 1947-1949. [Film]. Dr H Porteous. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 19848). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/24681> [Accessed 5th May 2021]; *Summer Holiday-1949*. 1949. [Film]. Cooper. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2851). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/5677> [Accessed 5th May 2021]; *Wallis's Clayton Bay Holiday Camp*. 1950s. [Film]. Leonard and Jean Winter. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 21365). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/26157> [Accessed 5th May 2021]; *Seventh Family Film: Summer Holiday 1952*. 1952. [Film]. Peter Dobing. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 22165). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/26956> [Accessed 5th May 2021]

<sup>31</sup> Particularly as the Ibberson's were still relatively wealthy.

<sup>32</sup> Vickers, R. 2000. *Manipulating Hegemony: State Power, Labour and the Marshall Plan in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 44-48.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

of patriotism. The fact that he made many instructional films allowed him to access rare colour film stock<sup>35</sup>. Although this is victory celebration footage, the V appears propaganda-like as in previous films and so does VE within the intertitles. This seems to represent a depiction of amateur propaganda which is then followed by a shot of the Evening Chronicle with the headline 'Victory'. The initial shot of the street party shows people stood outside their terraced houses in a medium shot with bunting in the street and a long table set for a street party, women wearing pinafores can be seen next to the tables. The location of these street parties represents to some extent how the working classes were able to celebrate this victory, the boys are dressed up in matching smart suits on the right side of the image below. The camera then pans across to some boys in formal attire. Later the camera also pans across to a woman next to a long table who appears to be in blue factory uniform, which indicates her working-class status. Thus, this film reflects diverse communities including the working classes and the upper-middle classes.



36

Some of the women in this film give the appearance of being upper-middle class because of their smart attire and long dresses. This is also illustrated in another image below. However, the shortages of fabric due to rationing made it often difficult to determine someone's class through their attire during WWII.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



37

The clothes that these women wore were marketed as ladies' suits in 1942 and were referred to as victory suits if they were home made from whatever material was available due to a shortage of fabrics in the UK. As indicated above it would appear from the clothing and hats in this film that the women were of upper-middle class status, however the clothing could be described as a utility or victory suits, made from the available fabric in the UK, so it is difficult from these images to define their class from their utility clothing<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Turner, N. 2011. Deprivation Fashion. *Duck: Journal for Research in Textiles and Textile Design*, pp. 1 -21.



In addition to these depictions of various classes, there were also many men and women parading in uniform, including members of the Navy, Royal Air Force, Salvation Army, Scouts, Guides and police force<sup>40</sup>. Multiple groups of people are shown participating in VE Day, which demonstrates how differing communities all gathered to celebrate the end of the war. This reflects a realisation of constructed ideas of imagined community that have been built up using propaganda, how these national and local communities are physically celebrated demonstrated how this idea is real, at least in one sense.

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<sup>39</sup> Sessions, D. 2013 .What did women wear in the 40s ? 40s fashion trends. *Vintage Dancer*. 5<sup>th</sup> August 2013.Available from: <https://vintagedancer.com/1940s/what-did-women-wear-in-the-1940s/> [Accessed 27<sup>th</sup> May 2020].

<sup>40</sup> *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



41

This amateur propaganda portrays an image of nationalism and constructed idea of a realised imagined community, especially through the parades. There are numerous films that capture the VE and VJ day celebrations, including the film *V.J. Day Celebrations*<sup>42</sup>, which was directed by a local baker, Fred Wilkinson, in Wakefield. Another such film was *V.E. Civic Service, Bradford*<sup>43</sup> that was directed by Robert Sharp, a textile retailer who followed the Lord Mayor in his duties. There are many films that document the VE and VJ day celebrations, from amateur and professional filmmaking perspectives, as these are important events that connect

<sup>41</sup> *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>42</sup> *V.J. Day Celebrations*. 1945. [Film]. Fred Wilkinson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 758). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1617> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>43</sup> *V.E. Civic Service, Bradford*. 1945. [Film]. Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 759). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1618> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



communities in the public, private and domestic sphere<sup>44</sup>. These films all demonstrate the different aspects of communities, patriotism and constructed ideas of community which are reflected in post war amateur filmmaking. On the other hand, this makes the distinction between amateur and professional filmmaking increasingly difficult to define.

Another film that followed the VE and VJ day celebrations was made in 1948 by Charles Chislett, and was entitled *Men of Steel*<sup>45</sup>. This film documents the process of production of steel or iron, demonstrating the labourers putting materials into the furnace. The film ends with an intertitle "Until peoples of the world look to the highest authority for guidance and leadership, steel will continue to destroy where it might serve". This film was made with the support of Park Gate Iron and Steel Company, and documents what happens in a working class occupation such as making steel. In 1951 Parkgate commissioned *The Story of Steel*, this was catalogued as 'Park Gate Iron and Steel', costing £400 and this film was in a longer and more detailed form<sup>46</sup>. So during and after WWII the filming of industrial and working class occupations was popularised as a result of the documentary filmmaking movement, where it was necessary to show the production processes, especially of munitions on a professional national scale, whereas after WWII semi-professional amateur filmmakers would also make such films for companies<sup>47</sup>. In addition, this popularised the depiction of working classes and their professions after WWII<sup>48</sup>. What is interesting is that this film was shown at Sheffield Memorial Hall in 1951 and another film was requested featuring the 11 inch continuous bar ball, for a price of £250. This was edited by Sheffield Photo Company as well. This instructional film was made by a mixture of amateur and professionalised filmmaking companies and was

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<sup>44</sup> There are many films showing the VE day celebrations, even including different races and ethnicities such as the Indian community: *Sheffield V.E. Day/ Indian Victory Parade Visits Sheffield. 1945-1947*. Directed by Tudor Films. United Kingdom: YFA; *VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 Thanksgiving Day May 14<sup>th</sup> 1945*. 1945. [Film]. John McHugh. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 12585). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/18101> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Halifax Cine Club VE and VJ Parade Day*. 1945. Directed by Cine Club. United Kingdom: YFA.

<sup>45</sup> *Men of Steel*. 1948. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 99). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/385> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> There are a few films about the production of steel after 1945: *The Story of Good Steel*. 1945. [Film]. William Gregory. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4936). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9729> [Accessed 4th May 2021]; *Continuous Bar Mill*. 1954. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 522). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1170> [Accessed 5th May 2021]; *Made in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1990). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3930> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>48</sup> Deacon, M. 26 July, 2011. The British Documentary Movement. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8660672/The-British-Documentary-Movement.html> [Accessed 27th October 2018]

over 70 minutes long. As a result of this, many years later the managing director thanked Chislett and told him that over 15,000 people had viewed *The Story of Steel*. Even though it was made by an amateur filmmaker it had relatively large reception and its impact was derived from showing the working classes producing steel. By showing the working-classes and the production processes of steel this was also the instructional basis of the film. On the other hand, this film was made for a commission for a company which could impact what and how the manufacture of steel in the factory was depicted. This film is a quintessential example of a mixture between amateur and professional filmmaking, as it was made by an amateur filmmaker but was made with the intention of being a professional film.

Furthermore, Chislett also made films that were aimed at the lower classes and cross the line between amateur and professional filmmaking. These films include *New Lives for Old*<sup>49</sup> which concentrates on the lower classes and the geographical changes that occurred just after WWII. This film is about St George's Crypt, which housed Hyde Lodge nursing home and a boys club. The story is depicted from the perspective of George, who is convinced into a Christian lifestyle after seeing the work of the shelter. The first intertitle reads: "What do men find in the works of St George's crypt which helps them to see life from a new angle? . . . is it friendship?". This indicates the importance of communities as the opening shot shows a group of men entering the building. Then it asks various questions of the audience "Is it help and guidance?", "Is it the feeling that Jesus Christ is at work at the centre of all work which goes on there". This is intercut with men queuing for food, and a woman coming in with a pram. These show elements of the local community working together in a religious sense and how it can transform lives. It depicts the effect of the church on a character called 'George', and then cuts to a stained glass window in the Crypt in close-up that reads "I was a stranger and ye took me in", to show the benefit of Christian charity and bonds that connect the members of this local Christian community. It also shows two young boys boxing and sparring with one another, and another man called Harry who breaks into a car, and then hands himself in due to his guilty conscience at Leeds City Police Headquarters. Harry is accompanied back to the Crypt by the Church Warden. The group of boys playing together is followed by intertitles "This is how the club began". "The world needs ideas, imagination energy and leadership. There was plenty nearby... running to waste". The group of boys are depicted, and one hits a policeman with a catapult, as the police officer chases the boys they break into the back of a shop, the story ends with the children handing themselves in. This narrative is told to the

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<sup>49</sup>*New Lives for Old*. 1951. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 822). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1742> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

audience to persuade them of the benefit of going to St George's Crypt through demonstrating how it can help children and adults in difficulty.

This film depicts the close bonds of local community through Christian charity, redemption, and friendship for troubled characters. However, this promotional piece appears to emulate the properties of propaganda to promote St Georges Crypt, as this fictional story purposefully is scripted to show the characters on a redemptive arch. Furthermore, it also depicts a young woman recovering in bed, and this is followed by the intertitles "many lives are affected and many hearts changed". In a similar way to propaganda this film depicts the benefits of the church and a community defined by their religion. This footage about the church was recorded by Charles Chislett as he was a passionate member of the Pastoral Aid Society as well as a passionate filmmaker. He was a bank manager and would often show his films to a varied audience including schools, chambers of commerce and literary societies, but it is difficult to know what the response and reception of these films were. It is likely that the audience of this film included members of the CPAS or St George's Crypt. In the 1930s, St George's Crypt was established to help people suffering in the Depression, during WWII it became an air raid shelter and after WWII it was reinvented to meet the needs of those needing work and men seeking shelter and rehabilitation after WWII, then between 1949 and 1959 it became a halfway house<sup>50</sup>. This indicates that this film was aimed towards an audience of the lower classes and those struggling to cope after WWII. Chislett made films in the public and private domain of his life, some films to promote the church and others that focused on his family life; his films delicately managed to balance depictions of his own family with portrayals of fictional communities crafted for an audience and were shared with a varied community. However, this film reflected post-war fears of the struggle for employment and the decline of moral standards caused by the social disruption of war, which is what leads the main character in this film to St George's Crypt.

Another film is entitled *English Children (Life in the City)*<sup>51</sup> and is a documentary that focuses on an ordinary English family and aspects of their home and leisure life. The film opens with children in the school yard. The boy, Tommy, is playing with marbles and the girl, Joan, is skipping with a rope. The narrator speaks about different types of games that are being played. Playtime is over and the children go back inside. This film was made for the

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<sup>50</sup>St George's Crypt.2020. 1930- 1959. *St George's Crypt History*. [Online]. Available from: <https://stgeorgescrypt.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/history.pdf> [Accessed 8th October 2020]

<sup>51</sup>*English Children (Life in the City)*.1949. [Film]. Amos Burg. UK: Encyclopaedia Britain. (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3806> [Accessed 1st March 2021]



world renowned Encyclopaedia Britannica, working alongside the Encyclopaedia as a written resource. The main aim of this company in making these films was to spread their educational message and use them as promotional tools. This was one of the positive films that was made by Amos Burg, a famous writer and filmmaker. It documents what happens in ordinary English life, how the family is at the centre of communities. The small intimate bonds between family members are representative of the wider community. In a similar fashion to the documentary movement it depicts a middle class family with a well spoken narrator, it shows the family arriving at York Station and heading to the seaside. York was presented as a average city, through the framing of the history of the city, actions of the family going for a walk, listening to the wireless, and utilisation of shots of Derwent Primary school to show a school that was representative of the time. The family resided at 25 Millfield Lane. On top of making educational films, Encyclopaedia Britannica makes public information films similar to those made for propaganda purposes in WWII. This film seems to be like propaganda as it only selectively depicts what happens in family life. To a certain extent it represents these elements of life accurately as it depicts the engine workers to be the elite and well-paid workers, which is what they were. This shows crossing of the boundary between the skilled manual working class and lower-middle classes. Although this represents a restricted perception of life, it depicts family life at the centre of this film, as was often the focus in professional and amateur films. It also reveals the family going on holiday to Whitby, which was certainly done during WWII and a short time afterward as holidays at home were popularised in the 1940s. This film gives the impression of the *gemeinschaft* and closely connected communities with a underlying element of the constructed ideas of imagined community through showing these children playing together, which is representative of children across the country. The *gemeinschaft* shows how there are close bonds between different members of this community.



Therefore, the variety of footage after WWII is difficult to catalogue but demonstrates a mixture of different members in communities shooting footage and celebrating public events. The professional films all have an underlying element of the imagined community and this can be interpreted through the community's actions from these films. Furthermore, in amateur films there is also an underlying element of a constructed imagined community, where amateur filmmakers often interpret depictions of national footage they have seen on a national scale and wittingly or unwittingly display it in their footage, when there are communal gatherings. On the other hand, during WWII the classes had to mix due to evacuation and because it was a necessity for people from different types of background to work collectively within these conditions. This chapter initially analysed professional films on a national scale to understand the depiction of community and how this was also extended after WWII, to give the audience a more distinctive understanding of the national community. The professional film footage examined also demonstrates how professional propaganda filmmaking has changed since WWII, but still shapes the perceptions of the public. This chapter has primarily focused on amateur and professional filmmaking in a local scale and how audiences can perceive the changing depictions of communities in a post-war context. What can be understood through films so far within the chapter is that the filmmaking styles and communities shown are more diverse, however class mobility within these films is less clear to understand.

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<sup>52</sup>*English Children (Life in the City)*. 1949. [Film]. Amos Burg. UK: Encyclopaedia Britain. (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3806> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

## Chapter 6.1: Post War Female Filmmakers

During World War Two female filmmaking reduced because many women were conscripted into service or had a role in the war. Once WWII ended amateur filmmaking resumed and was probably as popular as it had been in the interwar period. The boundaries between amateur and professional filmmaking grew ever less visible during WWII and into the post-war period. This section of the chapter will analyse amateur and professional female filmmakers in the post-war period, by returning to the filmmakers Lucy Fairbank, Betty and Cyril Ramsden, and Hannchen Drasdo. Some of these amateur female filmmakers made films in the interwar period, stopped filmmaking during WWII, and returned to filmmaking in the post-war period.

The amateur and professional filmmakers discussed throughout this section include Lucy Fairbank, Betty and Cyril Ramsden, and Hannchen Drasdo. Drasdo was unique in the fact that she was a professional filmmaker in the 1950s. These filmmakers made films prior to WWII. However, it is important to discuss who made films during WWII and who made films afterwards. Lucy Fairbank was a prominent filmmaker during the 1930s who like most filmmakers stopped filmmaking during WWII (she stopped filmmaking in 1941). Betty and Cyril Ramsden shot films in the later years of WWII, but these films very much concentrated on their private family relationships. Hannchen Drasdo was an amateur filmmaker in 1932, and in 1942 formed her own theatre company, the Drasdo Repertory Company, she performed plays to fundraise for various good causes. Her plays were put on to boost morale in Hull when it was subject to bombing raids<sup>53</sup>. This chapter begins by discussing the female filmmakers, Lucy Fairbank, Hannchen Drasdo, and Betty (and Cyril) Ramsden.

Lucy Fairbank returned to amateur filmmaking in 1950 but did not make many more films after this. Fairbank produced a film in 1950 entitled *Out and About in Yorkshire*<sup>54</sup> which captures her visit to Yorkshire and various destinations including Brimham rocks, Alne and Wensleydale. This is one of Fairbank's final films within her collection of visits to different areas in North Yorkshire, and at this point she was around 60 years old<sup>55</sup>, which might have been one of the reasons why her later films were not shot abroad and also there was uncertainty

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<sup>53</sup> Watts, M. 2020. *The Filmmaker's Tale*. Yorkshire Film Archive: Google Cultural Institute. Available from: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/the-film-maker-s-tale/kAJCF9YMC-A-Kw?hl=en-gb> [Accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2020]

<sup>54</sup> *Out and About in Yorkshire*. 1950. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3412). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6776> [Accessed 26<sup>th</sup> April 2021]

<sup>55</sup>Baxter, Ian. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Lucy Fairbank*. Filmed semi-structured interview. York, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

that accompanied foreign travel after 1945<sup>56</sup>. In these films Fairbank captures the feeling of the local community in certain glimmers of moments between people, for example, images of men stacking hay; a couple with children and pony and a dog looking around the farm. These shots give the audience an impression of an idyllic rural community by showing agricultural scenes of the men working and innocent scenes of the children and dog at the farm. The final shot closes with a baby in a pram. Even though these pictures are of Fairbank's holiday they firstly demonstrate a travelogue of her experience, as the first shots of the family on the farm are in Alne. The final shot is at the Priory and documents the small moments between families that capture the warmth within the local community in these locations. Fairbank's films reveal the close bonds in the local community where she lives; there is a knowing and a bond between the filmmaker and those being filmed. Fairbank's films very rarely feature her but do reflect her passions so often show points of interests from an outsider's perspective which is ever intriguing for the audience and can reveal the importance of a private family sphere from an outsider's perspective looking in. These films are not constructed for the purposes of the camera or framed in a certain way, which contrasts to professional propaganda that is framed and crafted to have a deliberate effect upon audiences. This perspective of events makes Fairbank's amateur films before and after WWII revealing for a modern audience as they often capture the intentional and unintentional moments rather than each shot being choreographed as is often the case in family and professional films<sup>57</sup>. Furthermore, they also give the audience the impression of a closely bonded idyllic rural community through agricultural scenes and shots of children playing.

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<sup>56</sup>Kynaston, D. 2008. 9 Our Prestige at Stake. In: *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951 (Tales of a New Jerusalem)*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. p. 217.

<sup>57</sup>Nicholson, H.N. 2012. Local Lives and communities. In: *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice 1927-1977*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 126-129.





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Another female filmmaker who produced films in the interwar period was Hannchen Drasdo. Drasdo produced an amateur film in 1932, however, Drasdo then formed her own theatrical company, the Drasdo Repertory Company, in 1942. During WWII she starred in and produced plays for good causes. In the 1950s her role changed, as she shifted from amateur to professional filmmaker, and directed road safety films for Kingston Upon Hull City Police. These included the professional public information film *Tomorrow is Too Late*<sup>59</sup> whose script

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<sup>58</sup>58 *Out and About in Yorkshire*. 1950. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3412). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6776> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>59</sup> *Tomorrow is Too Late*. 1952. [Film]. Hannchen Drasdo. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2255). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4546> [Accessed 5th May 2021]

was written by local female Hull novelist Cecily Danby<sup>60</sup>. Much like Kate Brown in the *Adventure of Kiltoun Cup*<sup>61</sup>, women began to have roles in front and behind the camera. Drasdo was one of the few female filmmakers to change from amateur to professional filmmaker, which in particular could have been influenced by her theatrical background.

*Tomorrow is Too Late*<sup>62</sup> begins with the police band playing the tune Teddy Bear's Picnic. This is followed by the Chief Constable of Kingston-Upon-Hull City Police seated behind a desk speaking directly to the camera, breaking the fourth wall to speak with the audience and establishing the scene by introducing the road safety issues. It begins by introducing the audience to the Granddad with working class men playing bowls and wearing flat caps. The narrator then introduces a young girl, who is the young sister Susan, coming out of a girl's school in uniform to meet her older sister, Joan. She runs into the path of a lorry which brakes just in time. The father is then shown working as an engineering instructor in the workshop. This film then introduces Sheila, the eldest daughter, in an office with a typewriter, who then meets her brother Joe at the train station as he has just returned from war. She is wearing a smart utility dress; as she walks across the street, she checks in each direction. She meets him at the station and they both get on the bus to go home. Joe jumps off the bus whilst it is still moving, he is dressed in his military uniform. It then shows various shots of the family at a football game, and Joe returns home to find his bicycle in a state of disrepair. Sheila's fiancé, Bill, is in the film later. Later in the film, Sheila can be seen trying on her wedding dress, when she finds out Bill wants to postpone the wedding by a week. She rings him and has an argument, meanwhile Joan borrows Joe's bike but this is before the brakes have been fixed. Bill hurries back on his motorbike to see Sheila after the argument, and collides with Joan. Both are lying on the floor and being taken off on stretchers to Hull Royal Infirmary. Bill is pronounced dead. It then cuts to the wedding dress draped over the chair, followed by a shot of the brakes on Joe's bike. The film ends with the narration that carelessness leads to tragedy and that "Tomorrow is too late"<sup>63</sup>. Overall, this film focuses on many aspects of the family: on the Grandfather with his working-class friends playing bowls, the girl in her upper-middle class uniform, the father in his skilled role as an engineer, the son

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<sup>60</sup>Watts, M. 2020. *The Filmmaker's Tale*. Yorkshire Film Archive: Google Cultural Institute. Available from: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/the-film-maker-s-tale/kAJCF9YMC-A-Kw?hl=en-gb> [Accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2020]

<sup>61</sup>*Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*. 1931. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10478). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16173> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>62</sup> *Tomorrow is Too Late*. 1952. [Film]. Hannchen Drasdo. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2255). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4546> [Accessed 5th May 2021]

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

Joe in his uniform, Sheila in her middle class office attire and trying on her wedding dress, Bill as a car mechanic, and Joan wearing post war time attire of a cardigan and dress. This film shows people from all different classes, as part of one large family and stresses their familial bond and *gemeinschaft* through their jovial interactions for the camera. These are constructed for the professional footage, and this film has been scripted and choreographed for road safety. On the other hand, this public information film stresses the imagined community of the local region of Hull, even though people may not know each other they identify as being part of the same community and how each of them has a role in road safety. Therefore, this film focuses on different classes, the *gemeinschaft*, and constructs an idea of an imagined community which is used in the public information film to warn the audience to be more aware of road safety. The difference between Drasdo's amateur and professional films is that this film is scripted, choreographed and narrated with a clear intention and audience, whereas the amateur piece of film footage was not scripted, choreographed or captured for an audience; in fact, the benefit of Drasdo's amateur film is that it captured Hull's life as it was in the 1930s. Drasdo's transition from amateur to professional filmmaker is novel within the archives as she is the only female filmmaker in this thesis who makes this transition. This also shows how the aim and intention of amateur films differed from what was prioritised in professional films.

Fairbank and Drasdo were prominent female filmmakers who had a film collection that spanned decades. There is also another male and female filmmaking team, Betty and Cyril Ramsden, whose filmmaking proliferated from 1944 onwards, and they made 21 films between 1945 and 1951 which are available in the YFA. I have chosen to analyse the films that are most representative of communities in this context, as they have many films which show similar themes within their local community and wider communities. The films I will be examining as part of their extensive collection are: *Reeth Whitsun*<sup>64</sup>; *Craftsman of Kilburn*<sup>65</sup>;

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<sup>64</sup> *Reeth Whitsun*. 1947. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3104). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6172> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>65</sup> *Craftsman of Kilburn*. 1948. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3103). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6170> [Accessed 24th April 2021]



*Ramsden New Year's Eve Parties*<sup>66</sup>; *Children's Day Leeds*<sup>67</sup> & *Coxwold Gymkhana*<sup>68</sup>. These films focus on different aspects within the local community.

The first film, *Reeth Whitsun*<sup>69</sup>, begins with Betty and Cyril and their friends exiting the Kings Arms Hotel to get into their Vauxhall 14-6 car, and drive to the woods. The friends have a picnic at the riverside, and one of the ladies goes into the river in her bathing suit. It shows one of the group going on a long countryside walk over many scenic locations and then emerging with two pints from the Red Lion Inn to give to his friends. The film ends with the two men having a cigarette.

This is a humorous film that gives an idyllic image of a countryside holiday that Betty and Cyril had in Swaledale in Yorkshire. This film represents their private lives and holidays with their friends, and there is a sense of the *gemeinschaft* between these close friends. Furthermore, their holiday seems to reflect their more upper-middle class status through their Vauxhall 14-6 as not everyone would have had a car at the time, and you had to have considerable money to purchase one<sup>70</sup>. As well, the film was shot in kodachrome in 16mm which demonstrates their considerable prosperity. However, this film would have been representative of other films made in the wider community at the same time, as many people holidayed at home in the post-war period and often went to local beauty spots in the Yorkshire region, in local amateur films from the YFA<sup>71</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup>*Ramsden New Year's Eve Parties*. 1950. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3101). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6166> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>67</sup>*Children's Day Leeds*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. Yorkshire Film Archive. United Kingdom (YFA 3129). <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6222> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>68</sup>*Coxwold Gymkhana*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3133). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6230> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>69</sup>*Reeth Whitsun*. 1947. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3104). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6172> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>70</sup>Savage, M. 2008. Affluence and social change in the making of technocratic middle-class identities: Britain, 1939–55. *Contemporary British History*, 22(4), pp. 457-476.

<sup>71</sup>Other films of local (and some family) holidays that give an impression of life in local and often rural communities are: *Out and About in Yorkshire*. 1950. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3412). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6776> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Yorkshire Beaches*. 1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2015). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3979> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Berwick on Tweed*. 1945. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10488). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16182> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]; *Movie No. 28*. 1946-1947. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10470). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16165> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Four Wheels in Eire*. 1949. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 454). Available at: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1055> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *Seascape*. 1951. [Film]. Betty and

The next film is *Craftsman of Kilburn*<sup>72</sup>, which is a film focused upon the craftsmanship of 'Mousy Thompson of Kilburn'<sup>73</sup>. It begins with the intertitle "Ramsden film", and then uses the foreword of: "In this age of Mass production there is a quiet Yorkshire village where...the ancient craft of wood carving still flourishes. Here Skill and Oak blend producing the ANTIQUES of TOMORROW", and the next intertitle states, "...The sign of THE MOUSE proclaims their origins". The film begins with a landscape shot of Kilburn with the white horse in the background of the picture. The home of Robert Thompson is then shown to the audience, with an ornate fireplace, a cabinet, tables, and the creator Robert Thompson. It then shows two men moving large pieces of wood, the overall outfit indicates that their occupation was working class, whereas Thompson's more formal attire demonstrates his higher ranking within the hierarchy of the company. Similarly, the workman drawing out the formal design appears to be in a different outfit. It shows various craftsmen making coffee tables, and the intricate crafting and finishing of a fruit bowl. The finished bowl is then presented by a friend of Betty and Cyril Ramsden, Mary Day, who fills the bowl with fruit. There are no women working on the carpentry in this local factory, there is only a woman at the end putting fruit in the carefully finished and polished fruit bowl. The final shot captures Cyril Ramsden using a mousy Thompson ashtray for his cigarette on a mousy Thompson table. Thompson can be perceived as upper-middle class as he took over from his father Robert Thompson who was a local village carpenter and joiner. When he was 15, Robert Thompson went off to work for a firm of engineers, but he discovered the craftsmanship of William Bromflet- head of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Ripon School of Carvers. This overall inspired Thompson to make a vast number of pieces of hand-carved furniture which was a rarity in this time of mechanical reproduction, he even used the same tools that medieval craftsmen used. The people within his workshop could be described as skilled manual workers due to the craftsmanship that went into each individual mousy Thompson piece, whereas those who aspired to buy his goods would identify

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Cyril Ramsden (YFA 3128). United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6220> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>72</sup>*Craftsman of Kilburn*. 1948. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3103). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6170> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>73</sup>There was increasingly a large number of films being produced regarding factories and people's craftsmanship in the 1950s including: *Stone Harvest*. 1949. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3098). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6160> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Men of Steel*. 1948. [Film]. Charles Chislett. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 99). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/385> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Made in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1990). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3930> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

themselves as upper-middle class due to the unique carved quality of his products. Overall, this reveals the inner workings of production in this unique factory for carved wooden items, and also reveals several differences in class in the same location between the skilled workers and Thompson's more elevated status.



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Another film that Betty and Cyril made, in 1951, was *Ramsden New Year's Eve Parties*<sup>75</sup>. This film has a jovial tone and begins with the intertitles "Christmas Crackers", and

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<sup>74</sup>*Craftsman of Kilburn*. 1948. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3103). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6170> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>75</sup>*Ramsden New Years Eve Parties*. 1950. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3101). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6166> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

shows men and women standing around the microphone singing<sup>76</sup>. The Ramsden's also did a sound recording of this film, and would have recorded the sound separately, most likely on ¼ inch soundtrack, and played it alongside the film when it was shown<sup>77</sup>. The sound was not synced sound to this film as this technology for amateur filmmakers did not come to the amateur market until the 1960s. Betty's mother and father, Mr and Mrs Howarth, sit in the corner of the room and smile at the camera, Freda, Betty's sister walks up to the microphone with a stick of celery and dances using the celery as a trumpet. Cyril then sings into the microphone with the other guests nearby. There are other funny scenes, such as Freda dancing, and the men singing into the microphone, which show the light heartedness and joy at these familial gatherings. There is then an intertitle stating "Festive Frolics" and Freda makes numerous expressions at the camera, some of the ladies then sing around the piano and Cyril pretends to conduct them. There are many similar jovial scenes where the family are seen having fun and taking part in Christmas activities. There are multiple shots of guests kissing each other as the clock turns midnight, later Betty is seen playing the piano with one of the men. This further illustrates her middle-class status as she could play the piano<sup>78</sup>, although there were often pianos in pubs. The people at the party then blow a ping pong ball across multiple cocktail glasses and they play various other party games. The film ends with all the guests doing various hand movements while singing along to Auld Lang Syne, which can be heard in the sound recording of the film. From these enclosed private scenes, this clearly gives the audience an insight into the gemeinschaft community that Betty and Cyril had as they are celebrating New Year's Eve with many of their family members. This film gives the audience a distinctive insight into their close family bonds, and private lives. It is also clear from this that they are upper-middle class due to their attire and the decoration of the house, for example, a china cabinet would have been more common in upper-middle class households. Their recording of a separate soundtrack would have been an indicator of their upper-middle class status and allows the audience to perceive a richer understanding of the

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<sup>76</sup>There are other New Year's Eve Films and other jovial films: *Northumbrian Custom of First-Footing*. 1951. [Film]. Newcastle and District ACA. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 21291). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/26077> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Photographers Day*. 1937. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 77). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/338> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Photographers Day Off*. 1935. [Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 76). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/337> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>77</sup>*Ramsden New Year's Eve Parties*. 1950. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3101). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6166> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>78</sup> Cowman, K, and Jackson, L.A. 2005. "Middle-class women and professional identity." *Women's History Review*, Vol14, no. 2, pp. 165-180.

film. It is these small family moments and celebrations in the household that would have been reflective of their close relationship and the small family celebrations that happened in the wider community between families.



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Another film which they shot was *Children's Day Leeds*<sup>80</sup>, which was shot in Roundhay Park in 1951 and shows huge crowds gathered around<sup>81</sup>. An intertitle says "Crowning of the Queen", and a procession walks by the camera including the Lord Mayor and a young girl dressed as the Queen, with other children dressed as her courtiers walking by the camera.

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<sup>79</sup>*Ramsden New Year's Eve Parties*. 1950. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3101). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6166> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>80</sup>*Children's Day Leeds*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. Yorkshire Film Archive. UK.(YFA 3129). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6222> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>81</sup>There are quite a few Children's Day events captured on camera within the YFA before and after WWII. In films such as: *Elizabeth Allan Family Film 2*. 1929. [Film]. John Beaumont. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 599). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1312> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *Children's Day at Roundhay Park and Golden Acre Park*. 1937-1938. [Film]. Frederick Dyson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3188). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6335> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *Leeds Children's Day*. 1955. [Film]. Jack Eley. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1239). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2499> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Leeds Children's Day*. 1949. [Film]. Movietone. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive(YFA 855). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1805> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

Women then line up to be presented with silver spoons for their healthy babies that are presented by the mayoress, there are then a number of athletic events that young boys and girls participate in. The final activity has an intertitle "Massed Dancing and P.J." , and shows an impressive display from a high vantage point of country dancers dancing around a maypole, who then go into other groups and dance together in various choreographed moves. There are girls dancing in kilts, the children also form lines and do perfectly choreographed moves. The Queen for the event leaves and waves at the crowd, marking the end to the event. Overall, this film reflects a *gemeinschaft* and close bond between members within the local community and the social mixing with the large crowds gathered to watch the event. Although from the formal attire most of the people appear to be middle class, the large amount of people gathered indicates a certain level of social mixing and thus creates a patriotic sense of community. The constructed idea of a collective community in this amateur footage is made real within communities. This is highlighted by the symbolic Queen and crowds from various backgrounds mixing at the event as a sign of patriotism within this local community. Therefore, the imagined community that has been shown in national and local propaganda is reflected and recreated in amateur footage showing how the constructed collective communities and patriotism are represented on a real level. This is clearly a public event within this community as opposed to showing more private scenes. This event further demonstrates an authentic type of constructed collective community and patriotism as this event would have happened even if there were no film cameras.







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The next film examined in this collection is the *Coxwold Gymkhana*<sup>83</sup>. Most local gymkhanas had stopped for the duration of WWII, but they restarted again after WWII had ended<sup>84</sup>. The Ramsdens were regular visitors to the pub, The Fauconberg Arms, in Coxwold after WWI, and became friends with the owners Mr and Mrs Dawson. Cyril gave an account of the pub in his diary at the time as Cyril and Betty occasionally ran the pub<sup>85</sup>. It was through this pub that they came to make this film, as Mr Dawson asked them, with their friend Mary Day and Joan, if they would run a beer tent. Hence why Betty is serving beers in the film. They would put on film shows at the pub, and this film would have been amongst those shown to the audience. This film shows the Gymkhana, various scenes of show jumping with the jockeys

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<sup>82</sup>*Children's Day Leeds*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. Yorkshire Film Archive. UK.(YFA 3129). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6222> [Accessed 1st March 2021].

<sup>83</sup>*Coxwold Gymkhana*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3133). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6230> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>84</sup>There are many other Gymkhanas available in the archives, especially prior to WWII. There is also one in 1944-1945 and others from the 1950s onwards: *Lord Mayor's Year of Office (1)*. 1944-1945. [Film]. Robert Sharp. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 776). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/1653> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Sizzling Twenties*. 1948. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3120). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6204> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Show Jumping and Farming*. 1950s. [Film]. Director Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3846). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7623> [Accessed 26th April 2021]; *Sheriff Hutton Agricultural/Rural scenes*. 1955-1957. [Film]. John Howarth. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2060). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4066> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid*. This information is available online from the YFA website.

wearing their horse-riding clothing and crowds gathered to watch. This is followed by people in formal clothing getting drinks from the refreshment tent whilst the show jumping continues, Betty serves someone bottled beer. The following scene shows a motorcycle race across the fields with large crowds gathered. The film finishes with two people, a woman with a male rider in formal clothing, as the male rider wipes his brow. The second half of the film shows a cricket match, Newburgh v Tollerton, with all the men gathered in their cricket attire waiting for the match to begin. Women, children, and men can be seen having a picnic on the grassy side-lines, all wearing smart attire for the event. A young boy is then captured on camera eating an ice cream, as a slightly older boy changes the scoreboard. Overall, this film demonstrates how many people attending this event were from the middle classes, as they were all dressed in formal attire and events such as show jumping, and cricket. Cricket was a quintessentially English sport that all classes could get involved in<sup>86</sup>. Therefore, audiences can gain an understanding of how all people participated in these middle-class activities and the sense of the *gemeinschaft* through the joviality that goes throughout the film. For example, Betty working at the bar with her friend demonstrates this close bonded friendship and shows the audience a middle-class public event that was run by the rural idyllic community.




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<sup>86</sup>Holt, R. 1996. Cricket and Englishness: the batsman as hero. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13(1), pp. 48-70.



To conclude, the film collections of Betty and Cyril Ramsden, Drasdo and Fairbank give us an insight into the *gemeinschaft* and middle-class local community that was a prevalent theme throughout many of their films. Betty and Cyril Ramsden demonstrate their upper-middle class position through their ability to record sound. The sound was recorded separately to the filmmaking. This gives the audience a deeper insight into their economic position and the people being filmed. Although this was a private amateur film, audiences can hear and get a greater understanding of the people on screen through the introduction of sound in filmmaking. These films demonstrate the adapting face of amateur and professional female filmmaking that occurred after WWII. For example, to have an amateur female filmmaker in the 1930s was unique and novel and it still was in the 1950s, but rather than capturing events on European Holidays the later films focus upon what happened at Linthwaite School or holidays in Yorkshire. Drasdo was one of the few film filmmakers who made the transition from amateur to professional filmmaker, her films focus on the *Gemeinschaft* and local community. They also reveal how rare it was, even in the post-war period, for women to be directing films on a professional scale. The footage by female filmmakers in the post-war period was much more focused on local communities, their close bonds and the *gemeinschaft*. To conclude, female filmmaking after WWII certainly did not show as much travel but focused more on the close bonds in local communities. The next section focuses on the Jewish community.

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<sup>87</sup>*Coxwold Gymkhana*. 1951. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3133). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6230> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

## Chapter 6.2: Post War Amateur Jewish Filmmakers

The amateur filmmakers discussed in this section are Monty Rosen & Alec Baron, who made films prior to WWII. Rosen's films in the archive were shot just prior to WWII and he restarted in the early 1950s. Baron's films began prior to WWII, he did not film in WWII and he did not return to filmmaking until the late 1950s. It is noticeable how neither Monty Rosen nor Alec Baron from the Jewish community made films during WWII. One of the reasons for this could be the persecution the Jewish community suffered in WWII. Baron, to a certain extent, suffered prejudice during WWII but this was in relation to a fear that he could have communist beliefs rather than being Jewish. Baron's experience in WWII re-energised his passion for storytelling more in theatre than filmmaking. This section begins with the films of Rosen and how WWII influenced Baron to pursue his passion for theatre.

The next set of footage that will be examined is by Monty Rosen who was a member of the Jewish community. Rosen had a film collection that spanned decades and can provide the audience an insight by showing the close bonds in the Jewish community. Like Cyril Ramsden, Monty Rosen worked in dentistry, as a dental supplier, so had a upper middle-class occupation from a socio-economic perspective at least, and he filmed various communal events. Rosen's previous film, *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*<sup>88</sup>, was made in 1937 as he did not film during WWII; in the same year he also shot *Scenes at Maccabi Youth Club*<sup>89</sup>. This footage resembled Baron's *Judean club in Leeds*<sup>90</sup> that was filmed two years earlier. Within this film Monty Rosen captured the Maccabi Youth Club which is strikingly similar to the setting of Baron's film as it demonstrated young boys participating in gymnastics, boxing and playing snooker. It depicts shots of the boys dressed in uniform in preparation for WWII. It shows the boys wearing gas masks and presents quite an ominous depiction of the youth club prior to WWII, with the innocence of youth through the Jewish community bonding through sport, singing and dancing in contrast to the looming spectre of war. These films

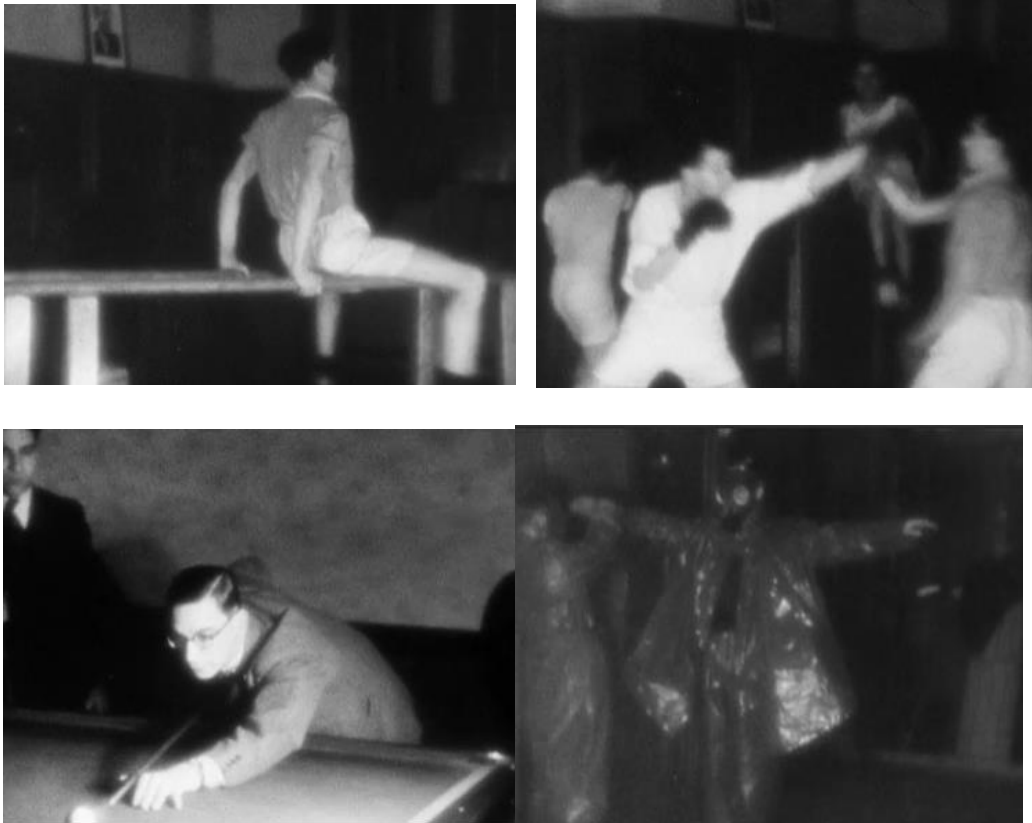
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<sup>88</sup>*Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20879). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25670> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>89</sup>*Maccabi Youth Club, Westgate Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20883). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25674> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>90</sup>*Judean club in Leeds*. 1935.[Film]. Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4703). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9282> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

clearly show the community bonds of this culturally formed community which continued prior to WWII and after it.



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This film has many similar aspects to Baron's film, *Judean Club in Leeds*<sup>92</sup>, however Baron did not resume filmmaking until around 1958. Baron produced many films focusing on the Jewish Community prior to WWII including *Judean club in Leeds*, *Cinema Ball & The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*<sup>93</sup>. Baron stopped producing amateur films during WWII and only restarted filmmaking in the late 1950s, which was because he was conscripted

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<sup>91</sup>*Maccabi Youth Club, Westgate Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20883). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25674> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>92</sup>*Judean club in Leeds*. 1935.[Film]. Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4703). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9282> [Accessed 4th May 2021]

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid. Cinema Ball*. 1936. [Film]. Alec Baron. Yorkshire Film Archives: United Kingdom (YFA 4689). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9256> [Accessed 24th April 2021]; *The Talmud Torah and Home for the Aged Jews*. c.1936. [Film]. by Alec Baron. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4690). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9258> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

for five and a half years in the army. This demonstrates why it is also necessary to conduct primary research, as his films in the archives do not resume until 1958, and without other historical records it would be impossible to determine what happened to Baron during WWII.

There was to some extent unconscious prejudice that occurred, aimed at people who had views that opposed capitalist ideals during WWII. This was particularly rife after what had happened in Russia in 1917 and the fears surrounding communism spreading within the United Kingdom<sup>94</sup>. Baron stated in his unpublished autobiography: "...Lance Corporal Griffiths had asked to see the Squadron Leader that morning and reported to him that I was a Communist and had been spouting Communist propaganda in the barrack room. The Squadron Leader decided to take no action other than to write 'No Promotion'"<sup>95</sup>. It was clear that this information was used against Baron and prevented him from progressing within the army, particularly given what had happened in Russia in 1917. It was unknown how this information was spread, as Baron previously stated that the Communist party had tried to take over Unity Theatre (in a good-natured manner), but that they were resisted as their collective aim was to destroy fascism<sup>96</sup>. Baron was a trained wireless operator but early in his army career, his personal views were used to halt his progression within the army<sup>97</sup>. This was to work within Alec's favour, as although he did not become a member of ENSA it did direct him towards organising theatrical productions in the army<sup>98</sup>. This also redirected his passion for filmmaking, as Alec's film productions occurred in the later 1950s and focused upon the domestic sphere. This was mainly because he followed his passion within the theatre in WWII and afterwards<sup>99</sup>. This to some extent explains his lack of filmmaking during and after WWII,

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<sup>94</sup>Zhdanova, I. A. 2018. The "Propaganda Age" Information Management in Conditions of War and Revolution in Russia in March–October 1917. *Russian Studies in History*, 57(1), pp. 54-84.

<sup>95</sup>To provide more context about the 'no promotion' claim, Baron states: ...an officer came to ask if I would like to go to OCTU and become an officer. I refused. The night in the barrack room, after we'd been there about a week, a discussion arose about our war aims. Quite innocuous it was, and I thought no more about it. The next day I was sought out in the dining room and taken aside by a Scottish corporal who turned out to be the Squadron Leader's secretary. He told me that Lance Corporal Griffiths had asked to see the Squadron Leader that morning and reported to him that I was a Communist and had been spouting Communist propaganda in the barrack room. p. 36.

This is what ended with the comment no promotion. Baron, A. 1991. '5. The War Years'. In: *I Was There*. Unpublished Manuscript. [Accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019] p. 36.

<sup>96</sup>Baron, A. 1991. '4. Unity Theatre'. In: *I Was There*. Unpublished Manuscript. [Accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019] p. 33.

<sup>97</sup>Although there does not appear to be any part of his Jewish heritage that halted his progression.

<sup>98</sup>Baron, A. 1991. '5. The War Years'. In: *I Was There*. Unpublished Manuscript. [Accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019] p. 36.

<sup>99</sup>Baron, Judith and Helen Baron. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Alec Baron*. Filmed semi-structured interview. West Finchley, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

as he contributed in the arts in a different way. However, Monty Rosen's films were able to demonstrate the close bonds that still existed between the Jewish community in the 1950s from an amateur Jewish perspective.

Monty Rosen returned to directing after WWII in 1951 with his film *Opening Maccabi House in No. 9 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle Upon Tyne, By The Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt*<sup>100</sup>. Rosen owned Fenham's photography shop and was a dental supplier, which would appear to demonstrate his upper middle-class background from his occupation alone. He only made a few amateur pieces of footage that focused upon the bonds and connection of the Jewish community. These films were also shot in 16mm, demonstrating his relative wealth for an amateur filmmaker in 1937 and 1951, but importantly this was made by a group of amateur filmmakers. The film opens with people pushing to be included in the group film picture. It shows men and women of the Jewish community all joining in with this group activity. It shows members of this group meeting together, and demonstrates women and men participating in sports activities such as football, table tennis and girls and boys dancing. Group activities such as sporting activities were encouraged to demonstrate the strength and bond between members of the Jewish community. To a certain extent, because the Jewish community was not that large, their unity at least would appear to be strong because they were in a minority. All the Jewish men are dressed in formal attire, the women are also dressed in smart dresses, demonstrating that the people in this club were from a relatively upper-middle class upbringing as part of the wider Jewish community. This film clearly demonstrates the close bonds of the Jewish community who in the same way are a culturally imagined community because they view themselves as all having the same beliefs and culture, and these cultural bonds ultimately bring them together into a closely formed community. This community is imagined because they share the same cultural beliefs, however it is clear to see that these imagined ideals that bring people together because of their same interests and beliefs are actually reflected in real communities not imagined ones.

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<sup>100</sup>*Opening Maccabi House in No. 9 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle Upon Tyne, By The Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt*. 1951. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20884). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25675> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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These films from Jewish filmmakers demonstrate a resurgence of amateur filmmaking that occurred after WWII where people of ethnicities were able to produce films again. This shows the popularisation of filmmaking that occurred in the 1930s and how it re-emerged in the 1950s. This reveals that filmmaking returned to its form prior to WWII, but it also demonstrates the similarity of what was able to be done in the 1950s as each of these films appears the same as it was in the 1930s. What Monty Rosen produced in 1930 documented the Jewish Community in the Maccabi youth club in their youth activities, and more or less the same was captured in 1950s. Thus, the footage in the 1950s revealed that filmmaking was still in the same place for Jewish amateur filmmakers as it was in the 1930s. Therefore, filmmaking by the Jewish community had not changed much since the 1930s. However,

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<sup>101</sup> *Opening Maccabi House in No. 9 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle Upon Tyne, By The Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt*. 1951. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20884). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25675> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

audiences have to consider what place the Jewish community was in after WWII and how they were direly affected on the European front by persecution and the horrendous effects of the holocaust.

### Chapter 6.3: The Return of the Amateur Filmmaker

This section analyses amateur filmmakers from the interwar period who made films during WWII that focused on the family sphere and what films they made in the post-war period. Post-war amateur filmmaking had many similarities to amateur filmmaking that had occurred in the 1930s, especially in terms of amateur filmmaking collections that had existed in the 1930s. The filmmaking collections that have been the focus of this research so far are those of Monty Rosen, Hannchen Drasdo, Lucy Fairbank, and Betty and Cyril Ramsden who were from amateur groups that were classed within the minority. In terms of professional filmmakers, who have previously been discussed in this chapter, Ernest Symmons was a professional filmmaker on a local level and part of Debenhams & Co. who made films in WWI, the interwar period, and WWII mostly for propaganda purposes. This part of the chapter focuses upon amateur filmmakers after WWII who also made films during WWII, including Noel Beardsell, Billy Ibberson and T.H. Brown. It also discusses the continuing blurring of the boundaries between amateur, professional filmmaking and propaganda, including a Royal Visit covered by both amateur and professional filmmakers.

The first filmmaker to be analysed is Noel Beardsell. He continued to film family home movies during WWII. Beardsell produced a film entitled *Beardsells at Play*<sup>102</sup>. This return to filmmaking was to be one of his last and though it did have comedic qualities it did not resemble the same amount of ambition with the filmmaking form as it had done previously. This demonstrated family scenes of boats on the seaside, family sunbathing in the garden, tennis on a tennis court and some element of playing the film backwards when pedalling on bicycles to show the humorous filmmaking style which was a thread throughout all of his films. After this film, there are few other films each demonstrating family events or local holidays. These show on one level the family playing together, but more underlying is the idea of community and how these family connections are reflected in the wider community in this respect. Beardsell's bond with his family is reflective of the family holidays and moments in the wider community. This film depicts the community bonds by showing not just a family but also their deeply private family sphere, which would have been reflective of other family holidays and events at the time.

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<sup>102</sup>*Beardsells At Play*. 1945-1946.[Film]. Noel Beardsell. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 92). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/365> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]



Another filmmaker after WWII who made films previously was T.H. Brown. Conscription began in 1939 and in September 1939 all men between 18 and 41 were to be conscripted. This was carried out in the order that single younger men were first and then, generally, married men afterwards. By 1941, T.H. Brown had been called up by the Dental War Committee as he was requested to serve in the war in a dental capacity and was offered a short-term commission. It arose that T.H. Brown was the 'only clinician able to do conservation, anaesthetics and surgical extractions. As provision had to be made for the availability of dental treatment to the civilian population'<sup>103</sup>. As he was the only dental practitioner who could administer these treatments in his practice, this made Tom exempt from military service. Instead of this he contributed to WWII by being '...responsible for a garden growing fruit and vegetables, with hens to clean out and fire watching, [as well as] want[ing] to spend his limited free time giving hospital anaesthetics, lectures to army units and regular first aid training for the Red Cross? Whether to continue to justify his exemption from military service or simply as an effort to help his country at wartime we will never know'<sup>104</sup>. Therefore, it appears that Tom wanted to become involved as much as possible during WWII, but this did not include filmmaking as he contributed towards the civilian population in a different way.

However, Tom Brown's next set of films was in 1949 as his profits after the NHS was introduced meant he could buy himself another set of 16mm movie equipment. Every holiday after WWII was recorded in 16mm, although the equipment was quite heavy to carry, and the editing was usually performed at home. Tom would make his films to a professional standard even to the extent that in Hungary he got into trouble with military policemen as he was thought to have captured sensitive information regarding their transport links in 1937<sup>105</sup>. Tom often showed his films at museums, 'Women's Institute, local society or a fundraising event'<sup>106</sup> and he would close his dental practice on Christmas Eve (other than for dental emergencies) to give his staff a film showing<sup>107</sup>. The first major film after WWII that Tom produced was in 1949 of his holiday to Italy, where they visited Venice, Rome, Naples, Verona, Lake Garda and Milan. The fact that the NHS had recently been established and he was able to carry out this tour of Italy demonstrated the wealth that T.H. Brown had due to his medical profession after

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<sup>103</sup>Brown, A. T. 2008. *Kyloe to Cleveland, 300 years of Northumbrian Family History*. (n.p.): Brown, A.T. p. 201.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p. 202.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. p. 218.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

World War II<sup>108</sup>. This is mainly reflected in his holidays abroad, and on a deeper level how he was able after the war to return to the relatively privileged position that he was in prior to WWII, which was boosted by the founding of the NHS but was primarily due to his medical position<sup>109</sup>.

Billy Ibberson was also in a relatively privileged position; however, this was because of the privatisation of steel rather than its nationalisation, unlike the nationalisation of health care with the NHS that enhanced T.H. Brown's position. Ibberson was Master Cutler and a steel manufacturer in Sheffield, and returned to filmmaking once WWII had finished. During WWII Ibberson made steel products to help in the war as part of the nationalised effort. However, this film argues against the nationalisation of steel, and argues for the privatisation of steel after WWII, in this piece of national propaganda. This is shown in *Steel Men Talking No . 1& No .2*<sup>110</sup>, propaganda which shows a steel worker, Bill Jones, talking directly to camera. Bill Jones speaks in a working-class accent and is referred to in the film as a steelworker like Tom, Dick & Harry, deliberately to be perceived as an everyman by the audience. This film is political propaganda that was produced by the Conservative and Unionist Film Association, rather than being governmental propaganda from the Ministry of Information. The aim of this film is to gather the steel workers together in opposition to the nationalisation of the steelworks, using the argument that it costs people a lot and that companies should be in charge of steel. The government running civil aviation lost the industry £11 million and money was lost in the coal industry, hence it was argued that there is no justification for the state to take over steel, as keeping it private keeps the profit for the workers and stops redundancy. This film is deliberately aimed to persuade the audience to relate to the commentator and stop the nationalisation of steel. This propaganda focuses on the imagined collective community which is who the commentator is addressing when he talks directly to the camera. This makes the film even more personal to the audience as the commentator is breaking the fourth wall by talking directly to the audience and appealing to their idea of collective community, particularly within the working classes. The commentator breaks the fourth wall deliberately to become more relatable to the working class audience, to support the privatisation of steel. This technique had been used since the 16<sup>th</sup> century in theatre but it was not until 1918 that it was used in film and then it was used in the 1930s onwards more often, but this is a technique that an actor uses to communicate directly to the

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid. p. 217.

<sup>109</sup>Steele, J. 2009. NHS dental services in England. *London: Department of Health*, p. 1-86.

<sup>110</sup> *Steel Men Talking No 1. & No. 2.* 1949. [Film]. Directed by unknown. United Kingdom: The Conservative and Unionist Films Association.

audience<sup>111</sup>. Another amateur film that is analysed later in this chapter is *The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*<sup>112</sup>, which shows Ibberson who owned a steel factory meeting the Queen, and he would not have owned the factory if it had been nationalised. The propaganda after WWII appears to be focused upon the male skilled manual working-class community and was aimed politically to protect the jobs of these communities, even encouraging trade unions in this film.

Ibberson made private family films which are analysed at the beginning of this chapter<sup>113</sup>. He also filmed *Montreux I.C.C Congress*<sup>114</sup> which shot was in Switzerland and demonstrates how Billy Ibberson returned in a similar fashion to the congress in the same way as had occurred prior to WWII and demonstrates the beautiful scenery of the area. Ibberson produced a film in 1946 called *Horse Drawn Tram and Ibberson Family*<sup>115</sup>, an amateur film that depicts a mixture of public and private. This film captures the last horse drawn tram coming through Sheffield city. Ibberson appears to be interested in a city in transition, it was a new technological age and horse drawn trams were leaving Sheffield. This indeed reflected how times were changing and that there was a new stage of technological and geographic changes in Sheffield. Ibberson shows this transition through many phases in his film *Ibberson Family and VE Day*<sup>116</sup> which shows the celebrations to mark the end of WWII in Europe. This film about the last horse drawn tram coming through Sheffield city marked a technological transition in an age where things were changing from the traditional systems. This age of transition is documented in Ibberson's next film, *The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*<sup>117</sup>,

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<sup>111</sup> Buck, J. 2013. "Mary MacLane." In Gaines, J; Vatsal, R. and Dall'Asta, M. eds. Women Film Pioneers Project. New York: Columbia University Libraries, Available from: <https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-krqp-yg59> [Accessed 9<sup>th</sup> October 2020]

<sup>112</sup> *The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson . United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3927> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>113</sup> *Ibberson Family and VE Day*, 1944-1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021];

*Yorkshire Beaches*. 1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2015). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3979> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>114</sup> *Montreux I.C.C Congress*. 1947. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 4593). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/9067> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>115</sup> *Horse Drawn Tram and Ibberson Family*. 1946. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 2019). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3987> [Accessed 1st March 2021]

<sup>116</sup> *Ibberson Family and VE Day*, 1944-1945. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1987). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3923> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>117</sup> *The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson . United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3927> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

where Ibberson makes both a public and private film mixture of amateur and professional film of the Queen's visit to Sheffield as part of her coronation tour in 1954. These films all have elements of the public and private. This film, the *Horse Drawn Tram and Ibberson Family*<sup>118</sup>, also shows private family scenes and captures the mixture between public and private through depicting the final scenes of a horse drawn tram and family scenes. It shows scenes of Sheffield city centre as a public event, and private scenes in the countryside of the family and his children, demonstrating to some extent the difference between the city as a public place and the countryside as a more private place. This also demonstrates a difference in community of how the intimate scenes of communities differ from the more distanced and formal elements of public life at public events. The formalities of more public events and the intimacy of more private family scenes would have also been representative of what was happening in communities on a wider scale. An insight into the upper-class pursuits of the Ibbersons is gained through viewing this film.



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<sup>118</sup> *Horse Drawn Tram and Ibberson Family*. 1946. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 2019). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3987> [Accessed 1st March 2021]



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The analysis from the film archives ends in 1954, which is fittingly marked by Billy Ibberson with amateur films *Made in Sheffield*<sup>120</sup> & *The Royal Visit to Sheffield 27/10/1954*<sup>121</sup>. The year of 1954 spelt an end to rationing and a new economic era, which is documented by the celebration of the production of steel and is an amateur film that captures a relatively working-class occupation that has royal approval. Unlike the previous films in the 1930s this film depicts a mixture of people in the workplace and the internal hierarchy within the factory. It demonstrates an older and a younger working man in the factory, women working in the factory, an upper-middle class woman being shown the factory and a upper-middle class man, Billy Ibberson, giving her a tour around the factory<sup>122</sup>. Billy Ibberson was a master cutler and was an expert within the trade. This film was shot only a year after the steel trade had been reprivatished as it had previously been part of the state industry under the Labour

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>*Made in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1990). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3930> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>121</sup>*The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson . United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3927> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>122</sup>To an extent the internal organisation and difference in the class hierarchy is also present in the film: *Craftsman of Kilburn*. 1948. [Film]. Cyril and Betty Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3103). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6170> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

government<sup>123</sup>. This film shows various levels of class and the inner working of a workplace community and allows the audience to understand the mixture of Billy Ibberson as a public businessman, his private life and growth of his company through touring the audience around the factory. These show the internal community that exists within the factory setting in more of an inclusive manner than had been seen previously, through depicting a mixture of people within the factory community, whereas prior to WWI and WWII communities that audiences would have seen within a factory would either have been shown purposefully for propaganda or carefully controlled for a certain effect<sup>124</sup>. Therefore, this demonstrates the difference between what was being shown on a national scale and how it affected what was being shown on an amateur local scale. It also shows how the progression of filmmaking technology meant that more elements of class and communities were represented in film.




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<sup>123</sup>Hannah, L. 1994. The economic consequences of the state ownership of industry, 1945-1990. In: Floud, R. & McCloskey, D. *The economic history of Britain since, 1700, Volume 3: 1939- 1992*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 168-94.

<sup>124</sup>For example, *HRH Duke of York Visits Rowntree's Cocoa Works* is a piece of propaganda that gives the audience a very restricted view of the factory. For more films like this please see chapter One: *HRH Duke of York Visits Rowntree's Cocoa Works*. 1920. [Film]. Director Unknown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 2286). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/4604> [Accessed 26th April 2021]



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The final films for analysis are an amateur film, *The Royal Visit to Sheffield 27/10/1954*<sup>126</sup>, and two professional films entitled *Special-The Queen in Sheffield*<sup>127</sup> and

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<sup>125</sup>*Made in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1990). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3930> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>126</sup>*The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson . United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3927> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>127</sup>*Special The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film] British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe

*Selected Originals-The Queen In Sheffield & The Queen Continues Tour*<sup>128</sup>. *The Royal Visit to Sheffield 27/10/1954*<sup>129</sup> is an amateur film that crosses the boundary between amateur and professional films, and shows a very public and private event. It is a fitting end to the film analysis given the various Royal visits, celebrations, coronations<sup>130</sup> and jubilees that have been celebrated in previous years. The later films, *Special-The Queen in Sheffield*<sup>131</sup> and *Selected Originals-The Queen In Sheffield & The Queen Continues Tour*<sup>132</sup>, captured the Queen's visit but were made by professional filmmakers for *Pathe News*. The first film being analysed is by the amateur filmmaker Billy Ibberson who was in the privileged position of being able to converse with and escort the Queen around Sheffield in her post coronation tour as he was an official representative, a prominent business owner in Sheffield and Master Cutler in 1954<sup>133</sup>. Billy presented the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh with a pair of knives, only asking for a penny in return, with the queen's own signature engraved on the outside<sup>134</sup>. The idea of the imagined community has become real within communities and is tied heavily to patriotism through the hanging of the British flag, and different members of communities who can be seen parading throughout Sheffield. However, much like other royal celebrations, this imagined community would have diminished quickly after the event. The Queen even visits the Hillsborough football ground. The Ibberson children are pictured at the end of the footage and the footage was able to capture the Queen due to Billy Ibberson's unique position. The production of this amateur film footage is crossing the distinctive boundary between professional and amateur because this recording of a public event also captures Billy Ibberson's children participating, which crosses somewhere between the public and private. It crosses the boundary between public and private but was not made with the specific intention

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<sup>128</sup>*Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*.1954. [Film] British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>129</sup>*The Royal Visit To Sheffield 27/10/1954*. 1954. [Film]. Billy Ibberson . United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 1989). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3927> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>130</sup>There are also scenes of the Coronation Celebration in Leeds including a decorated bus with celebration on it. *Coronation Celebration in Leeds*. 1953. [Film]. Betty and Cyril Ramsden. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3126). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6216> [Accessed 24th April 2021]

<sup>131</sup>*Special The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film] British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>132</sup>*Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*.1954. [Film]. British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>133</sup>Ibberson, Charles. 2018. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Billy Ibberson*. Filmed semi-structured interview. Sheffield. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2018.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid*.



of replicable standards, therefore cannot be considered professional propaganda, which was made with that intention. This is more of an amateur film that shows both public and private events.

This film can be compared to the later two professional propaganda films, *Special- The Queen in Sheffield*<sup>135</sup> and *Selected Originals-The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*<sup>136</sup>. *Special- The Queen in Sheffield*<sup>137</sup> is accompanied by a commentary in received pronunciation, and shows Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip making a two day visit to the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Queen is greeted at Barnsley station, and walks along Regent Street escorted by the mayor. The crowds are in uproar when they see the Queen as people from all different types of background are socially mixing. The Queen then goes to the River Don Works of the English Steel Corporation where the camera pans to molten metal in the crucible. The latter half of this film shows children spelling the word 'Welcome' out at Hillsborough football ground and doing a routine. The display was attended by 43,000 boys and girls. The camera pans to the crowd, which can be seen filled with people socially mixing from different classes as the children make a Union Jack on the playing field. One of the final scenes shows the Queen and Prince Philip in a Landrover watching the children, with children and the crowd waving flags and cheering for joy at the stadium. This film is an obvious display of patriotism, with large crowds en-masse gathered to see the Queen, it also shows the Queen and Prince Philip's awareness of their role as they circle and wave to the crowds from the Landrover<sup>138</sup>. The second half of this report is entitled *Selected Originals-The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*<sup>139</sup> and is a professional newsreel that has duplicates

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<sup>135</sup>*Special The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film] British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>136</sup>*Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*.1954. [Film]. British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>137</sup>*Special The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film] British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe

<sup>138</sup>Note *Special The Queen in Sheffield* is the first part of the Queen's Yorkshire tour report - second part is in the same issue under the name *Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*. There is also the item *The Queen in Sheffield* (not Special) which is a shortened version of the story. Reference: *The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film] British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>139</sup> *Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*.1954. [Film] British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

of *The Queen in Sheffield*<sup>140</sup> and *The Queen Continues Tour*<sup>141</sup>. It indicates how the two films were originally one and shows extended cuts and offcuts of the footage, demonstrating that this film was shown in multiple forms. *Selected Originals-The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*<sup>142</sup> shows shots from other films, including the children waving flags and gathered in the field. The latter half of this footage shows children singing songs at the end of the film, including God Save the Queen, which was not part of the newsreel. It also has audible sound of the crowds cheering. This demonstrates the patriotism and imagined community that is no longer imagined but in real communities, as the scenes with the crowds singing had natural sound. These films were pointedly propaganda, as they were constructed to show the Queen and communities gathered patriotically. However, a certain amount of this patriotism was reflected in real communities as the singing in the crowds were part of what was happening with the crowds gathered at Hillsborough stadium, as this sound was naturally occurring, not edited afterwards. Overall, these films show the imagined community, the Queen's visit to Sheffield and the patriotism in the crowds in both amateur and professional footage, and in both these films there are elements of these imagined communities that are constructed. However, there are moments that show real communities and intimate bonds in family, such as Billy Ibberson's children and children singing in the crowds. Billy Ibberson's amateur film is novel as it shows both public and private representation of the Queen's visit to Sheffield, by showing the Ibbersons' children. The previous amateur film that was analysed regarding the coronation was the *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*<sup>143</sup> and was filmed in 1937 to celebrate George VI's coronation. This amateur film captured a very public event and parade through the streets. In comparison to this, after the Queen's coronation there are multiple pieces of amateur and professional film footage of her visit to Yorkshire, which are propaganda or cross the boundary of propaganda, as they show both public and private events. Furthermore, Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953 was used to market a modern Queen, and was a piece of propaganda and community gathering event. While this had been done previously in prior coronations, Queen Elizabeth's coronation addressed the

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<sup>140</sup> *The Queen in Sheffield*. 1954. [Film]. British Pathe, Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe

<sup>141</sup> *The Queen Continues Tour*. 1954.[Film]. British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe. This is the second half of *Special – The Queen in Sheffield*. This film also shows patriotism, primarily in the areas of Dewsbury, Batley, Morley and Bradford.

<sup>142</sup> *Selected Originals- The Queen in Sheffield and the Queen Continues Tour*.1954. [Film]. British Pathe- Pathe Newsreels. United Kingdom: British Pathe.

<sup>143</sup> *Jewish Ex-Service Men's Coronation Parade*. 1937. [Film]. Monty Rosen. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 20879). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25670> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

changing needs of the audience<sup>144</sup>. One way in which this was done was by fully televising the coronation and letting cameras into Westminster Abbey during the coronation, which had never been done before<sup>145</sup>. The Queen's reign began in 1953 and rationing ended in 1954, two movements which were to spell monumental change for Britain after what had happened during WWII.

1954 was a period of great industrial prosperity in Britain, marking the beginning of an industrial boom in Britain after the end of WWII and also an end to the drudgery of rationing<sup>146</sup>. The community spirit was positive and morale was high, Sheffield was to play an integral part in this era of prosperity in Northern England as it had a thriving and growing engineering and steel industry<sup>147</sup>. The popularity of the Royal family was at a high at this point and brought together members from communities, which can be seen through many aspects of the local community gathering and bunting lining the streets<sup>148</sup>. This analysis ends with the patriotic community and this perpetuates this idea of an imagined community that is a recurrent theme throughout all the time eras. In these films, both amateur and professional, it appears to be a more realised idea of imagined community, as the aspects of people being united as one nation with the same affinity and interests even though they have never met are realised and reflected in real communities without having to be constructed in propaganda.

The year 1954 is a fitting end to the research upon community due to the end of rationing in that year and Britain being in an era of prosperity with a new monarch at the reins. The main issues with community in 1914, at the beginning of the thesis, was the lack of suffrage of women, and in the 40 years since then women's rights had progressed. Some of these changes were due to the suffrage, however many of these changes were because of necessity and women making a difference in an industrial setting in World Wars One & Two. Monumental changes took place during the studied period in amateur and professional filmmaking. In 1910 and 1920 the film scene was dominated by professional filmmakers filming public events for profit. In the 1930s film was popularised as it was made more affordable, but it was still mainly restricted to the upper-middle classes. Interestingly, in this era there was

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<sup>144</sup> Feingold, R. P. 2009. Marketing the modern empire: Elizabeth II and the 1953-1954 world tour. *Antipodes*, 23(2), p. 147.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Burridge, J. D. 2008. The dilemma of frugality and consumption in British women's magazines 1940–1955. *Social Semiotics*, 18(3), pp. 389-401.

<sup>147</sup> Smithurst, P. 1987. *The Cutlery Industry*, London: Shire Publications Ltd.

<sup>148</sup> Feingold, R. P. 2009. Marketing the modern empire: Elizabeth II and the 1953-1954 world tour. *Antipodes*, 23(2), p. 147.

more of an emergence of female filmmakers who were also teachers and scriptwriters operating behind the camera, in the YFA, as well as more people from different ethnicities, particularly the Jewish community from an amateur perspective during this era. There was also a female filmmaker who made the move from amateur to professional filmmaker. These films focused upon public and private events on an amateur and professional perspective. Some of the films were able to pre-empt the unsettled atmosphere in Europe that was to dominate and lead to WWII from as early as 1934. In the 1940s amateur filmmaking reduced due to people's involvement in the war effort, and amateur and professional films made in this context tended to be dominated by the upper-middle class. Amateur films focused on family events or there was a blurring between amateur and professional films where the amateur filmmakers began to shoot propaganda promoting the war effort so there was also a blurring of the lines between these two types of filmmaking and the representation of the various communities that were depicted. However, examining a film of similar events covered by both amateur and professional filmmakers shows how amateur and professional films had a different emphasis, with amateur films having more of a focus upon communities within this context. After WWII was the final context for this analysis of communities and filmmaking, and it would seem that filmmaking returned to how it was during the 1930s through depicting foreign countries, public and private events. There was also the introduction of sound and colour, certainly for professional filmmaking and propaganda, which became more widely spread.

After WWII professional filmmaking returned to more private and family-based events within communities or resulted in films that discussed how to resolve primarily housing issues, which had emerged from the destruction of WWII. The nature of professional propaganda filmmaking shifted from public information films to propaganda films that had more of a political focus. It ended positively with amateur filmmakers making films closely with the royals and industry showing a slight shift in the paradigm that emerged where amateur filmmakers were able to cover public events and capture private moments as well. However, this could be due to the unique position that the filmmaker was in. In the post-war period, there were films that covered similar events from an amateur and professional perspective, and both these types of film revealed elements of how patriotism and the imagined community were represented in the actions and bonds in real communities. Overall, the expansion and changes in both amateur and professional filmmaking mirrored the changes within the communities and their evolution from 1910 and 1954. Most importantly, a recurrent theme throughout all the eras is the theme of the imagined community, a constructed idea of an imagined community in amateur films and patriotism which remains a strong element of this footage and communities across the United Kingdom, who were brought together from a patriotic perspective as an

imagined community through the propaganda in the war, as was reflected in amateur filmmakers' films.

## Conclusion

This research has investigated the changing nature of community in Yorkshire and North East England between 1910-1954, by examining the varied depictions of community in amateur and professional films from the Yorkshire Film Archive. Community is a complicated subject to define and this research has used theories including the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and imagined and constructed ideas of community to analyse existing definitions of community that are relevant to this footage. In addition to using imagined communities as a framework, this thesis has analysed regional signifiers of community including dialect in comparison with national ideas of community. There were three main signifiers. The signifiers are the aspects of this on the screen and indicate the elements that constitute community that have emerged from the footage. These were class, gender, and ethnicity. These integral components and signifiers of community are prevalent in footage from the Yorkshire Film Archive and reveal to the audience how changes within society and communities were closely interlinked. Between 1910-1954 was a time of great change, as there were two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the Post-War reconstruction period. Across this period, the increased affordability, familiarity, and exposure people had to films caused peoples knowledge and the popularity of filmmaking to proliferate. This increase of filmmaking allowed audiences to further understand communities in the public and private sphere through the lens of amateur and professional filmmakers.

What was accomplished in the thesis, as set out in the introduction, was that this thesis had a layered understanding of community from an amateur, professional and propaganda perspective, as well as understanding how concepts such as the *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, and imagined community were depicted on camera. What this thesis revealed were how WWI was dominated by propaganda and upper-middle class filmmakers produced most of the films during WWI. In the interwar period filmmaking proliferated with the expansion of amateur filmmaking with the introduction of 16mm film by Kodak in 1923. This meant that the technology to produce film was more affordable and people were more familiar with filmmaking particularly after the propaganda produced towards the end of WWI. Additionally, the interwar period allowed amateur Jewish filmmakers and amateur female filmmakers to give the audience an insight into their perspective of community. WWII revealed how there was a blur between amateur and professional filmmaking and how amateur filmmakers heavily concentrated upon the private sphere in their filmmaking. The post-war period dawned the return of some filmmakers who had not filmed during WWII, the change of propaganda films

to public information or party political broadcasting and also how the blur between amateur and professional filmmaking grew ever more difficult to define. Therefore, the main research statement was to use three different filmmaking perspectives to examine the changes in community between 1910-1954 in the Yorkshire Film Archive.

The principal question was to use films from the Yorkshire Film Archive to approach what constituted communities between 1910-1954 and how it could be examined using professional and amateur archived footage. By examining the relationship between amateur and professional footage, this thesis opens a new line of inquiry by investigating public and private depictions of community in the North East and Yorkshire. This has particularly been investigated from the interwar period onwards when amateur filmmakers began to emerge. During WWI, the depictions of society were focused upon depicting public events and communities by producing only professional films. In the interwar period the focus of filmmaking shifted to amateur filmmakers and often a mixture of their public and private lives. The films in this period particularly highlighted filmmakers, their families, and their travels. In WWII there was a stark contrast in how communities were depicted, as some amateur filmmakers only depicted their families and others did not. The same could be said about filmmakers in the post-war period, as they were often upper class filmmakers and their focus was either purely on the private sphere, a mixture of public and private events or a shifting mixture of public and private that also crossed the boundary between amateur and professional filmmaking. This thesis reveals how there were a variety of depictions of communities that were both public and private.

This thesis establishes a methodological framework that allowed this research to analyse archival footage in the Yorkshire Film Archive over this time period<sup>1</sup>. This was achieved by looking at the theoretical concepts of community, propaganda and amateur and professional footage and combining these with the historical development of communal identity through archival footage, to see what is revealed about the communities within Yorkshire. The methodological framework that is applied to archival footage in this thesis combines a historical approach with thematic and textual analysis. This combines investigating the broader themes of community, identity, WWI, the interwar period, WWII and the post-war period. These initial themes were explored using a systematic search, and the research then examined the main signifiers of class, gender, and ethnicity that emerged from

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<sup>1</sup>There is currently no universal way to conduct archive analysis that has been established in previous research. Jackson, M. A. 1973. Film as a source material: some preliminary notes toward a methodology. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4(1), pp. 73-80; Barber, S. 2015. "Chapter 6: Theory and methodology". In: *Using film as a source*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

the footage. These were then used to investigate the films of more specific filmmakers to reveal the representations of the inner working of the Yorkshire communities. In addition, textual analysis was used alongside semiotic and historic analysis to inform the research. This historic analysis is based upon prior research by Southern<sup>2</sup>, O'Neill<sup>3</sup> and O'Connor<sup>4</sup> which helped to structure the basis for the investigation within this thesis. This was followed by defining the differing nature of propaganda, and how it functioned alongside the blurring distinction between amateur and professional film. Amateur film was used for propaganda purposes in WWII, particularly in training films and with local defence volunteers<sup>5</sup>. There are also cases in which a document is used in a way other than it was originally intended, for example, *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>6</sup> was originally a comment made over a treaty that was signed that sent Britain into war, but it had more than one meaning as was demonstrated throughout this film. This film demonstrated how a scrap of paper was important as it could connect loved ones on the Homefront with those on the warfront. Propaganda posters in WWII had the intention of showing women in the workforce but these pieces of propaganda often portrayed women as young and independent or as carers and in domestic roles, so propaganda often had multiple uses<sup>7</sup>. Propaganda is also difficult to define as it has the purpose of persuading the audience of a certain perspective and is often made with that intention. However, the aim of propaganda and professional films shifts during WWII, where amateur film shows instructional videos and training scenarios with an intention of persuading the audience to enlist and to reassure the audience that auxiliary sections of the armed forces are competent and doing useful work. This is separate from the reception of propaganda films and the intention for them to be sold. The documentary movement depicted primarily the working

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<sup>2</sup> Southern, A. 2014. *From visual education to 21st century literacy: An analysis of The Ministry of Education's postwar film production experiment and its relevance to recent film education strategies*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nottingham.

<sup>3</sup> O'Neill, E. M. 2006. *British world war films 1945-1965: Catharsis or national regeneration*. . Doctor of Philosophy. University of Central Lancashire.

<sup>4</sup> O'Connor, J. E. 2002. "Image as artifact: Historians and the moving image media". *OAH Magazine of History*, 16 (4): pp. 22-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Formation of the Home Guard, Thornton Bradford*. 1939-1945. [Film]. Sgt Harold Whitehead, Bradford Cine Circle. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 1214) Available at: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2452> [Accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2021]

<sup>6</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>7</sup> Phillip, Z. 1941. *Women of Britain- Come into the factories*. [Propaganda Poster]. Great Britain: Imperial War Museum. Available from: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/38928> [Accessed 22nd June 2020]

Upton, C. 1941. *For a Healthy, Happy Job- Join the Women's Land Army*. [Propaganda Poster]. Great Britain Imperial War Museum. Available from: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/36790> [Accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2020]



classes as its aim was to show people from all different types of backgrounds working together during WWII, indeed it was the People's War<sup>8</sup>. It was a combination of amateur, professional and propaganda films, primary interviews and this historic, thematic, and textual analysis that creates a methodological framework for this thesis to understand the nature of communities.

The central themes that emerge from this thesis are the changes in community and class divisions. The understanding of class within this thesis has been based upon multiple theories which have been defined in Chapter One. These understandings of class create a comprehensive understanding of communities that is based primarily on the theories of Weber<sup>9</sup>, Savage<sup>10</sup>, Bourke<sup>11</sup>, Tönnies<sup>12</sup> and Anderson<sup>13</sup>. The demarcations of class are explored in detail with stratifications such as skilled manual, manual workers, unskilled manual workers<sup>14</sup>, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class and upper class. It is within these parameters that communities and class are defined and understood. Tönnies separates class into two categories: the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The *Gemeinschaft* is present within many amateur films and films based in rural communities as it is based on close community bonds. Whereas, the *Gesellschaft* is the relationship between the *Gemeinschaft* and society, which is much harder to decipher in film footage, and it is through organisations such as the MOI that this relationship was able to be understood by audiences. The *Gemeinschaft* exists within families and rural communities. In addition, Anderson's<sup>15</sup> *Imagined Communities* is a theory used to connect people who even though they may not meet each other are all connected by a belief they have the same values because they belong to the same nation. This is a prevalent theme that connects the films both from WWI and WWII. During WWI, as stated above, the filmmakers in the YFA were upper-middle class professional filmmakers who sold films for profit, often to national newsreel companies. This was because

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<sup>8</sup> Films like the one below show working class people working collaboratively during WWII.

*Listen to Britain*. 1942. [Film]. Humphrey Jennings. United Kingdom: GPO Film Unit.

Calder, A. 1992. *The people's war: Britain 1939-1945*. London: Pimlico.

<sup>9</sup> Weber, M. 2010. "The distribution of power within the community: Classes, *stände*, parties", Translated by D. waters, D. Waters, T., Hahnke, E, Lippke, M., Ludwig-Glück, E., Mai

<sup>10</sup>Savage, M. 2006. Changing Social Class Identities in Post-war Britain: Perspectives from Mass-Observation. *Sociological Research Online*. Available from:

<https://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html> [Accessed 19th April 2021]

<sup>11</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>12</sup> Tönnies, F. 1887. *Fundamental concepts of sociology [Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft]*. Trans. C. P. (1940) Loomis. 8th ed. New York: American Book Co.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

<sup>14</sup> Bourke, J. 1994. Marketplace: Public Spheres. In: *Working class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, class, and ethnicity*. London: Psychology Press.

<sup>15</sup> Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Verso.

filmmaking technology was new and expensive so not many people knew how to use it. In the interwar period, 16mm film was developed that was more affordable, and people had more disposable income. In the interwar period there were both working class and upper-middle class filmmakers. However, most of the filmmakers were still upper-middle class. In WWII those making films were primarily upper-middle class or professional filmmakers, but they tended to depict the working classes within their film footage, especially if the documentary movement is considered. In the post-war period this theme continued of upper-middle class filmmakers making films, but they would often include people from the working class within their films. Therefore, there is a shift in who shot films and who was being depicted within films which was particularly evident after WWI.

Another key signifier of community in this research was women and their representation in films from the YFA. During WWI women's role was just in front of the camera. Women were shown as holding their sons' or partners' hands as the men were going off to war; they were depicted primarily in a role of innocence or caregiving. This is represented in propaganda such as *Sisters, brothers: Scarborough bombardment*<sup>16</sup> in which women were depicted as nurses and men as soldiers. There was an overriding idea of female innocence within their films<sup>17</sup>. It is in the later part of WWI where these traditional ideas of women are challenged due to the necessity for women to work in factories, as is shown in footage such as *Munitions and Football*<sup>18</sup> which shows women working in factories and playing in a female football team. The basis for the changes within these communities began with the suffragette movement. These rights changed after WWI and due to women's larger working role during WWII their financial independence was expanded. This also changed due to the Representation of the People Act 1928 which enabled women and men to vote from age 21<sup>19</sup>; hence, the country going into WWII was more unified from a class perspective than in WWI. After this law was passed women also began training as teachers, typically those from middle class backgrounds. Women had more of a role in film production and in filmmaking. For

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<sup>16</sup> Watts, M. 1914. *Sisters, brothers: Scarborough bombardment*. [film strip]. 1914-1929 filmed and not forgotten. York: YFA.

<sup>17</sup> *Gawthorpe Maypole Festival*. 1914. [Film]. Pathé Frères Gazette. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (YFA 3682). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7298> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>18</sup> *Munitions and football* is a piece of footage edited from archival films and is available in the *Filmed and Not Forgotten Collection*. Watts, M. 2016. *Filmed and not forgotten*. . York: Google Cultural Institute; YFA.

<sup>19</sup> Thackeray, D. 2013. From Prudent Housewife to Empire Shopper: party appeals to the female voter, 1918–1928. In *The Aftermath of Suffrage*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 37-53.

example, Kate Brown scripted *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*<sup>20</sup> and Lucy Fairbank documented many of her holidays abroad and even saw Adolf Hitler<sup>21</sup>. In WWII there also emerged filmmakers such as Kathleen Lockwood<sup>22</sup>, the aim of whose films was to connect local communities in her area with films that covered local events. These films connected rural communities together through their close bonds. In WWII women again were encouraged to work in many roles, including within munitions factories and working alongside men, however there were still parts of society that held on to traditional ideas of women being caregivers<sup>23</sup>. These traditional ideas of women were shown in both propaganda films in WWII and the public information films in the post-war period. Betty and Cyril Ramsden began filming in 1944, shooting primarily family scenes and the *gemeinschaft*, as well as a mixture of public events and private scenes. The same was to be said of Fairbank's films, which were mainly shot in Yorkshire and were not of holidays abroad as they had been in the 1930s. In addition, Hannchen Drasdo is one of the few standalone filmmakers who made amateur films in the 1930s, then in the 1940s she formed her own company and in the 1950s made professional films that were about road safety for the police. However, the main theme that these depictions show to the audience throughout all these films is an idea of the imagined community and certainly the amateur films from WWII onwards were filmed to show the *gemeinschaft* and close bonds in communities.

Another key signifier of community was ethnicity. The aspect of ethnicity in relation to community within the YFA was mainly found within the Jewish community. The interwar period revealed elements of the Jewish community in the films of Alec Baron and Monty Rosen. This highlighted the cultural Jewish community that was brought together through collective communal groups and demonstrated how these communities were closely bonded. In WWII there were no films made by members of the Jewish community in the YFA, which could particularly have been because of the persecution that the Jewish community suffered or because the few Jewish filmmakers in the YFA were in active service. In the post war period

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<sup>20</sup> *Adventure of the Kiltoun Cup*. 1931. [Film]. T H Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10478). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16173> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>21</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

<sup>22</sup> Haywood, Angela. 2020. *Interview regarding filmmaking of Kathleen Lockwood*. Filmed semi-structured. York (via Zoom due to COVID 19), 16<sup>th</sup> June 2020.

<sup>23</sup> Please see the films below for traditional ideas of women being caregivers: *British Red Cross Society Youth at Nurses camps, Longhoughton 1944 and Rothbury 1945*. 1944-1945. [Film]. Peter Beatty. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive. (NEFA 21212). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/25998> [Accessed 1st March 2021]; *Summer Travelling*. 1945. [Film]. W.M.Larkins. United Kingdom: The Larkins Studio.

Monty Rosen returned to filmmaking and his films had a similar focus of showing the Jewish community and their community groups. The key areas of ethnicity that were covered in films from the YFA are in relation to films by members of the Jewish community and it is clear from these films that there is a close community bond. There is an absence of other specific ethnicities in films from the Yorkshire Film Archive.

One of the final modes of analysis relates to the integral role of the imagined community in propaganda. In WWI, the use and construction of imagined communities in professional propaganda connected together communities from many different backgrounds. There are crafted pieces of propaganda showing parades and marches, where communities from many different backgrounds gathered. There are also pieces of propaganda that intentionally show an imagined community, showing families, soldiers on the front and soldiers parading, particularly through the fictional film *A Scrap of Paper*<sup>24</sup>, as well as the propaganda footage from *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster*<sup>25</sup>. In the interwar period, ideas of the imagined community were not as prevalent, however in the 1920s some of the professional films were a nostalgic reflection on WWI. Whereas in the later interwar period, the films of amateur filmmakers did not need to unite communities or show the nostalgia for WWI. On the other hand, there was a sense of patriotism in the coronation or jubilee films. When propaganda returned in WWII it depicted imagined communities in both amateur and professional films. Professional propaganda films deliberately depicted imagined communities by showing the working classes working collaboratively in factories and in cities for the same cause, and how everyone was affected by war. This was shown in amateur and professional films. To a certain extent it also showed a variety of rural and more urban communities mixing during the evacuation and these communities were from a variety of classes that socially mixed and became extended families. There were other amateur films that were made that were a mixture between public and private and showed propaganda through showing people working in factories, the home guard, or soldiers training. It was within WWII amateur footage that the imagined community was reflected in real communities, not just reflected in propaganda. This could be seen through communities coming together for the same cause, especially in the evacuation films, where people from different classes socially mixed and the evacuees

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<sup>24</sup> *A Scrap of Paper*. 1919. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA 1142). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/2314> [Accessed 23rd April 2021]

<sup>25</sup> *5<sup>th</sup> Battalion York and Lancaster AKA Barnsley Battalion*. 1915. [Film]. Debenham & Co, York. UK, Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3665). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/7264> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

became an extension of their host families<sup>26</sup>. In the post-war period the imagined community was shown particularly in the post-war celebrations and in some of the films, but these primarily focused on close family bonds within and communities. On the other hand, there were amateur and professional films in the post-war period that showed the Queen's visit to Yorkshire, and these films showed patriotism and the imagined community, however they also showed how there were moments when this patriotism was reflected in real communities. The imagined community was shown primarily in WWI & WWII as it helped bring communities together, but there were also moments such as coronations in the post-war period the imagined community was shown in real communities. These imagined communities, therefore, ceased to be imagined and became real.

In addition, amateur and professional filmmaking exhibited a blurring of boundaries. It is difficult to provide a single binary definition as the definitions change over time. Professional filmmaking dominated WWI as it was dominated by upper-class filmmakers, at least in the Yorkshire Film Archive. Professional filmmaking continued in the 1920s-1930s and included with this was part of the nostalgia for WWI. This nostalgia involved people singing at the racecourse and showing the technological advancements in military technology. These films had the intention of bringing together members of communities in real communities, through nostalgically watching the performances of the soldiers and singing. The performances that included military and technological advances, also showed the imagined military community as some of the military re-enactment showed horses of the past and cavalry. Therefore, these films still demonstrated an idea of an imagined community. Amateur filmmaking was popularised during the interwar period as the technology became more affordable, and it was made more popular as people had more disposal income and were familiar with the technology.

In WWII professional filmmaking showed imagined communities coming together, and amateur filmmaking often showed propaganda scenes such as members of the Home Guard training. The only difference was that amateur films were not made with the specific intention of being sold for profit. In amateur filmmaking there were also many films that showed primarily family events or captured public events such as the evacuation unwittingly within their films. However, through analysing amateur and professional pieces of footage that depict the same event the aim and intention of these pieces of footage becomes clear, as amateur films more often depict communities whereas propaganda has more of a clear aim to convince the

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<sup>26</sup> *Family Snapshots*. 1936-1942.[Film]. Folliot-Ward. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive.(YFA 1975). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/3902> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

audience of an argument. This is made clear with amateur and professional films that were shot in WWII and both covered the same events, and showed how amateur and professional films had a different intention of emphasis. It was clear from analysing these films that professional propaganda films have the clear intention of persuading the audience of an argument, whereas amateur films focus on communities. In the post-war period professional filmmaking covered more daily events, such as rebuilding communities or giving holiday advice. Additionally, amateur filmmaking covered both public and private events and some films covered more local events and the local community, in contrast to the same amateurs who had previously been to European and American countries with their filmmaking in the interwar period. In the post-war period there are amateur and professional films covering similar events, these films both had elements of propaganda and show similar things, including moments of real communities being patriotic. There is also a female filmmaker who made both amateur and professional films, and examining these films together reveals how professional films had much more of a targeted intention and aim than amateur films. Therefore, amateur, and professional filmmaking was difficult to define as it changed between the interwar period and post-war period, with many amateurs shooting both public events and events within communities that gave the appearance and qualities of propaganda. The only difference was that professional films are made with the intention to be sold for profit, even if they may have the same or similar qualities to amateur films. These films all show the audience a certain depiction of society and a memorialisation of events occurring within society that is shaped by the filmmaker.

The depictions of the nature of communities in the YFA also can be perceived to provide a useful construction of memories through what occurred during WWI, the interwar period, WWII, and the post-war period. They provide a socially constructed basis of what occurred within communities from the perspective of professional filmmakers. In WWI, these films were propaganda and show communities as imagined communities who united to fight against the enemy. There were images of a girl running towards her father and a woman holding the hand of her partner. These also showed some select moments of close emotional connections to audiences and the intimacy of their bond. In the interwar period films were made by amateur filmmakers of public and private events, in small local communities of families spending time together as well as amateur filmmakers and their holidays abroad. Their holidays abroad showed amateur filmmakers in the interwar period spending time in European countries, they showed Adolf Hitler in Oberammergau<sup>27</sup>, how newspapers in Germany were

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<sup>27</sup> *Munich to Innsbruck*. 1934. [Film]. Lucy Fairbank. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA 3405). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/6762> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

openly anti-Semitic<sup>28</sup>, and the construction of the Siegfried defensive line<sup>29</sup>. These films pre-empted what was happening in WWII, but this can only be understood through a contemporary audience's perspective. The filmmakers at the time could see things were getting worse in Europe but could not have predicted what was going to happen, which is why these films provide an important construction of memory. In the interwar period these films showed the perspective of female filmmakers and what was happening in their world, such as Fairbank teaching P.E. at Linthwaite School, her various holidays to Europe and the United States. It also reveals members of the Jewish community, their activities and how they had a closely bonded cultural community, on a small scale. It showed amateur filmmakers from the Jewish community and their propaganda films to persuade others to protect their Jewish faith, particularly given the persecution they were under.

In WWII amateur films were made primarily of close family events or they were a mixture of amateur and professional training films and propaganda. Professional and amateur films both had the same effect of showing an imagined collective community, so that they could both be seen as unified. However, professional films had the clear intention of persuading the audience to participate in war, whereas amateur films showed more of communities, which can be seen in an amateur and professional film covering the same event. In the post war period, professional films showed more daily propaganda events rather than wartime recruitment films, public information films and political party films were made for information purposes and to persuade the audience of a certain perspective. Amateur films still crossed the boundary between public and private and some of their films followed the small local communities, which was the same for female and Jewish filmmakers. In addition, there were also amateur female filmmakers who transitioned to professional filmmakers. This revealed how amateur and professional films had a different intention as the professional films had more of a targeted aim in their filmmaking. These films all exist as a construct of memories of the filmmaker, and whether they are propaganda, amateur or professional films, these all show a certain construction and depiction of what happened and all were made with a specific intention. Amateur films are perceived to be a more authentic construction of memories for the audience as they show the private sphere. These amateur films will have still been produced to show certain events, although they may not have been made with a specific intention.

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<sup>28</sup> *A Tour of Central Europe*. 1937.[Film]. T.H. Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10251). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/15990> [Accessed 28th February 2021]

<sup>29</sup> *Movie 24: Belgium and Holland August 1939*. 1939. [Film]. Thomas Henry Brown. United Kingdom: Yorkshire Film Archive (NEFA 10491). Available from: <https://www.yfanefa.com/record/16185> [Accessed 26th April 2021]

Professional films and propaganda have more of a deliberate intention to show the audience events in order to persuade them of an argument. These films show what happened between 1910-1954 in society. However, the construction of memories and film footage that can be understood was made with a specific intention and from a filmmaker's perspective, enabling the audience and contemporary researchers to understand society through the constructed depictions and memories of the filmmakers.



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