Admission for All
How Cinema and the Railways Shaped British Culture, 1895-1948

Rebecca E Harrison
UCL
PhD in Film Studies

Declaration

I, Rebecca Harrison, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

My thesis examines the intersections between railway and cinema spaces to demonstrate how crucial these technologies were in altering life in Britain. The project focuses on the period between 1895 (the birth of film) and 1948 (when the railways were nationalised). Access to railways and cinemas was predicated on payment rather than birthright: in carriages and auditoriums, consumerism was—in theory—inclusive. The two technologies were thus crucial in transforming public space from one of privilege to one of mass consumption. I analyse three spaces: inside carriages, the interiors of auditoriums and the space onscreen to demonstrate how trains and moving images affected in material ways people's experiences of modernity in everyday life. I also connect the intersections between the railway and cinema to a broader narrative about Britain's democracy and industrial and political change in the period.

This interdisciplinary thesis draws on a variety of fields including film theory, history, geography and sociology to provoke a reinvestigation of the cinema and the train in British culture. Archival research is central to the thesis, as primary sources create a material history of both the railway and cinema's impacts on life in Britain. The project's historical narrative is also interwoven with conceptual analysis. I use moving images as archives, proposing that films help us access the past by releasing stored time and space onscreen. In exploring the connections between the two technologies and everyday life, the thesis also addresses transformations of public and private space, gender and work, domesticity, tourism, and British industry. My research is articulated through a series of case studies incorporating royal rail travel, ambulance carriages, passenger trains, and railway movie theatres.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF IMAGES

Introduction
1. Gander antagonises Winthrop through the window of a first class carriage in *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1944).
2. George Cruickshank, *The Railway Dragon* (1841-1850).
3. Eric Ravillious, *Train Landscape* (1939).
4. SR's 'South for Winter Sunshine' advertisement (1929).
5. LNER's 'Take Me by the Flying Scotsman' advertisement (1932).

Chapter One
1. Eadweard Muybridge's proto-cinematic images (*Horses in Motion*, 1878).
2. A still from George Albert Smith's *A Kiss in The Tunnel*, 1899.
3. A dog's heartbeat is displayed on a 'string galvanometer'. *The Illustrated London News*, May 22, 1909.
4. The LNWR royal train diagram for George and Mary's journey, October 1901.
5. Edward looking through the camera in *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).
6. The view of the 'flying machine' from inside Edward's train. *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).
7. Inside Edward's bedroom on *Oropesa*. *The Illustrated London News*, January 21, 1931.
8. Edward's static portrait framed by the iris. *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).
9. An aerial shot looking down on Edward's home at Fort Belvedere. *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).
10. George and Elizabeth on an open-sided train in New York. *Daily Mail*, June 23, 1939.
11. Elizabeth inspects the ambulance train. *Her Majesty Inspects Casualty Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1939).
12. The Prime Minister appears in the train doorway in *The Premier's Return Journey* (British Movietone News, UK, 1942).

Chapter Two
1. The staff car aboard the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway ambulance train. *Ambulance Train Exhibition* brochure, c.1915-1918.
2. LSWR ambulance train diagram. *The Railway News*, "The London and South-Western Railway Ambulance Train," August 29, 1914.
3. Postcard of nurses in a lying-down ward, c.1914-1918.
4. Photograph of sitting-up cases, c.1914-1918.
5. Pathé Frères Cinema advertisement in *The Bioscope*, January 29, 1915.
6. Gaumont Company Limited advertisement in *The Bioscope*, February 25, 1915.
7. Soldiers watch films projected on the ceiling. *The Illustrated London News*, "A Hospital Ceiling as a Screen for Moving Pictures: A Cinema for Bedridden Wounded Soldiers at a Base in France", August 10, 1918.
8. Patients are loaded on a train in *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916).
9. Patients are loaded on a train in *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (Pathé Frères, UK, 1917).
10. Leonard Wiseman Horner's office diagrams. *Private Papers of L W Horner*, 1915-1918, September 26, 1917.

Chapter Three

1. A woman trapped by the train smash in *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929).
2. The Railway Queen arrives at the station in *The Railway Queen* (British Pathé, UK, 1929).
3. Nora is loaded on the train in *Number Seventeen* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1932).
4. Hannay corners Pamela in *The 39 Steps* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935).
5. Harwood and luggage in *Seven Sinners* (Albert de Courville, UK, 1936).
6. Iris's sight is blurred in *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938).
7. Miss Froy's name appears on the window/screen in *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938).
8. Anna and Gus in *Night Train to Munich* (Carol Reed, UK, 1940).
9. Women and children aboard the train in *Evacuees Leave London* (British Movietone, UK, 1941).
10. Gladys the railway signalwoman in *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1944).
11. Alison and her fellow pilgrims in *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1944).
12. Joan's dream is projected inside the carriage in *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945).

Chapter Four

1. Inside a Hale's Tours screening.
2. The 1924 LNER film carriage (Topical Press Agency, Getty Images).
3. Still from *Cinema on Train*, British Pathé, UK, 1935.
4. LNER film programme, May 1938.
5. A still from *New Berth for Bananas* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).
6. A still from *Troy Town* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).
7. Southern Rail cinema coach, 1941. From the private collection of Alan Wilmott.
8. Laura's dream projected onto the train window in *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1946).
9. Lisa and Stefan inside the proto-cinematic coach in *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Max Ophüls, USA, 1948).

INTRODUCTION

On a train bound for Cornwall, working-class couple Herbert and Edna sit discussing furniture. Further down the corridor bourgeois Miss Bourne protests at having to show her ticket to the guard. In First Class, Richard Winthrop, a well-spoken sportsman, objects to a lower class passenger intruding on his wife's carriage when vaudeville star Tommy Gander bursts into her private compartment [figure 1]. The travellers in Walter Forde's 1941 *The Ghost Train* are from all walks of life: they are working, middle and upper class, they are detectives and comedians, men and women.[1] Yet they all share a train journey. Both rich and poor had inhabited actual railway spaces from the passenger train's inception in 1825, with First, Second and Third class tickets on offer.

And, after the cinema's invention in 1895, people from diverse backgrounds also inhabited auditoriums. Audiences for *The Ghost Train* likely occupied movie theatres in which factory owners sat (albeit in more comfortable seats) alongside their employees. All three spaces—on the train, in the cinema, and in the representative space onscreen—were transformative.

Fig 1: Gander antagonises Winthrop through the window of a first class carriage in *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1944).

Inside trains and movie theatres, access to public space was predicated on payment rather than birthright: on the railway and in the cinema anyone could buy a ticket so long as payment was met.[2] Theatres, private horse-drawn coaches and gentlemen's clubs were privileged arenas that remained inaccessible to particular groups, including the working class and women. However, the railways and cinema were inclusive and so revolutionised British society by offering space for mass consumption. Passengers and spectators were sold new ways of seeing and moving; indeed, the carriage and the auditorium commoditised an experience that made movement visual. In doing so, both the train and film materially transformed how people interacted with the world. I argue that as a result, the railways

and cinema shaped everyday life. In order for us to understand how the technologies impacted on daily life it is imperative that we investigate not only the train and film, but also the physical and conceptual intersections between them.

In the period between 1895 (the birth of cinema) and 1948 (when Britain's railways were nationalised), rail and film were crucial to the nation's particular experience of modernity. The train and cinema created actual and vicarious tourists in an expanding leisure industry. Both also improved social mobility and radically altered vision and movement. The historical intersections between locomotives and projectors (in both figurative and physical senses) are well documented.[3] Particular attention has been paid to the railway's influence on cinema in film studies. The train's impact on genre, distribution, filmic language, production and representation has long informed the field.[4] But so far scholarship has overlooked how crucial moving images and the railways were in altering the lives of ordinary people at a time when going to the movies and taking the train were everyday activities. Rail and cinema were the nation's dominant mass media.[5] In 1928 passenger numbers reached 1,300million, while moviegoers purchased 1,027million cinema tickets in 1940.[6] Based on these figures, every British citizen took approximately twenty-nine train journeys and bought twenty-one film tickets per year at peak levels.[7] My thesis thus offers a new cultural history of the railways and cinema that focuses on how these technologies impacted on daily life.

I investigate the intersections between rail and the moving image, in particular, because the connections between the train and film provide tangible evidence of the technologies' material interventions in everyday life. Between 1895 and 1948, the railway and the cinema converged in three ways. First, rail stations and branch lines were used as film sets. The railway provided locations not only for fiction films (in *The Ghost Train* and the 1929 *Flying Scotsman*, among others) but also for newsreels and documentaries.[8] For example, both royal carriages and wartime ambulance trains were filmed by newsreel companies and so became ubiquitous in popular culture. Second, movie theatre architecture invaded the carriage when in 1924 the London and North Eastern Railway Company (LNER) built an auditorium on a train.[9] Third, the technologies visually intersected onscreen.

In the fifty-three year period, at least twenty-four fiction films were produced in Britain that featured train journeys. A product of the second-wave industrial revolution, the filmic medium often referred to the first-wave locomotive as a signifier for the modern, machine age. Hundreds of short films made for news programmes documented advances in rail technology, boasting of speed (*Flying Scotsman to Beat Timetable*

(1932)) or innovation (*First Streamlined Diesel Train* (1932)).[10] But the train was also a metaphor for fears about class, gender, and even film going. From early cinema's *A Kiss in the Tunnel* (1899) via silent drama *The Wrecker* (1928) to sound feature *The Lady Vanishes* (1939), films about crimes set on the railway reveal contemporary cultural anxieties about the authority of images in a world awash with new ways of seeing.[11] In an era of industrial and political decline, the plethora of railway fiction, documentary and newsreel films is significant because the movies reveal to us now how potent the train was as a symbol of modernity within British culture.[12]

In examining historical rail and cinema spaces my thesis asks three main questions. First, how did the technologies intervene in people's everyday lives? Second, what does the convergence of the railway and cinema show to us about the nation's specific experience of modernity? Third, in what ways are the histories of the train and film connected to broader discourses about class, gender and empire in the period? To answer these questions, I rely on archival, material evidence. I give equal weight to sources including films, personal testimonies, government records and the daily press, arguing that moving images evoke the railway spaces of the past, and so are archives that offer us a new approach to accessing history. In doing so, I interrogate the connections between specific train and cinema spaces and a wider historical narrative that is concerned with empire, war, gender and class. Furthermore, I offer conceptual analysis in order to make sense of the patterns that emerge from historical study.

The two technologies provide a framework for a broader investigation into the nation's particular experiences of both modernity and an emerging leisure economy predicated on mass consumption. Throughout the period, capitalism was fundamental to changing industrial practices that included the growth of advertising and tourism in the nineteenth century, and the production of mass consumables for the home in the 1920s. The transformations wrought on British society by capitalism were central to modernity because the machines and mass consumables that flowed through capitalist networks altered people's mobility and sight.[13] How we understand the intersections between modernity and capitalism is vital not only to how we access Britain's history, but also to how we comprehend the rail and film industries' material impacts on the nation.

In brief (I expand on these issues further in the Literature Review) I identify modernity as a period that began with the industrial revolution, when the new industries of mass production commoditised space and time. One consequence of technological automation was that machines mediated new experiences of movement and vision, and so changed how people interacted with the world in material ways. Investigating how

technologies intervened in mobility and sight enable us now to consider how modernity was 'experienced by real people.'[14] Different nations, groups and individuals experienced modernity in specific ways depending on the technologies available to them.

On the railways, in the cinema and onscreen we see that modernity and capitalism were exhibited in physical and representative spaces. Both technologies were products of mass production and were characteristic of the nation's specific experience of modernity at two different historical moments. Locomotives, built in the first-wave industrial revolution, transformed the movement of goods and people and so contributed to the expansion of capitalist networks. The train set in motion industrial, social and political changes that made manifest in cinema in 1895. Film was a creation of second-wave industrialisation (which was a revolution reliant on chemicals and electricity rather than coal and steam) and was conducive to a more leisure-based economy. Nonetheless, there were similarities between the two technologies. In both the carriage and the movie theatre, one submitted to the bodily experience of commoditised, mediated moving and looking. One also travelled on either actual, or vicarious, journeys.[15] Moreover, the railway and the movie theatre depended on more and more people participating in the processes of economic exchange. Inside the carriage and inside the auditorium, all patrons ostensibly were equal, as inclusivity led to the greatest monetary returns for business owners.

In order for Britain's capitalist economy to continue it was necessary that living conditions and equality were improved for ordinary citizens. Trains enabled people from all walks of life to travel. The rail journey's popularisation coincided with a shift in political will that saw the first, albeit tentative, steps toward democratic enfranchisement with the Representation of the People Act in 1832. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed further ideological transformations that led to greater (although by no means full) equality for women and the working classes.[16] And following the First World War (which the government presented as a fight for democracy), enfranchisement increased by fifty per cent.[17] The greatest expansion of suffrage in the nation's history enabled women over age thirty and the poor to participate in deciding elections in 1918, and culminated in 1928 when women achieved voting rights on parity with men.

Visual media's proliferation in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—variously described as 'spectacle,' 'surface culture,' and 'spectacularization'—enabled ideas, as well as goods, to be commoditised.[18] Alongside

films and train journeys, newspapers, photography and advertising all offered people new visions of the world. Posters taught spectators about the commodities on offer in local department stores, while newsreels gave audiences unprecedented visual access to subjects including royalty, war and sporting events. As the production of visual information increased so too did the public's capacity to comment on, participate in, and alter British culture. Thus the cinema and the train contributed to forming a more egalitarian society through expanding access both to new sights and to more inclusive public spaces.

Yet the history of carriages and auditoriums simultaneously exposes the ideological conflicts that persisted between different classes, genders, races and other marginalised groups. In *The Ghost Train*, the film not only depicts an inclusive space shared by people from all strata of society, but also represents divisions between characters who exist within a social hierarchy. Professional sportsman Winthrop commands respect from working-class comedian Gander; Jackie defers to her husband's commands. And actual, as well as imagined, railway and cinema spaces remained divisive sites where the established patriarchal system was at odds with notions of egalitarianism. For example, the locomotive's success in facilitating international trade relied on the exploitation of subaltern subjects in Britain's overseas dominions. Disparities remained between customers whose seats were arranged in different sections according to ticket price. Passenger segregation in trains (divided in classes ranging from First through Third) even coincided with, if not influenced, the widespread use of 'class' to signify social status.[19] And Jeffrey Richards indicates that while the cinema accommodated all classes, those classes did not often come into contact with one another.[20] Thus trains and movie theatres exposed tensions between the personal and communal, for the technologies forced private individuals to travel in public arenas.

In doing so, rail and cinematic technologies reinforced divergences between both people and spaces, and simultaneously integrated disparate consumers in a collective. I argue that the tensions between public and private that existed in rail and cinema spaces prompt us to reconceptualise dualistic notions of separate 'spheres' in the period.[21] Instead, I contend there was fluidity between the personal and the communal, interior and exterior that was manifest not only in carriages and auditoriums, but also in diverse examples including scientific discoveries (such as the x-ray) and legislation concerning land ownership.

The frictions between the public and private spheres, inclusive and hierarchical spaces, and even the two technologies' success and eventual decline reflect the nation's

broader history in the period. In fifty-three years, the nation witnessed five monarchs' reigns, two world conflicts and industrial decline that was begun in the nineteenth century and exacerbated after the Second World War. By 1948, Britain was in debt to the USA, faced wars with colonies demanding independence from empire and 'was clearly a fading geopolitical force.'[22] The nation was transformed from a leading imperial power to a secondary international influence, which weakened both economic growth and claims of modernity. However, despite such setbacks the nation did experience improved quality of life and people had more opportunities to access public spaces with better political rights.[23] The inclusive yet divisive spaces of trains and movie theatres offer material evidence that makes tangible Britain's complicated social and political trajectory between the late-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth century.

The thesis, then, traces how railways and cinemas transformed public space in Britain by marrying traditional notions of the public, private and social hierarchy with progressive conceptions of egalitarianism. Inside rail coaches and movie theatres, vision and mobility were mediated by technologies of mass consumption. I argue that carriages, auditoriums and motion pictures commoditised space. In doing so, these sites enabled people to experience environments that offered not only inclusivity, but also elitism. I also propose that the intersections between train and filmic technologies are connected to the social upheavals and cultural transformations that were experienced by the nation between the coming of cinema and the state's reconfiguring of the railways. The intertwined narrative of the train and the moving image not only provides a new material history of British culture, but also provokes a reinvestigation of the wider issues at stake in the period, including gender, class, and democratic reform. Inside past carriages, auditoriums and the onscreen spaces of the past, we learn today about the transformations wrought by modernity on everyday life in Britain.

A History of Britain's Railways

The railways frequently were (and are) represented in popular culture from their inception to the present day, with novels, paintings and films representing the locomotive as the epitome of humans' scientific endeavours.[24] The railway signified not only mankind's domination over nature, but also the modern era, connoting a timeframe that took place in the here and now.[25] Trains appeared in paintings from George Cruickshank's *The Railway Dragon* to Eric Ravillious's everyday *Train Landscape* [figures 2 and 3].[26] Railways also featured in literature from Ford Maddox Ford's war epic *Parade's End* through to T S Eliot's comedic 'Skimbleshanks: The Railway Cat'.[27]

But while readers are likely familiar with mediated depictions of trains, the specific history of Britain's rail network may be less well known. Here, I offer an overview of the nation's railways, followed by a brief account about British cinema, to provide a historical framework through which to approach the thesis.

Fig 2: George Cruickshank, *The Railway Dragon* (1841-1850).

Fig 3: Eric Ravillious, *Train Landscape* (1939).

In 1825, travellers initially were enthralled by revelatory views from railways, when the world's first steam-powered passenger train began operating on the Stockton to Darlington line in the north of England. Despite the service's irregularities, the railway proved successful and in 1830 a new route was opened to transport passengers between the larger cities of Manchester and Liverpool. Early carriages did not have inside spaces: passengers sat in stagecoaches and wagons attached to the engine by chains. Soot, sparks and a lack of suspension all proved problematic for travellers.[28] First-class cars were thus enclosed and fitted with leather

mufflers to allay complaints from those paying for more expensive tickets.[29] However, third-class coaches remained open until 1834.

Only basic provisions were provided despite concerns about 'railway trauma' (a neurological condition associated with travel at great speeds in uncomfortable conditions).[30] Passengers' anxieties about crime were also prevalent on a railway network that featured enclosed carriages that afforded no means of outside communication.[31] The public's fears about murder, kidnap and theft inside trains were common in the daily press and cinema even in the mid-twentieth century. However, rail travel improved throughout the nineteenth century, as freight, mail and people all routinely were transported by railway.[32] The railways were one of Britain's most successful exports, with rail networks built across North and South America, Europe, Africa and Asia. Trains were essential to Britain's trade infrastructures within the empire and British-built railways transported goods in colonies including India, Kenya and Egypt. Queen Victoria's use of the train between Windsor and Paddington in
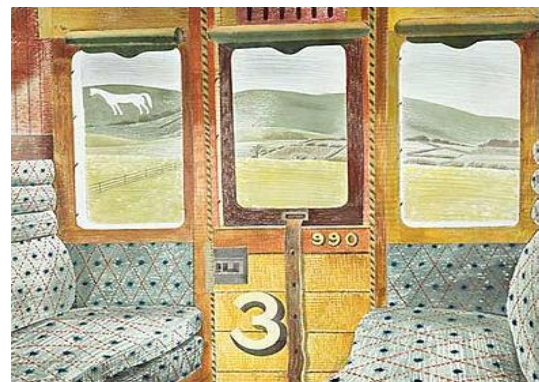
1842 encouraged the British public to venture inside carriages and passenger numbers rose.[33]

Throughout the nineteenth century, rail companies expanded both on-board and station facilities and so improved the services on offer to travellers. In 1845, the train's crucial role in developing the tourism industry was evident when the first commercial Thomas Cook tour took place between Leicester and Liverpool.[34] Britain introduced the sleeping car in 1873 (albeit thirty-four years after the Cumberland Valley Railroad in the United States) and the first dining car in 1879 (also launched after its American counterpart).[35] Midland Railway abolished second-class coaches in 1875, which encouraged a more egalitarian travel experience by reducing the options available to travellers, while also creating a greater divide between those in First and Third. In the 1890s, when passenger services began to exceed demand for goods, the rail companies invested in carriages with through-corridors, lavatories and more advanced heating systems.[36] As demand for rail services increased, so too did competition between rail companies.

Following a brief period of government control during the First World War, the Railways Act 1921 was passed, which reduced the total number of rail companies with effect from 1923. The remaining 'Big Four' operators were London, Midland and Scotland (LMSR), London and North Eastern, Great Western (GWR), and Southern (SR). The four organisations were formed from the myriad companies that existed prior to legislation. The government encouraged the remaining networks to further improve services, which brought about a 'golden age' in British train travel as rivalries intensified. All four had also to contend with growing bus services and affordable motor vehicles, and so used both tourist destinations and technological innovation to advertise their services. For example, the Great Western Railway generated publicity in 1925 with a poster campaign that encouraged holidaymakers to 'See Your Own Country First'.[37] The advertisement sold both a holiday and a patriotic ideology via the GWR's Cornish Riviera Express route. Cornwall was likened to Italy '[i]n [s]hape, [c]limate, and [n]atural [b]eauties' (referring no doubt to the women in the image, as well as the pictured landscape). SR promoted services with a modernist poster that enticed travellers 'South for Winter Sunshine,' while LNER invited passengers aboard the new 'Flying Scotsman' service [figures 4 and 5].[38]

In 1927, passenger returns and route mileage both peaked, and throughout the 1930s railway technology continued to evolve.[39] Providing luxurious services was paramount for the companies, with the LMS investing in prototype carriages 'for

experiments in the designing of seats that will ensure the comfort of passengers of all sizes.'[40] The LNER went to great lengths to tempt passengers onto their trains: between 1930 and 1939, the company introduced headphones and a wireless service for all first-class ticket holders, as well as hair salons, cinemas and cocktail bars that were available to all travellers.[41] In 1934, the 'Flying Scotsman' locomotive broke the speed record, reaching one hundred miles per hour for the first time. In 1935, the Great Western Railway devised a new system for sending telegrams from station platforms to accommodate last-minute communications.[42] On the Southern Railway, electrification of major lines led

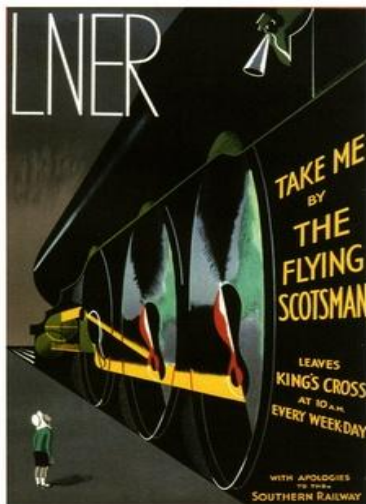Fig 4: SR's 'South for Winter Sunshine' advertisement (1929).

to quicker journey times for commuters. By the mid-1930s, passengers' needs were central to the railway companies' agendas.

Fig 5: LNER's 'Take Me by the Flying Scotsman' advertisement (1932).

The 'Big Four' continued to operate services until the outbreak of war in 1939, when government once again brought the railways state control. After the conflict, disputes between railway companies and collieries about freight services threatened the stability of the mining industry.[43] Declining standards of passenger services also undermined the nation's efforts to rebuild the infrastructures broken in wartime, with rolling stock and track in need of urgent repairs.[44] As a result, the British government passed legislation in 1947 that nationalised the railways in 1948. The age of the railway was over and buses, cars and airplanes offered passengers faster, more modern travel alternatives.

A History of Britain's Cinema

The cinema in Britain initially was mobile. Short, single-reel silent films provided cheap entertainment at fairs for working class audiences. Bioscopes (travelling movie theatres) were transported around the country by railway, offering provincial crowds the opportunity to see the new technology.[45] Jon Burrow's history of Edwardian cinemas lists 'shop fronts, workshops, houses, side rooms in amusement arcades, railway arches, warehouses, garages, stables, pub annexes, club-meeting rooms, and even [… an]

indoor Russian fish market' as locations for picture shows.[46] Between 1905 and 1915, Hale's Tours exploited film's connections to transport in shows that were popularised across both North and South America, and Europe.[47] The auditorium was designed to mimic the interior of a railway carriage, with the screen standing in for a window and steam, fans and whistles augmenting spectators' experiences.[48] The attraction's decline in Britain likely was exacerbated both by the 1909 Cinematograph Act (legislation that aimed to license film shows and so make theatres safer) and the development of narrative cinema.

Narrative cinema combined linear editing and crosscutting techniques that enabled filmmakers to produce multi-reel stories. While motion was still inscribed on celluloid, cinemas became static entities as audiences watched longer pictures. By 1914, there were 3,800 registered movie theatres in London.[49] Labour shortages in the First World War led to widespread closures and mobile cinema vans were deployed to disseminate information films.[50] However, the movies were by now part of the fabric of British life and theatre numbers soon rose. In 1927, recorded sound accompanied motion pictures for the first time in the pioneering American movie *The Jazz Singer,* which added to the cinema's novelty.[51] That year, the first British movie to feature sound (the 1927 *Blackmail*) was also recorded.[52] Sound transformed not only film production, but also reception, altering audiences' behaviour. For the most part, one no longer talked through a silent movie with intertitles, but silently listened to onscreen dialogue.

In the 1930s the 'picture palace' dominated Britain's cinematic landscape. Vast auditoriums were decorated with luxurious materials that referenced styles from ancient Egypt through to modernism. Movie theatres housed cafés, restaurants and bars. Middle-class audiences grew in number and as a result cinemas sprang up in suburban locations.[53] Richards argues that '[c]inema-going was indisputably the most popular form of entertainment in Britain in the 1930s,' with attendance steadily increasing throughout the decade.[54] By the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, movie going was no longer just cheap entertainment but rather an essential activity that enabled people to participate in public life, and the 1940s was considered a 'golden age' of British cinema.

During the war, the government initially ordered movie theatres to close for fear that audiences would be targeted in bombing raids. The decision was short-lived, as fierce public objection forced policy-makers to back-down. Ticket sales continued to rise and the cinema played a vital role in the British government's propaganda strategy,

with newsreels, information films and fiction all contributing to narratives about the nation's fight. Movie theatres took on 'a leading place in social and civic activities […] particularly […] in many towns which receive[d] regular notice from the Luftwaffe.'[55]

One commentator anticipated that as a consequence 'after the war, the kinema may take a more important and very different place in social life.'[56] However, the prediction proved false. In post-war Britain, the once booming film industry fell into decline: production was subsidised by the USA, theatres closed and audience numbers fell. Like rail, the cinema was a nineteenth-century relic that was superseded by newer technologies and was affected by changing consumer habits. Television, which offered viewers entertainment within the home, contributed to (although was by no means solely responsible for) waning cinema attendance throughout the 1950s.

Methodology

In order to outline my methodology, I first turn to Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, which examines how people appropriate the languages, spaces and commodities of mass culture in their daily lives.[57] His investigation of everyday life not only resonates with my own, but also provides an analogy pertinent to my overall approach. In the book, de Certeau problematizes the 'relations between the act of writing and the written text' (evidence and interpretation) through a comparison between people traversing New York's streets and a person viewing the city from the top of the World Trade Centre.[58] He argues that those on the ground 'actualize' the possibilities of movement and vision as they negotiate the city's physical interface.[59]

But the person atop the skyscraper is 'at a distance' from the streets and so, '"seeing the whole,"' transforms the world into a text.[60] I include the example because it articulates the duality of my approach. On one hand, I use qualitative and quantitative data from archival sources to establish a material history of the railway and cinema in Britain. I aim to create a history about how people moved and looked inside carriages and auditoriums. On the other hand, I use theory to contextualise people's everyday experiences. I interpret specific evidence about railways and cinema from a historian's perspective, which is necessarily one distant from the events of the past.

I argue that through the specific we are able to make sense of the whole. My thesis operates both on the ground, and from a bird's eye view, to connect trains and film with Britain's particular experiences of modernity, capitalism and decline. For example, in Chapter Three, I examine women's employment on railways and in cinemas through filmic representation, personal testimonies and the daily press. I then

link tangible evidence about women's occupations to broader narratives about enfranchisement and women's social mobility in British culture. To do this work, I draw on research by scholars including Frederic Jameson, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, and Janet Ward.[61] While their works cover diverse topics (nineteenth-century life in Britain, twentieth-century mass culture, and Weimar Germany) all four scholars examine the connections between the material and conceptual in historical studies. In Davidoff and Hall's case, personal testimonies by nineteenth-century diarists are used to investigate the everyday lives of middle-class British women. The authors frame their historical evidence within a conceptual narrative about ideological public and private spheres. But while Davidoff and Hall's method informs my own, my work is complicated by the broad spectrum of fields that underpin my research.

In order for a dualistic approach to make sense the thesis is interdisciplinary in scope. Achieving cross-disciplinarity was one of my goals when I started the project: in film studies the texts one analyses necessarily are contextualised by models and theories in different fields. My thesis does not just offer readings of films but also railways, everyday life and British culture. The thesis encompasses disciplines including history, geography, architecture, sociology and politics. I contend that interdisciplinarity is useful because it helps us make sense of a past that is complex and not easily described within the parameters of traditional subjects. That is not to say that interdisciplinarity is without flaws. In encompassing a wide range of subject areas, one has to avoid taking a 'pick 'n' mix' approach that borrows theory always to support particular arguments. As such, my work critically engages with subject-specific theory and applies concepts in a logical way. For example, my conceptualising cinema as an archive is best rationalised by examining the intersections between filmic and historical studies. I approach material evidence as a historian, using archival sources including film, personal testimonies, the daily press and government records to chronicle what and how people interacted with cinemas and the railway. I then turn to moving image studies, spatial theory, sociological studies and archive theory to interpret that evidence, and investigate why cultural changes took place.

The thesis relies on specificity in order to elucidate the general, so narrowing the focus of my research was crucial. While trains and cinemas offer us insights into the materiality of everyday life, the technologies' histories are vast and so my approach had to be refined. Consequently, I use four case studies to provide tangible evidence of how rail and film transformed space and time in people's daily lives. The studies focus on royal transport, ambulance trains, the female workforce in carriages and movie theatres,

and cinema coaches. Each case examines the material and conceptual connections between the two technologies and provides insights into how the lives of particular people were transformed. We are thus able to investigate how rail and cinema impacted on a variety of British citizens from different walks of life.

The topics covered by the case studies are each crucial to the thesis for two reasons. First, there is extensive evidence in archives that indicates the four subjects were pervasive in popular culture. For example, daily 'Court Circulars' in the press, and regular newsreel films, allude to widespread interest in British monarchs taking trains. The prevalence of particular rail and cinema spaces in mass media not only makes for more cogent research, but also suggests people routinely interacted with those spaces in everyday life. Second, the case studies are connected to aspects of British culture including class, gender, war and the leisure industry. As a result, the four examples enable us to consider the impact of rail and cinema on the nation's wider experiences of modernity.

Within the case studies, I refer to four main archival sources. These are: moving images and other visual media, the daily press, personal testimonies and governmental or business records. All these resources provide material evidence of the past by documenting how people looked at, moved through, and interpreted space. Recognising how these media interpret, as well as reveal, history is fundamental to my analysis. As Carolyn Steedman contends, historians must address the gap between archival sources and how we conceptualise the past.[62] For example, Janet Thumin reveals the gap between representations of women onscreen and the everyday lives of people sitting in cinemas.[63] Also newspapers record history according to the political bias of each publication, and in doing so create variances between titles as well as between articles and actual events. Such differences exist between all sources and what they represent. Frederic Jameson explains the separation between an event and the historicising of that event in his theory of the 'political unconscious'.[64] He asserts history is 'inaccessible' except through textual forms, which are both fantasies of, and disconnected from, what is real. In addition, our readings of the past are always influenced by our positions in the present.[65]

Historiography, which is the interpretation and writing of history, is always the rewriting of what went before, as every historian adds a new interpretive layer to narratives of the past. I contend that even personal testimonies are contributory layers that are distinct from what is real. Philip Rosen identifies the '[i]deal [c]hronicle' ('the perfect historical source document') as offering both an eyewitness account and an

indexical trace of historical events.[66] We might identify personal testimonies as such, for they meet both criteria. However, the 'ideal chronicle' offers a false promise. Sociologist Penny Summerfield theorises that as personal testimonies rely on language (which is metaphor), autobiographical accounts are always 'deploying cultural constructions,' formed subject to, rather than objectively of, ideological discourses.[67] But this does not mean archival media are not reliable, for 'these layers of meaning can become part of the object of study'.[68] I therefore read all sources (including film, newspapers and personal testimonies, which are limited to already-archived accounts) as reconstructions of the past. I rely on these sources to help make visible the invisible through examining their representations of lived experiences.

Moreover, I assert that moving images are archives, and in doing so offer a film-studies-oriented theoretical framework for using movies as primary sources in historical study. I argue that the images captured on celluloid store both time and space. When the film is projected the past is released in the present, restored, and then *re-stored* until the next screening. Motion pictures, therefore, are not just archived but also archives. Newsreels, documentaries, information and fiction films offer more than merely visual representations of the spaces they depict onscreen because they invite us into the 'dead' spaces of yesterday that we can no longer visit.

For example, the 1936 documentary *Night Mail* romanticises the British Travelling Post Office through coupling stylised cinematography with W H Auden's poetry.[69] However, the film also describes everyday life for the mail train workers, as viewers see men sorting letters into pigeonholes, and Post Office apparatus catching parcels from speeding locomotives. I suggest that in re-thinking our relationship with the moving image and its historicity we are able to access the past in new ways. Film has the potential to transform historical studies through both restoration and preservation: the past is returned onscreen, and spaces, people and objects are indexically preserved on celluloid, appearing to us now as moving museums.

Literature Review

Throughout the thesis, I create connections between the specific (railways and cinema) and the general (British culture). However, in this section I begin at the broadest end of the spectrum and work my way toward the particular. The section is organised like a set of six Russian dolls. On the outside is everyday life, followed by a section on modernity. Next is mobility and then visual culture, which enable us to examine how people practically experienced modernity in their daily lives. Finally, I investigate

railways and cinema, which are tangible spaces in which vision and movement were transformed. My interdisciplinary research insists upon a broad knowledge of relevant literature about film studies; design, transport and cultural histories; geography; sociology; and archive studies. These subjects are here interwoven to create a conceptual framework through which to investigate material evidence in subsequent chapters. I not only define crucial topics such as modernity and everyday life, but also demonstrate how scholarship from disparate fields can be drawn together to offer new perspectives on the past.

Everyday Life

The patterns, practices and occurrences of everyday life are subject to attention in historical and cultural studies. Yet often the term is used without definition. Benedict Anderson determines that 'the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life' but does not describe what constitutes the everyday.[70] Similarly, Davidoff and Hall do not clarify the phrase's meaning although they investigate 'women as well as men in the reality of their everyday lives'.[71] Even when an explanation is given, a workable definition is hard to produce. For Michelle Perrot 'everyday life' is the 'political history' of private life.[72] Her argument implies that the everyday is distinct from public life, and therefore exists within the private realm of the home. If we apply theories about public and private spheres to Perrot's definition, we infer that only women experience the everyday. We know that is not the case: the everyday is more inclusive and broader in scope.

Alternatively, Henri Lefebvre offers a definition of everyday life that spans three volumes.[73] He designates the everyday as 'repetitive organisation,' or a patterned negotiation of time and space (for example, in transport systems).[74] However, the everyday is more than just a routine: it is also a system that uses commodities to disguise our banal interactions with capitalism. Lefebvre argues that '[t]*hings* matter little' because 'the *thing* is only a metaphor' that aims to 'conceal the production of repetitive time and space.'[75] His theory supposes that people living in cultures of mass consumption perform everyday life, which excludes historians from applying the term to periods before modernity. Also Lefebvre's assertion that 'in archaic societies, the everyday was much less separate from culture, religion and ideologies than it is today' is confounding.[76] If the everyday is distinct from culture, religion and ideology (I argue ideology and religion inform and are part of culture) everyday life is but an abstraction with no connection to the material.

Lefebvre provokes more questions than he answers. Nonetheless, his work does articulate a link between everyday life and consumerism that also underpins de Certeau's investigation of the topic. For de Certeau, everyday life is the '*use*' to which the products of mass consumption are put by individuals.[77] He cites television as an example: while analysing broadcast images tells us about representation, what viewers make or do with the images informs us about everyday life.[78] His argument does not preclude everyday life from periods before mass consumption, but rather characterises everyday life in the industrial and post-industrial age as reliant on commodities. He also suggests that while mass culture relies on users who are 'dominated' in society, their status 'does not mean that they are either passive or docile'; indeed, the everyday lives of the masses 'compose a "culture"'.[79] De Certeau's reasoning resonates with mine as he acknowledges that while capitalism is largely based on hierarchy, there also is the possibility for inclusivity. Furthermore, his is a simple yet broad definition of everyday life that is workable in the context of writing a material history. One is reminded of Virginia Woolf's straightforward assertion that everyday life is what people do 'from eight in the morning 'til eight at night.'[80] Thus everyday life encompasses what and how people see, and where and how people move as they interact with the world.

Modernity – the commoditisation of space and time

Modernity, like everyday life, is also an ambiguous term. Whether one takes economic, political or social factors into consideration there is no single definition of modernity. And while modernity broadly is acknowledged to be a historical period, even the beginning and end dates are disputed by scholars. Roger Friedland and Deidre Boden assert that '[m]odernity changed the representation of space and time and hence the way we experience and understand them' from the late-eighteenth through the twentieth centuries.[81] However, Bernhard Rieger and Martin Daunton use modernity to refer to temporal and spatial transformations between 1870 and 1930.[82] Richard Dennis, meanwhile, cites the period between 1840-1930, although this 'was not an unchanging slab of modernity' and the start and end dates 'are not cast in stone.'[83]

Modernity's duration is therefore negotiated according to how one defines the period. I argue that throughout modernity, space and time were materially, and also ontologically, altered by machination and commoditisation. Moving and looking were transformed by new technologies that were sold to consumers and changed how people experienced the world. I contend that the train was the first such technology to alter time and space; as such I take a longer view of the period than Reiger, Daunton and

Dennis. While the thesis takes 1895 as its starting point, I outline Britain's particular modernity as beginning in 1825, when the first passenger train was introduced. I determine 1948 as an end point, because emphasis shifted from technological innovation through private enterprise to more advanced public services in attempts to rebuild the nation's post-war infrastructures.

My investigating modernity as a period of material and conceptual changes to moving and looking emerges from scholarship that centres on embodied experiences of space and time. Liz Conor, in her work on women's appearances in 1920s Australian culture, relies on a definition of modernity that 'emphasises the alteration of human perception'.[84] She stresses the importance of optical technologies (for example, cinema) and the interplay between seeing and being seen in public space.[85] Her definition is valuable in that it draws attention to the rise of visual culture in modernity. Her conception, however, does not consider mobility. I argue that how one moved was crucial to modernity because one did not just look and exist to be looked at: one's whole body travelled through, performed in and negotiated with space. Even pictorial technologies like cinema were intrinsically spatial, as movement was made visual onscreen.

Furthermore, Schivelbusch's examination of the railway's impact on British culture makes frequent references to the physical, as well as the visual, alterations that took place in the nineteenth century. The rail network dissected landscapes with cuttings, embankments and viaducts, and so changed both the appearance and the topography of the nation.[86] The train also affected the human body, as anxiety about mechanised, speeded-up travel was manifested in medical conditions like 'railway spine.'[87] I therefore interpret the connections between moving and looking as fundamental to changes wrought on time and space throughout modernity.

Henri Lefebvre talks about 'the spatialisation of time' in this period, referring to his diagnostic model 'rhythmanalysis'.[88] Railways, telephones and typewriters all regulated the temporality of travel, communication and writing by speeding up or slowing down people's activities. Stephen Kern argues that haste, which was a characteristic of modernity, was due to 'an energy crisis […] of abundance'.[89] Life was so speeded up that people did not have time to respond to the changes taking place around them; for some, modernity arrived too quickly.[90] Richard Sennett also supports this rationale. He maintains that 'nineteenth-century [i]ndividualism and the facts of speed together deaden[ed] the modern body; it [did] not connect'.[91] The sudden speed of the train and the disembodied voice on the telephone was inexplicable. These were

technological encounters that were without referents, and so people suffered the shock of the new. Throughout this period, radios, machine guns, typewriters, telegraphs, telephones, electric light bulbs, bicycles, cars and photography all intervened in mechanising, and transforming, everyday life. Electric light turned night into day. Radio dematerialised mass communication. And cinema offered a spatial record of time that changed the recording of history.

All the technologies listed above changed how people interacted with time and space. Whether on the railway or in the cinema, the processes of speeding up, travelling through or condensing time and space, were sold by operators to whomsoever could afford to purchase admission. Through buying access to new machines (for example, trains or telegraphs) or purchasing technology to use in the home (typewriters and telephones) users experienced new ways of moving and looking. Space and time were commodities, and valuable ones. Space was fast running out: Kern explores how '[w]estern historians began to ponder the concept of "empty space," as their nations discovered that none was left […as] the dominant world powers had finished taking the vast "open" spaces of Africa and Asia'.[92] Time was also recoded as a product that was bought and sold. Workers were paid for their time and spent their earnings filling their holidays with leisure activities. However, unlike space, time was more abundant as mechanisation in the workplace increased the possibilities for leisure.[93]

The era's growing leisure industry was symptomatic of modernity's commoditisation of space and time. Holidays made use of private time in what were often public spaces. Trains provided a network for workers who were turned into holidaymakers. Tourist companies appropriated the shipping lines that were established to serve trade across the empire. John M Mackenzie explores the ways foreign holidays were sold to the public as both a 'profitable and culturally enlightened activity'.[94] Travel journalism became popular at this time, and represented the holiday as simultaneously exotic and a home-away-from-home. Holidaymakers were near, and yet far away in a modernist conceptualisation of reduced and expanded space.[95] The cinema captured space on celluloid and allowed time to be speeded up and slowed down. The motion picture, like the photograph, took people back in time. But films also showed people other, distant spaces. The movie industry was in the same business as the railways – it, too, turned people into tourists. Both the cinema and the rail network—which had changed the experience of time and space in the nineteenth century—continued to transform life in the twentieth by contributing to new industrial practices centred on leisure pursuits. Modernity radically altered not only how looking

and moving were conceived, but also the material ways that people spent their time and money on interactions with space.

Public and Private

The language used by scholars when discussing modernity alludes to disunity in the breaking down of boundaries between different spaces and times. There is a pervasive implication that time and space was fragmented in a violent way. Henri Lefebvre describes how 'in around 1910 a certain space was shattered'.[96] Schivelbusch suggests that space and time were '"annihilated"'.[97] The spaces of modernity often were, and are, characterised by division. Benedict Anderson describes how censuses and maps charted space and so separated communities with national borders.[98] Public and private times were distinguished between work and leisure.[99] Conceptions of the public and private—a binary indicative of division—were contested and revised throughout the period. Sparke, drawing on Walter Benjamin, asserts that the period witnessed the 'emergence of the private individual.'[100] However, the expansion of visual culture suggests that through exhibition, life became more public. That, in Jürgen Habermas' words, '[t]he usage of the words "public" and "public sphere" betrays a multiplicity of concurrent meanings' partly explains the disjuncture, for public and private are changeable rather than fixed descriptors.[101] Here, I outline some of the major social, political and historical interpretations of the public/private dichotomy to elucidate how classes, genders and cultures experienced public and private life in different ways.

How the public and private were and are defined is central to the thesis for two reasons. First, issues of publicity and privacy emerge from the evidence and inform the historical narrative; for example, Chapter Two's wartime diarists wrote in secrecy, which alters how we interpret their now public accounts, while in Chapter Three public appearances defined how women were viewed as private individuals. Second, theorising the public and private provides a useful framework for analysing both the spaces and activities performed in everyday life. By focusing on the public/private binary (which might also be articulated as interior/exterior, social/intimate or visible/invisible), we can follow the shifting patterns of daily life throughout the era.[102] In this section, I therefore interrogate conceptions of the public and private as proposed by scholars including Hannah Arendt, Habermas, and Richard Sennett. In doing so, I suggest that during modernity, the ideological boundaries between the public and private (which are delineated as separate 'spheres') were destabilised and so there was fluidity between the two realms.[103] Additionally, I draw on feminist scholars such as Nancy Fraser and Erica

Rappaport to argue that public and private 'spheres' are not fixed but are complicated and multiple.[104] Then, I combine theory with material examples to demonstrate how the railway and the cinema reconfigured everyday experiences as more public, before mapping out the specific ways in which I elucidate the public and private in each chapter.

Arendt's work on the public and private surveys the two spheres' history from classical antiquity through to the 1950s. She argues that 'at least since the rise of the ancient city-state' the public and private were distinct entities, with the former corresponding to the 'political realms' and the latter to the household.[105] However, with the rise of the nation state Arendt contends that the public and private blurred to form one all-encompassing sphere: the social. In the social realm, the public and private 'flow into each other,' which suggests a porous connection between the two. Yet, it is the private sphere that dominates.[106] What once were domestic concerns for individual families (such as a household's economics) became collective issues for the nation. The emergence of the phrase 'nanny state,' which alludes to the domestication of national politics, is evidence of the private sphere's expansion into public matters. Accordingly Arendt refers to government as a 'nationwide administration of housekeeping.'[107] Although Arendt maintains that the 'intimate' provides private shelter from the social (and in doing so offers a new binary), she complicates the simplistic notion that the public and private are distinct, opposite positions. The social realm contains actions that are both public and private and so constitutes what Alan Wolfe calls a 'third realm,' which simultaneously resembles and rejects the public/private dichotomy.[108]

As well as challenging dualistic conceptions of the public and private, Arendt also discusses the spheres in the context of increasingly visually oriented Western culture, and so reveals one of the many paradoxes pertaining to publicity and privacy. Arendt emphasises that visibility—appearing in public—'constitutes reality' because being acknowledged by others authenticates our individual actions. In modern, mass culture exhibition is so central to conceptions of reality that 'even the twilight which illuminates our private and intimate lives is ultimately derived from the much harsher light of the public realm.'[109] Thus while she posits that in the social realm the private sphere is dominant, Arendt also acknowledges that publicity is at the root of our everyday experiences. In doing so, her work reveals some of the 'multiplicity of concurrent meanings' that underpins how we use the terms public and private.

Arendt's 'tripartite' model emphasises the difficulty of 'fitting modern civil society into any dichotomous public/private framework.'[110] Defining the period

according to binaries is too simplistic. Dennis proposes that the 'challenge of working with the concept of modernity is that it forces us to make sense of the messiness' – in this case, what was public and what was private.[111] Even Sparke, who points to the new distinction of the 'private individual,' acknowledges that there are 'tensions […] ambiguities […and] paradoxes that defined the relationship between the public and private spheres.'[112] However, while Arendt's introducing the social realm addresses the limitations of working with the public/private dichotomy, thinking solely about an amalgamated sphere belies the differences that exist between the visible and concealed, or the state and individual. As Jeff Weintraub acknowledges, the vocabulary of the public and private can neither be 'simplified nor usefully avoided.'[113] I therefore continue to use the terminology of public and private throughout the thesis because the two words are broadly useful even though their meanings fluctuate.

Another key facet of Arendt's theorisation of the public and private is the rise of mass society, which she suggests undermines the power to organise people into collectives with common interests.[114] Similarly, Habermas sees mass society as a divisive, although ultimately more damaging, phenomenon. Habermas cites the emergence of capitalism in the sixteenth century (when local markets and trade fairs began acting as stock markets and traders simultaneously turned news into a commodity) as the main factor in transforming the public and private spheres in modern times.[115] He contends that London's coffeehouse culture in the eighteenth century is a paradigm for the ideal, civil, public realm, as the coffeehouses presented an inclusive space in which bourgeois men came together as equals to engage in social discourses.[116] Thus '[t]he bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all else as the sphere of private people come together as a public.'[117] However, by the nineteenth century, the two public and private realms merged, with the private, domestic arena dominating all elements of public life. As such, Habermas's argument is congruent with that of Arendt, who also makes the case for the expansion of the private sphere. Habermas's analysis differs, though, in that he mourns the 'collapse' and 'decomposition' of his fantasised conception of the eighteenth-century public realm.[118]

There are three crucial problems which scholars including Fraser and Rappaport have identified in Habermas's work. First, unlike Arendt, Habermas describes a modern history of the public and private sphere that does not reflect actual circumstances, and so he critiques a mass society that is not entirely authentic. For example, he proposes that 'women […] were factually and legally excluded' from the political public sphere.[119] Yet historians such as Judith Walkowitz demonstrate that in Victorian

London women *did* visibly participate in the public sphere as, among other roles, philanthropists, match girls, consumers and Salvation Army workers.[120] Furthermore, Habermas, like other notable scholars including Debord and Adorno (as I elucidate further in the next section on 'Visual Culture'), assumes that from the nineteenth century onward all consumers are passive. He outlines how the rise of mass media coincides with a decline in social discourses about what people see and hear, because radio, television and film 'do not require any further discussions' and encourage 'abstinence from literary and political debate.'[121] In doing so, he ignores the exchanges people enact by applauding in cinemas, writing about their opinions in private correspondence, discussing media in conversation—as so famously overheard by Mass Observation volunteers—and contributing to (albeit commoditised) newspaper letter pages. Habermas therefore fails to acknowledge that as media technologies change, so too do the forums in which people both publically and privately respond to those media. The latest film at the movie theatre might not be discussed in a coffeehouse, but children might talk at school, or an actor's fans in an appropriate magazine.

Second, Habermas's work ignores a multiplicity of lived experiences based on class, race, sex and gender (which, I argue, occur even within a 'mass' society) and so he champions bourgeois life at the expense of all other social determinants. Fraser surmises that it is precisely because Habermas fails to examine other public spheres that he idealises a singular, bourgeois and male-oriented public. She argues his view that women were confined to the private sphere is merely ideological, for Habermas 'accepts at face value the bourgeois public's claim to be *the* public.'[122] Moreover, in her study of female consumers in nineteenth-century London, Rappaport suggests that in addition to marginalising women's experiences, Habermas 'inadvertently positions women's presence in any manifestation of the public as a sign of its collapse and disruption.'[123] Thus Habermas not only leaves out multiple, experiential histories of the public and private, but also aligns an acknowledgement of other public narratives with a decline of the bourgeois public realm.

Third, even as he argues that the private sphere expands so as to dominate the public, Habermas offers little critical insight into the private sphere's manifestations in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. As Wolfe points out, Habermas's version of privacy leaves little room for friends or family, and relies on the notion that a public forum in which citizens engage in social discourses is preferable to any privately constituted sphere.[124] Habermas describes the private as a realm of domesticity, household affairs and intimacy. However, his work focuses so intently on definitions of

the public that readers are left in the dark about formations of family life and how the private is affected by the rise of mass society in practice.

Nevertheless, despite warranting criticism, Habermas's theorisation of the public and private spheres is still useful in that his work references many different fields (including architecture, law and psychology) within which the public/private dichotomy emerges in everyday life. For example, he explains the contradictions between public and private economic interests in formulating nineteenth-century law.[125] He addresses the reconfiguration of roads that do not encourage either public gatherings or private protection, and architectural changes to houses that feature fewer dividing walls and so create confusion between the private home and public street.[126] Habermas also cites psychology as a new field of exploration in the nineteenth century codified by conceptions of public and private.[127] His real-world examples imply multifaceted uses of the two terms and my own work follows in a similar vein: for instance, in Chapters One and Three I refer to laws that respectively determine public and private rights to property ownership, and to women's access to the public realm of work. In Chapters Two and Three, I discuss connections between psychology and privacy. Thus I argue that Habermas's work (perhaps inadvertently) elucidates multiple arenas of public life (where his examples pertain to lived experiences and actions) more clearly than an ideological public sphere.

As such, his work has commonalities with that of Richard Sennett, who explicitly examines public 'life' rather than the public 'sphere'.[128] Sennett argues that public life has diminished (we witness 'the fall of public man') in favour of private life, which now disproportionately influences all acts and roles that people perform. His work focuses on human actions in everyday life and he compares society to a theatre, in which all actions are performed before an audience.[129] His concept of public life therefore takes place in a public sphere that is dependent on performance and visibility, in which even once private, domestic acts are publically displayed (what Karen Chase and Michael Levenson refer to as the 'spectacle of intimacy').[130] Sennett's attentions to the visible, the everyday and the historical underpin my approach to historical narratives about visual culture and daily life throughout the thesis. Privacy for Sennett is where we seek out 'what is authentic in our feelings,' and attempt to know the self; the private is a psychological realm that is invisible because it concerns thought rather than visible action. Yet, like Habermas, Sennett does not clearly define private life – perhaps in part because the private, as opposed to the public, is necessarily invisible, and therefore unknowable.

While Sennett's formulation lends credence to my argument that privacy can pertain to an interior psychological space, his focus on public life excludes a detailed analysis of the intimate. Michelle Perrot, whose edited volumes investigate private life in France and Britain, suggests that historically scholars avoided the topic because 'public figures were the heroes and makers of the only history worth recounting: the grand history of states, economies, and societies.'[131] She also indicates that owing to the private realm's intrinsic invisibility, private life is a difficult subject for historians to access. However, Perrot champions the private as a 'legitimate object of study'.[132] Many feminist scholars argue that the private sphere (often equated with the domestic) is a domain that reveals narratives about women's lives.[133] For example, Davidoff and Hall identify the separate spheres as ideological constructs that determined particular spaces as gendered for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century middle classes.[134] The private sphere represents the woman's realm of the home, a domestic space separate from both business and employment. Meanwhile the public sphere is conceptualised as masculine, and was occupied by men who earned money and contributed to state, rather than just familial, affairs. The idea of 'spheres' spatially organises men and women's experiences as distinct from one another: females inhabited interiors and were contained within the home, while males frequented the outside world and enjoyed the accompanying freedoms of mobility.

However, scholars such as Walkowitz, Rendell and Rappaport articulate more fluid spheres. Rappaport's work examines how people's conceptions of the public realm (which encompasses the political, discursive, entertaining and bodily) changed between the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries according to women's transforming shopping habits. Throughout her exploration, Rappaport emphasises two methodological imperatives. First is for historians to recognise that contemporary notions about the public and private are different from ours today. For example, she cites middle-class Victorian Britons, who recognised the public sphere as constituting any physical space outside the home.[135] Accordingly, I trace how the public and private historically were conceived throughout the thesis – particularly in Chapter One, which navigates through changing notions of the two spheres by way of psychoanalysis, 'shell shock' in the First World War, notions of celebrity and press intrusion in the 1930s, and Second World War state secrets. Second, Rappaport advocates scholars taking a neutral stance on consumer culture that neither champions advertising as emancipatory, nor dismisses commodification as wholly negative.[136] I take a similar approach to thinking about separate spheres by discussing the tensions and transferences between the two.

There is debate among scholars as to how useful the concept of separate spheres (even as changeable, rather than fixed, realms) is in helping us understand the past. On one hand is a historical argument (see Walkowitz or Rappaport on women in the public sphere); on the other hand is a theoretical reading of the spheres that argues against so clear-cut a division. For example, Jane Rendell proposes that the origins of an ideology that 'divides city from home, public from private, production from reproduction, and men from women' is fundamentally patriarchal and capitalist.[137] As such, the public/private dichotomy cannot accurately reflect any lived experiences except of those of bourgeois men. Furthermore, Miriam Glucksmann sees the public and private spheres not as separate but interrelated.[138] This contention forms part of a wider argument in her work that historians need to move beyond 'dualistic modes of theoretical analysis': that is, thinking about situations as 'and/both' rather than simply 'either/or.'[139]

Fraser challenges the notion of binaries even further when she acknowledges not only the intersections between the two realms, but also a 'nexus of multiple publics.'[140] She argues that by rejecting the patriarchal conception of a single, bourgeois public, we legitimate public spheres that incorporate various cultures, genders and classes. Her work is particularly pertinent with regard to my own conception of publicity and privacy, for my chapters explicitly address how different classes (in ambulance trains) and genders (for instance, women travellers) experienced the tensions between inclusivity and hierarchy manifest in British society. Thus my analysis of both public and private spheres (which are ideological) and public and private life (which is enacted) offers a 'complexification' of the traditional binary.[141] Drawing on Fraser, by way of Arendt and feminist scholars including Walkowitz, Rendell and Rappaport, I argue that the public and private are porous realms that often intersect and that publicity and privacy refer to multiple fields (such as architecture, law and psychology). Moreover, I contend that there are multifarious public spheres that are experienced in different ways according to one's class, race and gender (for example, royalty vs. the working class; subaltern vs. white troops in the First World War; and female vs. male rail passengers). As such, notions of the public and private change throughout the thesis, for meanings are particular to each case study and therefore to each historical 'public' that the work encounters.

Additionally, by focusing on the tensions between the two spheres, I attempt to balance an analysis of the public and the private realms. For example, I acknowledge there were ebbs and flows between the inside and outside, such as improved lighting, camera flashes and portability, which enabled people to photograph and display

25

interiors at the end of the nineteenth century.[142] The inside was also exposed to the outside world when the x-ray rendered the invisible visible. Kern tells us that '[t]he opening up of the interior anatomical terrain of the human body by x-ray was part of a general reappraisal of what is properly inside and what is outside the body, the mind, physical objects, and nations'.[143] Andrew Thacker, in his study of modern literature, examines the expression of internal thought in contemporary stream of consciousness novels during a similar historical period.[144] He contends '[n]arrative techniques such as interior monologue […] offer[ed] a method for moving between inner thoughts and outer reality'.[145] Externalising internal processes also fascinated Cubists, Surrealists and psychoanalysts. Newspapers publicised private legal, economic and extra-marital affairs.[146] Public buildings including rail stations and hotels were influenced by domestic design practices. And private homes borrowed aesthetics from industrial spaces.[147]

In particular, cinemas and trains created spaces that were neither public nor private. In carriage compartments, the passenger inhabited private spaces on public transport; in movie theatres, the spectator individually traversed onscreen landscapes watched by crowds. One might argue (to borrow Arendt's language) that the two sites are both intimate and social, for in compartments and darkened movie theatres, passengers and spectators alike are granted the illusion of intimacy in the social realm. I therefore conceptualise the public and private realms of modernity as liminal and congruent, rather than separate. Perhaps inevitably in a thesis that primarily explores public spaces, the emphasis tends to fall on the visible sphere. Indeed, I argue throughout the work that the train and the cinema enabled people in the late nineteenth through to mid-twentieth centuries increased access to public space, and that the two sites now are paradigms for experiences of mass media and consumption in an expanding public sphere.

Counter to arguments by Arendt, Habermas, and Sennett, I propose that during modernity it was publicity, not privacy, which exerted a greater influence on everyday life. In doing so, I evoke Arendt's assertion that exhibition is the core motivation behind private actions, and also the 'spectacle of intimacy' first alluded to by Sennett and revisited by Chase and Levenson.[148] I do not seek to counter arguments about the extension of the private realm through the increasing publicity of once domestic matters. Rather, I contend that the sheer scale of the changes wrought by modernity enhanced possibilities for people to encounter publics outside their own. For instance, Rappaport, unlike Habermas (who viewed consumption as leading to the decline of the

public sphere), suggests that, 'some feminist entrepreneurs and activists viewed [mass consumption] as opening up new possibilities for engaging in, and reconfiguring notions of, the public sphere.'[149] Mass society, mass media, communication and consumption all necessarily enlarged the visible world and so created more opportunities for different publics to intersect.

Throughout his work on the public and private, Habermas's account of mass media's impact on the public sphere is contradictory. On one hand, he argues that '[t]he world fashioned by the mass media is a public sphere in appearance only' because mass media suppress the need for public discussion central to his conception of the eighteenth-century public realm.[150] On the other hand, he asserts that the rise of the mass press extended the public sphere. My contention that the train and the cinema (both of which I consider mass media) expanded the public sphere draws more on the latter assertion. I take the position because Habermas's proposition that eighteenth-century 'products of culture' were available to the public in 'the reading room and the theatre, in museums, and at concerts' fundamentally undermines his distinction between eighteenth-century and mass media.[151] The spaces he references were *not* publically accessible, but allowed only limited entry according to class, race and gender. Even in 1928, Woolf wrote that she was denied access to the libraries at Oxford or Cambridge because she was a woman.[152] Bearing in mind the historic barriers that prevented vast swathes of British peoples from entering ostensibly public spaces, the train and the cinema by contrast offered mass society greater access to the 'products of culture' housed within the carriage or auditorium.

Habermas's fantasy of the coffee house 'not merely made access to the relevant circles less formal and easier; it embraced the wider strata of the middle class, including craftsmen and shopkeepers'.[153] But in both actual, as well as imagined, railway and movie theatre spaces a greater proportion of the population was invited to encounter cultural products, which were aimed at the masses, rather than just the bourgeois public. Rail coaches and auditoriums did not necessarily constitute an emancipatory, or even inclusive, public sphere – as I elaborate throughout the thesis, the spaces frequently were subject to hierarchical and patriarchal tendencies. Yet trains and cinemas offered different classes, races and genders the possibility of sharing a space, or, vicariously, a route or destination. A common experience therefore united potentially disparate individuals: as Schivelbusch describes, the train 'brought people together both spatially and socially.'[154] Thus while both railway carriages and movie theatres are public *and*

private spaces, the train and the cinema enabled people to access an increasingly public space because the two sites were environments housing multiple publics.

In the thesis, the chapters focus on different case studies, each of which articulates a different example of a 'public'. The multifarious publics examined throughout the work comprise British subjects; medical staffs on First World War ambulance trains (as well as the people left behind on the home front); women rail travellers, railway workers, cinema spectators and movie theatre employees; and audiences in cinema trains. In exploring the case studies, I investigate four main manifestations of the public/private dichotomy. These are: spatial (configured as inside and outside); visual (framed as the visible or invisible); informative (that which is made public or kept private); and psychological (the bodily exterior vs. the cognitive interior). I begin in Chapter One by establishing a broad history of the public and private between 1895 and 1948. The chapter provides an overview of the major cultural and technological changes that underpin the other three case studies by focusing in particular on spatial and visual iterations of the public and private realms.

In Chapter One, 'the public' refers to the British subjects before whom the royal family appeared in an investigation of both actual, and onscreen representations of, royal trains. In doing so, I demonstrate that private space was equated with domesticity (for example, the train was portrayed as a travelling home), and public space with the performance of state duties (such as military salutes enacted on railway platforms). Accordingly, the chapter describes distinctive 'separate' spheres. However, the chapter also reveals how the boundaries between the two realms became blurred. For instance, the transport spaces inhabited by the private, Victorian monarchy were not exposed on film or in print; yet in George V's reign, newsreels and newspapers exhibited pictures from inside royal trains and ships. Private space was therefore transgressed in the name of public interest and once invisible domestic spaces were visually exposed for national scrutiny. As such, journalists granted British subjects greater access to the royals by interrogating the sovereign's private life in public forums. Thus I argue that concurrent with the royals' increasing visibility in public, news media undermined the legitimacy of the monarch's power by rendering the Windsors ordinary in the public imagination.

In addition, Chapter One examines how the public and private had varying connotations for different people dependent on class, gender and ethnicity. For example, the chapter indicates how gender impacted on one's experience of the public realm by analysing the representation of public women. Victoria (the only queen between 1895 and 1948) was publically depicted as the most domestic, private monarch of the period,

while Wallis Simpson's public appearances were couched in misogynistic terms. The chapter therefore supports Fraser's argument that there are multiple publics by addressing how even within two ostensibly distinct groups (the royals and British subjects) people experienced the world contrarily to one another.

Chapter Two concentrates on First World War ambulance trains, and also explores how two public groups were divided from one another and from within by notions of publicity and privacy. Here, I focus on those who served on the trains, as well as those who only encountered the vehicles in media on the home front, and I maintain my emphasis on spatial and visual experiences of the public and private. I think about the proximity of private individuals both to one another and to military action, and also investigate how depictions of the vehicles in news media influenced public responses to the conflict. I propose that the public/private dichotomy in a wartime context was differently imagined than in relation to royal trains. Inside the ambulance coaches, domestic space was no longer codified as private but reconfigured by news reports as a public sphere wherein people of all classes, backgrounds and genders lived together.

Moreover, the chapter looks beyond spatial and visual examples of the communal and personal to consider how the spread of information contributed to forming multiple publics. To do so, I compare both public and private media (for example, films exhibited to British audiences on the home front, and secret diaries written by ambulance train staffs) and analyse how shared and concealed data impacted on different groups' wartime experiences. For example, public media outlets broadcast only state-censored stories in Britain, which divided the public on the home front from the staffs on the trains by limiting one group's knowledge of the other's lives. Conversely, the ambulance crews wrote private testimonies that have since been published and now alter our perspectives about the war. As such, I argue that histories of shared and hidden information not only provide evidence of fluctuations between the public and private realms, but also reveal the crucial role of knowledge in forming multiple publics.

'The public' investigated in Chapter Three is that of women in the interwar through Second World War periods, and so the case study focuses on gendered experiences of public and private life. Drawing on feminist scholarship, I investigate spatial, visual and psychological iterations of the public and private through the patriarchal lens of the 'separate spheres.' My work both acknowledges, and challenges, the notion that the public realm (a space for work) was entirely masculine while the private realm was domestic and feminine. I contend that women entered public space

through employment at rail firms, film factories and cinemas (among other industries), and that the gendered distinction between the spheres was ideological, rather than actual. Consequently, my investigation channels earlier scholarship by Walkowitz and Rappaport that examines how both moving through communal space, and appearing before others, had negative connotations for female participants in the public sphere. My research also demonstrates that throughout the period, women passengers and spectators who entered employment in the public realm faced danger. In train wrecks or celluloid-incited factory fires, women were represented onscreen and in the daily press as publically vulnerable. Female passengers and spectators onscreen (who often appeared in the role of an amateur detective) faced ridicule—and even death—as punishment for their public actions.

Even though in both legal and employment terms women in the interwar and Second World War period won growing political support for equality, visual culture continued to objectify the female body. Onscreen, women who looked faced dangerous consequences and only were saved when consigned to domesticity and marriage. In films including *Seven Sinners* (1936) and *The Lady Vanishes* (1939), female detectives simultaneously end their train journeys and their public lives when they marry their respective partners and so return to the private sphere.[155] However, I make the case that by the end of the Second World War, onscreen women occupied a position that increasingly was independent of patriarchal concerns about public appearance. Ironically, female characters asserted their freedom in the psychological, and thus private, realm. Chapter Three therefore explores the public and private through cognition, and so builds on allusions to psychology in Chapter Two (which briefly discusses the internalisation of wartime experiences through shell shock). I investigate how characters such as Alison in *A Canterbury Tale* (1943) and Joan in *I Know Where I'm Going!* (1945) think for themselves and refuse to change their opinions despite challenges from their male counterparts.[156] By occupying an invisible, interior space inside the mind, onscreen women subvert patriarchal ideology that frames females as domesticated.

Finally, Chapter Four considers all four iterations of the public and private—spatial, visual, informative and psychological—and examines how people experienced interactions between the public and private in a particular space: the cinema train. Inside the movie coach, spectators visited an ostensibly public arena (any person on the train could visit the cinema) that was also private, in that the auditorium was closed off to members of the public not travelling on the train. On the screen, the filmed world was

rendered visible, yet the actual landscape passing by the windows of the carriage was invisible. Newsreels commoditised information that appeared to the public in the cinema, but the films were screened privately so that not everyone in the train could view the news simultaneously (indeed, given the cinema's forty-four person capacity, not all passengers on a given train could attend the cinema even with multiple screenings). And the movies screened inside the coach opened up an imaginary, psychological realm that led to audiences (comprised of individuals) experiencing a public screening in multifarious, private ways. Thus the chapter attempts to 'make sense of the messiness' not only of modernity, but also the public/private dichotomy. The fluctuating connections between different manifestations of the public and private demonstrate that there is not one simple definition that describes how the terms are related. Instead, there are numerous intersections between the public and private that exist congruently even within a specific space, and for a particular public.

Visual Culture

Modernity was a period in which transformations to vision, as well as space, took place. The nineteenth century was overflowing with new optical technologies including photographic cameras, zoetropes, praxinoscopes, Kinetoscopes and at the turn of the twentieth century, cinema. Ward, in her work on Weimar Germany, contends that modernity gave rise to 'surface culture' as 'content yielded to form, text to image, depth to façade'.[157] Surface culture valued aesthetics as the primary means of communication in a world increasingly filled by mechanically reproduced images. Neon signs, billboards and department store window displays commoditised the visual. Scholars including Theodor Adorno, Max Horkeimer and Guy Debord contend that mass visual culture was pervasive across the globe, and was a means by which people were controlled in capitalist economies.[158] But while this thesis supports the suggestion that 'surface culture' was endemic in cultures beyond Weimer Germany (for example, in Britain), I propose that the connections between power and vision is more complex than Adorno, Horkeimer or Debord assert. I argue that while people might have succumbed to the power of the image as imposed from above, it also is possible that people were granted more cultural authority as their access to images increased.

Adorno and Horkheimer's work on 'mass culture' suggests that all mass media (for examples, film, radio and print) were products designed to influence mass populations.[159] In a later essay, Adorno returned to the topic and made one correction to the original text: he insisted that the term 'culture industry' replace 'mass culture.'[160]

The change was to ensure readers did not infer that mass culture was something arising from 'the masses themselves,' but was instead imposed top-down by a ruling elite.[161] Debord's theory of the 'society of the spectacle' draws on Adorno and Horkheimer's work but articulates a more extreme conclusion. He asserts that surface culture was comprehensive because all capitalist economies become societies of 'spectacle' whereby actual, lived things are reduced to representation.[162] His analysis of visual culture finds that the image's power is absolute because the spectacle 'is the image of the ruling economy' and is thus 'rooted in power which bans other forms of expression.'[163] Spectacle is universal and insists on selling the masses the idea behind spectacle itself: capitalism.[164] The visual fragments the world so that people are unable to distinguish between life and illusion in a system that locates total power within the image.[165]

However, Debord, and Adorno and Horkheimer, fail to acknowledge that the masses *are* implicated in producing images, spectacle and culture. Adorno in particular separates ordinary people from modes of production and perpetuates elitist stereotypes in his distinction between 'high' and 'low,' or mass art.[166] Furthermore, in Debord's assertion that spectacle creates an absolute illusion of power ('false consciousness') he undermines his argument that 'man himself produces all the details of his world.'[167] The systems described by these scholars do not give voice to ordinary people and their daily interactions with vision and power. As de Certeau indicates, individuals' appropriations of the products of mass culture are unique: films are watched, newspapers read and streets traversed in a variety of ways.[168] By extension, I contend that spectacle is representation, and so is open to multiple interpretations that alter the signifying image. Michel Foucault's work on power relations within society also challenges the notion that power is imposed upon the masses. He argues that power 'passes through individuals' and is 'not applied to them'.[169] His contention implies that the connection between power and the image is more complex than Debord supposes.

Ward's investigation of surface culture offers a more nuanced interpretation of visual culture and the locus of power. She asserts that '[f]or over a hundred years, mass cultural phenomena have been growing in importance, taking over from elite structures of cultural expression to become sites where real power resides.'[170] Her argument contradicts Adorno and Debord, for she insists that mass culture gives authority to the masses rather than the elite. Conor goes even further by insisting that being looked at, as well as looking, was empowering. She argues that within the visually rich environments of modern cultures, images of women's bodies were commoditised and so rendered into

the topographies of urban spaces by patriarchal forces. However, she also considers modernity as a period in which 'women began to negotiate the […] terms of self-presentation, prising open their object status to subvert inhibiting effects and exhibit themselves'.[171] She argues that a newfound self-reflective gaze altered women's spectatorial practices because the woman's mirrored look created an illusion of femininity, while simultaneously establishing the woman as active in public space.[172]

Women were able to occupy their own images and in doing so 'appear within the visual and cultural domain they created.'[173] Conor's assertions demonstrate that even in a culture predicated on patriarchal authority over women (which is akin to elite manipulation of the masses), power still passed through the female subject who contributed to the production of culture. Conor therefore uses theory to outline the connections between vision and power, while Ward establishes why visual culture is important to historians. My work expands on Ward and Conor's interpretations by offering material, as well as conceptual, evidence that Britain's increasingly visual culture offered ordinary people greater authority within society. Throughout the thesis, I articulate the connections between vision, visual culture and power as complicated, yet ultimately inclusive.

The Railway

Vision is central to Schivelbusch's interrogation of the nineteenth-century railway journey.[174] His cultural history of train travel is rare in a field dominated by scholarship on rail engineering, technology and economics. Railway histories fall into two broad categories: those concerned with the physicality of building and using railways, and those focused on representations of trains in popular culture. A K B Evans and J V Gough fall into the first group. They offer an account about the railway's genesis from seventeenth-century wooden carts on tracks, to the innovative design practices implemented by British Rail in the 1960s.[175] The authors primarily focus on political decisions that affected railway geography and travellers' comfort. They use archival documents—including government commissioned reports and passengers' letters—to create a comprehensive narrative about how train travel was shaped by outside influences including politics, commuting and design.

Christian Wolmar's work similarly positions the railway as subject to socio-political forces, but does not consider the possible impacts of the train on people's experiences of everyday life.[176] His study also begins with seventeenth-century trams but ends with the rail network's privatisation in 1993. He investigates passengers'

experiences through the daily press and advertising and examines how and why rail design evolved. Both Evans and Gough and Wolmar's histories are informative and useful. Yet neither of their works recognises the reciprocity between trains on the one hand, and British culture on the other.

Amy Richter infuses her work on the history of women's rail travel in the USA with an attentiveness to design and gender studies that separates her work from more traditional histories.[177] Richter contends the American railroads were advertised for women to challenge the monstrous mechanical image the locomotive had garnered. As train travel became more appealing to women, the designs used to furnish the carriages did also. She repositions the railway's industrial significance in relation to women's mobility, arguing coach-makers began mimicking domestic design in order to appeal to women consumers at the turn of the nineteenth century. Her work thus offers a more nuanced railway history that acknowledges the interactions between technology and culture.

In the second category are scholars including Ian Carter, Matthew Beaumont and Michael Freeman, and Lynne Kirby.[178] Carter seeks to redress the mechanically and economically weighted balance of rail-related literature in his cultural study. He explores the railway's depiction in painting, literature and motion pictures. He assimilates words and images concerning tracks and trains with a focus on their cultural significance: this is a history that avoids obsessing about the technological. But the train's representation in the dystopian future (for example, the 1965 *Fahrenheit 451*) also evades Carter.[179] The omission makes for a romanticised view of British railway culture that, through Carter's selectivity, favours a chocolate-box view of the imaginary past.

Kirby also offers a study of represented railway journeys, in her exploration of trains and cinema in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in the USA and France.[180] Her work establishes aesthetic and mechanical connections between film and railway histories, proposing that early cinema should be seen in relation to other 'apparatuses of modernity'.[181] She also contends that the onscreen train is metonymic for wider cultural issues because railways and cinema are conceived as 'vehicles for national identity' based on consumption.[182] However, despite arguing the intersections between the locomotive and the cinema are socio-politically significant, Kirby's argument is predicated entirely on representation. She reads the train on the screen as metaphor: for her the space of representation does not inform us about, or connect to, the materiality of the past. While she offers a comprehensive account of the

technologies' intersecting histories, her psychoanalytic interpretations of railway films are disconnected from physical experience. Her work is foremost interested in images, and so she does not consider what (evoking de Certeau) people made or did with those images in everyday life.

The railway's impact on life in Britain is crucial to Schivelbusch's exploration of train travel. He establishes connections between the train and broader transformations to British life (and, to a lesser extent, countries including the USA). In doing so, Schivelbusch discusses diverse areas including medicine (with the advent of conditions such as 'railway spine' and 'railway trauma'), glass and steel architecture and the distribution of goods and people. His work is therefore concerned with the material connections between the train and industry, and the carriage and the body, in a study of the railway's impact on culture. His argument that the railway 'both diminished and expanded' space and also mediated passengers' experiences of the world is concerned not only with the technology's physical impact, but also with how passengers experienced rail journeys.[183]

Furthermore, Schivelbusch investigates the conceptual changes to time and space wrought by the train. For example, he alludes to the visual intersections between looking out from a carriage window and looking at a cinema screen. He does so by suggesting that *montage* offers the 'clearest expression' of the 'annihilated in-between spaces' first created by the train.[184] Schivelbusch's work thus provides a crucial framework for my own. However, while Schivelbusch examines the railway as a singular entity that impacted on the nation, I investigate the specific, everyday transformations that train travel created by intervening in people's daily lives.

Cinema and Moving Images

Just as railway historians are fascinated by visual representation, so, too, film scholars are interested in technology, space and time. Both the cinema's material and conceptual spaces are subject to analysis in publications on subjects as varied as architecture, machines and film noir. My work draws on investigations into film's materiality (for example, celluloid capturing space or the projector controlling time), as I explore how cameras exposed interiors in Chapter One, the connections between reality and indexicality in Chapter Two, and cinematic architecture in Chapter Four. Furthermore, I interrogate cinema's spatiality and temporality in my conceptualisation of moving images as archives.

Giuliana Bruno maps inhabited cinematic spaces in her work on the intersections between architecture, cinema and gender.[185] Bruno argues the need to find new perspectives on film. Taking her cues from geography and the visual arts, she expands the possibilities for thinking about the medium through interdisciplinarity. Her corpus extends from a 1654 novel through to twentieth-century films, and draws on works from the United States, Europe and Asia. She contends that motion pictures are both architectural and emotive, and so are embodied experiences. The movie is a map both real and imagined that enables visitors to travel as tourists through projected onscreen spaces. Evoking Schivelbusch, Bruno determines that moving images are 'sites' as well as an inhabited 'sights'.[186] Edward Dimendberg also contributes to the spatial study of cinema in his work on film noir in the USA.[187] He theorises that the film noir cycle evokes historic urban spaces through which we can re-live past experiences and practice cultural remembrance. Dimendberg, too, attests that we 'inhabit' filmic spaces. But whereas Bruno explores the spaces beyond the screen as extensions of actual, lived spaces, Dimendberg adopts a different approach. He examines the relationship between the three-dimensional built environment and its two-dimensional representation on screen, maintaining a clear distinction between the two throughout his book.

Bruno has the viewer assimilated by the moving picture: the viewer is Alice through—even beyond—the looking glass. Dimendberg, in line with de Certeau's tactic, encourages viewers to make less interpolative journeys through filmic space, inviting them instead to plot real and imagined space on the same map. Both Bruno and Dimendberg stake out ways we can move through, and inhabit, filmic spaces. These two scholars help define my work's parameters through making connections between moving images, architecture and geography. However, I visualise my research as the third circle in a Venn diagram where Bruno and Dimendberg overlap. On the left are Bruno and her work on spaces beyond the screen. On the right sits Dimendberg and his exploration of historic environments and cinematic memory. Connecting us all is a fascination with movies, spatiality and everyday life. But I occupy another space still. My work is defined by my reliance on archival sources to help us inhabit the past, as I argue that moving images not only have a spatiality of their own, but also open up to us historic spaces.

Mary Anne Doane, like Schivelbusch, contends that technologies in the nineteenth century wrought dramatic change on how people experienced both space and time.[188] Photography stopped time dead in its tracks: film speeded it back up again. Trains and telephones condensed spaces while light bulbs reconfigured the working

day. Doane contends that temporal and spatial fragmentation led to social contingency and a dependence on archives to restore continuation (what Derrida calls 'archival trauma').[189] She argues that cinephilia is an instinctive archival response to the decay of celluloid in the onslaught of digital technologies. Her work ultimately considers both how films archive time and why we archive film, acknowledging that cinema plays a vital role in the processes of collection and preservation. My research, concerned with moving images *as* archives, responds to Doane's theory by exploring how cinema archives time, spaces and things.

Films are full of things. The screen is a museum cataloguing objects from modernity to the present day: trains, tables, typewriters and airplanes are all scrutinised by the camera. Cinema, then, shows us the stuff of everyday life. Bill Brown analyses materiality in his work on 'thing theory'.[190] He contends that we learn to understand our cultures and histories through objects, and he problematizes products and forces us to question our reliance upon material culture in understanding the world. Friedrich Kittler also traces the histories of objects from modernity through to the present day.[191] He incorporates mechanics, economics, critical and cultural theory into a work that archives time and human endeavours to temper its rhythm. Kittler argues that each object disrupts time and reduces the sensory to a series of patterns, codes or chemical processes. His work deconstructs the gramophone, the typewriter and film to lay bare our dependence on sensory technologies and their impacts on our cultures. I similarly historicise products (for example, carriages or advertisements) and use them to understand everyday life on the railway and in cinemas. Moreover, I also engage with objects and things through their representations onscreen.

Chapters

The thesis is structured by four case studies, which organise the chapters. Each chapter focuses on different railway spaces that include royal, ambulance and cinema trains. The case studies interrogate how particular railway and cinema sites altered everyday life for people in Britain, and also how the spaces are connected to broader transformations of British culture. Chapters One and Four (royal and cinema trains) provide overarching histories of the entire period between 1895 and 1948 – with my work on movie coaches extending into the 1950s. Chapters Two and Three (ambulance and passenger trains) investigate more specific timeframes. The ambulance train case study concentrates on the First World War (1914-1919), while the passenger chapter encompasses both the inter and Second World War periods (1918-1945). The thesis

does not take an entirely linear approach to history, but instead offers multiple perspectives on the age.

I propose that readers consider the work as akin to a railway timetable. The journey between 1895 and 1948 may at first glance appear straightforward, yet on closer inspection there are various routes that enable one to travel from A to B. There are junctions, connections and intersections between the chapters that provide readers with alternate routes to the Conclusion. For example, the first chapter examines royal train travel on film in order to investigate the thresholds between public and private, interior and exterior in British media, architecture and ideology. But the royal family's story does not end with Chapter One: the monarchy appears again in Chapter Two inspecting wartime battlefields, and also in Four as newsreel-watching passengers in cinema carriages. Similarly, women's occupations of rail and cinema spaces are explored in Chapter Three. Yet gendered experiences of trains and auditoriums are first addressed in Chapters One (Queen Victoria helped popularise rail travel) and Two (Red Cross nurses lived in ambulance coaches). The chapters' arrangement is designed to reveal the convergences of, and tensions between, diverse groups of people who all experienced and formed British culture.

'An Inside Story: Exposing the Royals in British Culture' not only provides a historical overview of the period, but also establishes the main themes that resonate throughout the thesis. From early *actualités* including *A Royal Train* (1896) through to newsreel films including *His Majesty's Tour* (1920) and *Babies, George V and Mary on Train* (1920-1930), images of the royal family travelling by rail were pervasive in British visual culture.[192] Throughout the corpus, the sovereigns are represented in motion. The films emphasised the monarchs' mobility, as well as the royals' patriotic use of the train, in order to depict the nation's energy and technological innovation. However, at particular historical moments (including George V's illness and Edward VIII's abdication) the sovereigns were portrayed as static figures that were rendered obsolete as Britain's representatives. The films therefore bring to light connections between moving, looking and conceptions of modernity.

The intersections between royal trains and cinema also document the changing attitudes toward conventional social hierarchies that once underpinned British culture. Over the course of fifty years, the monarchs' trains were transformed from luxurious vehicles to ones that reflected wartime austerity. Simultaneously the films made about sovereigns were altered as the camera zoomed in from respectful long shots at train stations to close-ups that revealed the intimate spaces the royals inhabited. Royal

transport increasingly became normalised and after Edward VIII's abdication in 1936, the family's image became ubiquitous. I propose that as media made the royals banal, the nation was reconfigured as more equal. The public was given the right to look at those who traditionally were privileged surveyors. Furthermore, the chapter is framed by an investigation of looking and appearing on thresholds that examines broader cultural and ideological transformations to public and private space.

'"A Train Full of Tragedies": First World War Ambulance Trains on Film' interrogates the tensions between inclusivity and hierarchy evident in wartime formations of national identity. Throughout the war, ambulance trains were described in the trade press (for example, *Railway Gazette*), daily national newspapers and newsreels. Films including *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (1917), *Care of Our Wounded* (1918) and *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (1916) encouraged viewers on the Home Front to focus on the care provided for wounded soldiers.[193] In a period before the British government fully recognised the potential for cinematic propaganda, the ambulance train newsreels offered positive narratives about salvation and egalitarian treatment on the Western Front. Amid the sepia hues of the celluloid, the white coach interiors, Red Cross uniforms and beds inside the trains all represented the nation's superior, sanitary medical services.

The chapter examines how both public and private discourses exaggerated classlessness and inclusivity, while simultaneously maintaining divisions between those at the front and those at home. Moreover, an investigation of the personal testimonies written on board the trains, and the films made about the caregiving vehicles, exposes that whiteness was a topos shared by both media. On one hand, the films depict female nurses, working class privates and upper-class officers all inhabiting carriages together. On the other, a visual motif of whiteness erases subaltern troops from wartime narratives. Together, cinematic and written representations of ambulance trains reveal not only that propagandistic movies are valuable archives of everyday life, but also the significance of the war in transforming social hierarchies.

While suffrage was expanded following the First World War to include females, women still were not given the same voting rights as men. As consumers, women's participation in public life was essential both to the economy, yet females were treated by society as inferiors to their male counterparts. Chapter Three ('Porters, Projectionettes and Private Investigators: Women's Occupations of Railways, Cinemas and Screens') investigates the opposition between the controlled female body and the emancipated woman consumer in British culture between 1919 and 1945. The chapter

connects women's access to work with their ability to purchase commodities such as travel and visual entertainment, arguing that women and men differently experienced modernity because mobility and vision were gendered activities. I contend that carriages and auditoriums were crucial in opening up new possibilities for female consumers to travel. However, cultural anxieties persisted about women accessing rail and cinema spaces, revealing the frictions between capitalist inclusivity and patriarchal exclusiveness.

The chapter examines three case studies: female workers on railways, women employed as projectionists, and female train passengers represented onscreen in order to examine how gender ideology was altered by the leisure industry's mobile and visual technologies. This transformation to women's status is registered in an extensive canon of fiction films in the period, from *The Wrecker* through to *I Know Where I'm Going!*, which document female travellers' increasing control over their destinies.[194] The collection's overarching narrative about women's independence is also linked to broader historical debates about female participation in society as a result of political intervention, and transformations in capitalism and war. Using mail trains as an analogy, I argue that on railways, in cinemas and onscreen women were changed from parcels carried by rail to autonomous passengers who determined where they went and what they saw. In doing so, I propose that working on, and entering, carriages and auditoriums changed not only how women moved and looked, but also how females were perceived in public space.

In Chapter Four, 'Inside the Cinema Train: Archiving Modernity and Everyday Life,' I rediscover the architectural intersection between the railway and the movie theatre that made literal the much theorised connections between passengers and spectators. The chapter frames the history of the film carriage in a narrative about mobile cinemas and spectatorship, from early Bioscopes, via Russian agit-trains in the 1920s, through to film carriages in the 1950s. I argue the British movie coach was built not only to increase the LNER's profits amid competition for fares, but also to contribute to the nation's self-projected modernity. As such, the chapter pays particular attention to the cinema train's role in promoting Britain's technological innovation for an international audience. I do this by analysing the newsreel pictures shown on the movie coach, for example *New Berth for Bananas* (1938) and *Their Majesties Tour in Lanarkshire* (1938), which are connected to empire, industry and foreign trade.[195]

I also use an extant British Pathé film, and articles in the daily press, to reconstruct the space inside the railway auditorium, examining who visited it and how

people inhabited the space. I argue that while the cinema train was an inclusive, modern technology, the space commoditised moving and looking in complex ways. Consumers were positioned as passengers *and* spectators and so were divorced from, rather than integrated into, their journeys, rendering the technology redundant. As a result, the movie coach now enables us to investigate the nation's experiences of modernity as well as Britain's industrial and political decline at an international level.

Throughout the thesis, I contend that films shape archival practices by offering us alternative perspectives on the past. I propose that old technologies let us see in new ways the world as it used to be, as we are able to reinvestigate modernity through the period's defining machines. The railways and cinema are not only connected, but also connect us now to the times and spaces from which the technologies emerged. The thesis thus offers a cultural history of the train and film's impacts on everyday life that is crucial to our understanding formations of British culture that resonate still in our lives today.

Endnotes

[1] *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1941).

[2] The cinema was so inclusive a space that even in 1944 there was no law in place 'to prevent a person from entering a kinema free of charge if an exit door [was] used.' See *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Legal Poser for Exhibitors," May 11, 1944, p.1.

[3] For example, Lynne Kirby describes the train as 'an apt metaphor' for moving images in her work on cinematic representations of railroads in silent films. See Lynne Kirby, *Parallel Tracks: The Railroad and Silent Cinema* (Exeter: The University of Exeter Press, 1997), 2. Vanessa Toulmin's history of travelling Bioscopes refers to a physical connection between the technologies, as early film distributors' relied on the rail network to transport their shows. See Vanessa Toulmin, "Telling the Tale: The Story of the Fairground Bioscope Shows and the Showmen Who Operated Them," *Film History* 6, no. 2 (1994): 219-237.

[4] The technologies are associated through aesthetics, with the cinema's 'tracking' shot created by rigging a camera to a locomotive (see Kirby, *Parallel Tracks*, 2). Similarities also are evident between the window and the screen. See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977); also Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (London: Verso, 2002). For further information on the travelogue genre and Hale's Tours (an early-twentieth century cinema auditorium designed to replicate a train carriage) see Charles Musser, "The Travel Genre in 1903-1904: Moving Towards Fictional Narrative" in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Charles Musser (London: BFI, 1990), 123-132.

[5] In using the term 'media' to encompass trains as well as film, I draw on Frederic Jameson's assertion that '"media" traditionally includes and encompasses transportation as well.' See Frederic Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (London: BFI Publishing, 1992), 13. Also worth noting is that Benedict Anderson describes the newspaper as 'one of the earlier-mass-produced commodities'. However, for the purpose of this thesis, I define newspapers as distinct from railways and cinemas because the newspaper is an object through which the world is interpreted; trains and movie theatres are environments that mediate time and space. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 35.

[6] For rail figures, see BBC News, "Rail Travel at Highest Peacetime Level Since 1928," January 31, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-12320817 (accessed October 13, 2013). For cinema statistics, see Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-1939* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), 11.

[7] The population in 1928 was 45,580,000, and was 48,220,000 in 1940. Both Jan Lahmeyer, "United Kingdom: Historical Demographical Data of the Whole Country," http://www.populstat.info/Europe/unkingdc.htm (accessed October 13, 2013). The number of journeys or cinema tickets is rounded to the nearest whole number. The figures may be higher than I have calculated here, because population figures include Northern Ireland. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether peak rail and cinema traffic applied only to England, Scotland and Wales.

[8] *Flying Scotsman* (Castleton Knight, UK, 1929).

[9] *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train," March 14, 1924, p.380.

[10] *Flying Scotsman to Beat Timetable* (British Movietone, UK, 1932); *First Streamlined Diesel Train* (British Movietone, UK, 1932).

[11] *A Kiss in the Tunnel* (George Albert Smith, UK, 1899); *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1928); *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchock, UK, 1938).

[12] I use a broad definition of 'culture' that encompasses the minutiae of everyday life as well as the political, ideological, creative and economic factors that coalesce to shape how people interact with the world. Thus the term applies both to material production and a signifying system – see Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976), 91.

[13] David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* (London: Profile Books, 2010), 40-42.

[14] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 13.

[15] Bruno contends that '[i]n a movie theatre, as in a train, one […] travels in time and space, viewing panoramically from a still-sitting position through a framed image in motion'. Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 156.

[16] Trade unions, which promoted inclusivity based on the commoditisation of labour, grew in size, number and power prior to the First World War. Co-operatives were also popularised, reinforcing the connections between inclusiveness and trade. See Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 136-138.

[17] David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2008), 9.

[18] See Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit, MI: Black and Red, 1967) on spectacle; Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*, (London: University of California Press, 2001) on surface culture; and Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IA: Indiana University Press, 2004) on spectacularization.

[19] Christian Wolmar, *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), 131; Ian Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain: The Epitome of Modernity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 10.

[20] Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace*, 17.

[21] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall describe the public and private spheres as separate, gendered and ideologically constructed realms that determined how people interacted with society. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 13.

[22] Lee Grieveson, "Introduction," in *Film and the End of Empire*, eds. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCabe (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 2.

[23] For example, women won the right to be considered 'persons' under British law in 1909. See *The Manchester Guardian*, "Women and the Vote," March 18, 1909, p.9. Education Reform Acts in 1918 and 1944 expanded services to include more pupils. The British Broadcasting Corporation was established in 1927 to transmit politically unbiased programmes to the nation via mass media (the BBC was established in 1922 but it was not until 1927 that the corporation was formally recognised as a national, independent broadcaster by Royal Charter). And the implementation of the Beveridge Report in 1948 redefined Britain as a Welfare State in which citizens' fundamental needs were met by redistributing taxation. See Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe, *Beveridge to Blair: The First Fifty Years of the Welfare State, 1948-98* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[24] Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain*, 13.

[25] Ibid., 23.

[26] George Cruickshank, *The Railway Dragon*, 1841-1850; Eric Ravillious, *Train Landscape*, 1939.

[27] Ford Maddox Ford, *Parade's End* (1924-1928; repr., London: BBC Books, 2012); T S Eliot, *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* (1939; repr., London: Faber and Faber, 2001).

[28] Wolmar, *Fire and Steam*, 45.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 137.

[31] Ibid., 77.

[32] A railway mail service was established in 1838 that ran until 2004. The General Post Office was responsible for running Travelling Post Office (TPO) services across the British rail network. See Peter Johnson, *An Illustrated History of the Travelling Post Office* (Hersham: Ian Allan Publishing, 2009).

[33] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Queen's Glorious Reign: A Pictorial Chronicle," 1897.

[34] "Thomas Cook History," Web site, http://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-history/ (accessed November 27, 2013).

[35] A K B Evans and J V Gough, *The Impact of the Railway on Society in Britain: Essays in Honour of Jack Simmons* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 50.

[36] Ibid., 48-52.

[37] Great Western Railway, "See Your Own Country First" advertisement, 1925.

[38] Southern Railway, "South for Winter Sunshine" advertisement, 1929; London and North Eastern Railway, "Take Me By the Flying Scotsman" advertisement, 1932.

[39] Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain*, 17.

[40] *Daily Mirror*, "Train Seat to Measure," February 4, 1930, p.5.

[41] *The Times*, "Cinema on Express Train," May 25, 1935, p.9.

[42] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Telegram from Train," May 23, 1935, p.11.

[43] Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, 159.

[44] Wolmar, *Fire and Steam*, 258.

[45] Toulmin, "Telling the Tale," *Film History*, 219-237.

[46] Jon Burrow, "Penny Pleasures II: Indecency, Anarchy and Junk Films in London's "Nickelodeons," 1906-1914," *Film History* 16, no. 2, (2004): 173.

[47] Philippe Gauthier, "The Movie Theatre as an Institutional Space and Framework of Signification: Hale's Tours and Film Historiography," *Film History* 21 (2009): 326-335.

[48] Ibid., 326.

[49] Luke McKernan, "Diverting Time: London Cinemas and Their Audiences, 1906-1914," *The London Journal* 31, (2007): 130.

[50] *British Army Travelling Cinema in WW1, 1914-1918* (British Pathé, UK, 1914-1918).

[51] *The Jazz Singer* (Alan Crosland, USA, 1927).

[52] *Blackmail* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1927).

[53] Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace*, 16.

[54] Ibid., 11-12.

[55] *Kinematograph Weekly,* "The Kinema as a Social Centre," July 8, 1943, p.42.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

[58] Ibid., 92-98.

[59] Ibid., 98.

[60] Ibid., 92.

[61] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*; Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*.

[62] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 76.

[63] Janet Thumim, "The Female Audience: Mobile Women and Married Ladies" in *Nationalising Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War*, eds. Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 238.

[64] Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Routledge, 1981), 34-35.

[65] Ibid., 11.

[66] Philip Rosen, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 239.

[67] Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 11.

[68] Ibid., 12.

[69] *Night Mail* (Henry Watt and Basil Wright, UK, 1936).

[70] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-36.

[71] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 31.

[72] Michelle Perrot, "Introduction" in *A History of Private Life IV: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5.

[73] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 1*, trans. John Moore (1947; repr., London: Verso, 1991); *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 2: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, trans. John Moore (1961; repr., London: Verso, 2008); *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 3: From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life)*, trans. John Moore (1981; repr., London: Verso, 2006).

[74] Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 2*, 7.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 130.

[77] De Certeau, *The Practices of Everyday Life*, xi.

[78] Ibid., xii.

[79] Ibid., xi.

[80] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Penguin, 1928), 47.

[81] Roger Friedland and Deidre Boden, "NowHere: An Introduction" in *NowHere: Space, Time and Modernity*, eds. Roger Friedland and Deidre Boden (London: University of California Press, 1994), 2.

[82] Bernhard Rieger and Martin Daunton, "Introduction" in *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late Victorian Era to World War II*, eds. Martin Daunton and Bernhard Reiger (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1.

[83] Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26.

[84] Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 14.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 23.

[87] Ibid., 136.

[88] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, Everyday Life* (1992; repr., London: Continuum, 2004), 10.

[89] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 9.

[90] Ibid., 125.

[91] Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York, NY: W W Norton, 1994), 324.

[92] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 164.

[93] Ibid., 33.

[94] John M MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, Conflict*, ed. John K Walton (Clevedon, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005), 27.

[95] Jill Steward, "'How and Where to Go': The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914" in *Histories of Tourism*, ed. Walton, 52.

[96] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 25.

[97] Schivlebusch, *The Railway Journey*, 10.

[98] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.

[99] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 33.

[100] Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, 12.

[101] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (1962, repr; Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 1.

[102] Hannah Arendt discusses the social vs. the intimate, while Jeff Weintraub refers to the visible vs. the invisible. See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago and London: University of Chiago Press, 1958); and Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, eds. Jeff Weintraub and Krishnan Kumar, 1-42 (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1997).

[103] Arendt, *The Human Condition*; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*; and Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin, 1976).

[104] See Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no.25/26 (1990): 56-80; and Erica Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Makings of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[105] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 28.

[106] Ibid., 33.

[107] Ibid., 28.

[108] Alan Wolfe, "Public and Private in Theory and Practice: Some Implications of an Uncertain Boundary," in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, eds. Jeff Weintraub and Krishnan Kumar (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1997), 182.

[109] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 51.

[110] Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 35.

[111] Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, 26.

[112] Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, 10.

[113] Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 38.

[114] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 53.

[115] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 11-21.

[116] Ibid., 36-37.

[117] Ibid., 27.

[118] Ibid., 4.

[119] Ibid, 57.

[120] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago Press, 1992), 18.

[121] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 163.

[122] Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 61.

[123] Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 12-13.

[124] Wolfe, "Public and Private in Theory and Practice," 185.

[125] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 151.

[126] Ibid., 157-158.

[127] Ibid., 29.

[128] I define public/private 'life' as that which is performed and the public/private 'sphere' as the space in which action is performed or experienced.

[129] Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 34-35.

[130] Karen Chase and Michael Levenson. *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000, 12.

[131] Michelle Perrot, "Introduction," in *A History of Private Life IV: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Indeed, Weintraub asserts that unlike more traditional approaches, feminist analysis of the public/private dichotomy takes the domestic, or familial, sphere as a starting point and treats the public realm as residuary. See Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 28. Jane Rendell suggests that feminist scholars' focus on the private as part of a necessary inversion of the patriarchal ideology that informs the spheres. See Jane Rendell, "Gender, Space," in *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (London: Routledge, 2000), 104.

[134] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 13.

[135] Ibid., 78-79.

[136] Ibid., 13.

[137] Rendell, "Gender, Space," 103.

[138] Miriam Glucksmann, *Cottons and Casuals: The Gendered Organisation of Labour in Time and Space* (Durham: Sociology Press, 2000), 16.

[139] Ibid., 1.

[140] Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 62.

[141] Weintraub calls for a 'complexification' of the public and private. See Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 22.

[142] Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, 59.

[143] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 7.

[144] Andrew Thacker, *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

[145] Ibid., 5.

[146] Chase and Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy*, 7.

[147] Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, 10.

[148] See Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 51; and Chase and Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy*, 12. I expand on the connections between publicity and visibility in the next section on 'Visual Culture'.

[149] Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 71.

[150] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 171.

[151] Ibid., 29.

[152] Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*.

[153] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 33.

[154] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 70.

[155] *Seven Sinners* (Albert de Courville, UK, 1936); *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1939).

[156] *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, UK, 1943); *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, UK, 1945).

[157] Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 1.

[158] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*; Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947; repr., London: Verso, 1997), 120-167.

[159] Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 120.

[160] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry* (1963; repr., London: Routledge, 2001), 98.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 1.

[163] Ibid., 14 and 22.

[164] Ibid., 158.

[165] Ibid., 33.

[166] Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, 98.

[167] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 33.

[168] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

[169] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*, trans. David Macey (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 29.

[170] Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 1.

[171] Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 18.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid., 31.

[174] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*.

[175] Evans and Gough, *The Impact of the Railway on Society in Britain*.

[176] Wolmar, *Fire and Steam*.

[177] Amy Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[178] Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain*; Matthew Beaumont and Michael Freeman, eds., *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space and the Machine Ensemble* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007); Kirby, *Parallel Tracks*.

[179] *Fahrenheit 451* (Francois Truffaut, UK, 1965).

[180] Kirby, *Parallel Tracks*.

[181] Ibid., 11.

[182] Ibid., 190.

[183] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 35.

[184] Ibid., 42.

[185] Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*.

[186] Ibid., 15.

[187] Edward Dimendberg, *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[188] Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*: *Modernity, Contingency, The Archive* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[189] Ibid., 223.

[190] Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1-22.

[191] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986).

[192] *A Royal Train* (R W Paul, UK, 1896); *His Majesty's Tour* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1920); *Babies, George V and Mary on Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1920-1930).

[193] *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (Pathé Frères, UK, 1917); *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918); *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916).

[194] *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945).

[195] *New Berth for Bananas* (British Pathé, UK, 1938); *Their Majesties Tour in Lanarkshire* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

CHAPTER ONE

AN INSIDE STORY:
EXPOSING THE ROYALS IN BRITISH CULTURE

The 1896 film *Royal Train* exposed the arrival of the monarch at a rail station in Britain on celluloid for the first time.[1] The movie only now exists as an eleven-second fragment and the camera frustratingly remains distant from its subject; it is thus impossible to see a royal person emerging from the train. The locomotive bears the Prince of Wales's three-feather insignia and expectant crowds bustle around the platform, suggesting the appearance of a high-ranking royal. However, while the film reveals the station's exterior spaces and the waiting spectators, the footage conceals the carriage's interior and the travelling royal from view. Although *Royal Train* is incomplete, the camera's position on the threshold between the outside and in, the visible and the invisible, set a precedent for royal newsreel footage in which kings, queens and their retinues arriving and departing from train stations became a staple feature in British cinemas. Emerging from and disappearing inside carriages, Queen Alexandra (the wife of Edward VII) and subsequent royals always appeared between interior and exterior realms; royal bodies were visible just at the moment the figures were lost from sight, seamlessly moving between communal and personal sites.

Films about royal train travel make tangible the fluid boundaries between the public and private spheres. Moreover, newsreel clips about royal trains reveal how imperative transport technologies were in shaping perceptions of the monarchy, and by proxy the nation's, modernity. While by the late-nineteenth century the British royal family formed a 'constitutional monarchy' that wielded little actual power in terms of policy-making, the sovereign still was a vital figurehead that represented the state.[2] As such, the royals' onscreen representation was connected to that of the nation. Throughout the corpus (which consists of both *actualités* and newsreel footage), the monarchs' occupations of space, and the sites that they inhabited, were imperative in determining public discourses about Britain's self-projected modernity. Depictions of how the royals moved, where they travelled and whom they looked at, all in turn influenced how the monarchy, and by the proxy the country, were perceived both at home and throughout the empire.

Sovereigns from Alexandra to George V frequently were represented in popular culture journeying by train. The locomotive, a quintessentially British invention,

delineated the royal family as a national institution while simultaneously positioning the head of state in an everyday space. During George VI's reign, cameras crept ever closer to the monarchs while the royals inhabited ostensibly inclusive railway carriages, suggesting that the illusion of shared experience was essential to the sovereign's public image. Audiences visually were able to access, and also vicariously move through, the same carriages as the monarch. However, Edward VIII's reign was characterised by stasis: the royal who had travelled by train, ship, airplane and car was confined to a remote estate during the 1936 abdication scandal. And, during the Second World War, George VI was concealed on board his train from public view amid heightened security, resulting in the personification of the state shifting from the royal family to the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. As such, the royal train newsreel items not only register intersections between moving and looking, but also how crucial motion and visual appearances were in shaping conceptions of the nation's technological advancement.

Between 1896 (when Queen Victoria first appeared on film) and the end of the Second World War in 1945, cameras revealed ever more intimate details about the private railway spaces occupied by the royal family. The British monarchy had long inhabited the visible, public realm. Ann Clark describes how, in the eighteenth century, royal gossip was disseminated among the middle and upper classes in newspapers, pamphlets and caricatures, and reached the working class via satirical ballads.[3] Hence the monarchy's public image undermined the institution's authority. Indeed, Michel Foucault asserts that between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, juridical systems lead to the 'democratisation of sovereignty'.[4] During the middle years of Victoria's reign, the Queen retreated into a private arena; she travelled incognito and inhabited peripheral homes rather than crown estates. However, there was a public appetite for visual stimuli, which was exacerbated throughout the nineteenth century by new optical apparatus, such as the zoetrope and the camera. Visual technologies emphasised the importance of appearing in public, and by 1898 the British royal family reportedly were the most photographed in Europe.[5]

The increasing visibility of the royal family in the first three decades of the twentieth century was, therefore, a cultural rediscovery of a public monarchy and a reaction to the privately configured sovereignty of the Victorian era. I propose that between 1896 and 1945, the balance of visual authority shifted from sovereigns to the British people, who not only were able to gaze back at the royal family in the daily press, but also in movie theatres. The nineteenth century was, according to Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, 'the first great age of information […] awash in text, imagery

and insinuation.'[6] The commodification of communications through newspapers and newsreels excited a public interest in private lives. What once went on behind closed doors was now exposed in print and on celluloid. Britain's free press and almost uncensored newsreels were at liberty to push the boundaries of private exposure in the public domain.[7]

There are three reasons why the history of royal train journeys onscreen is vital to our understanding how public and private spaces were both materially and conceptually experienced in Britain. First, there is a vast canon of films that depict royal personages entering and exiting train carriages. The royals' daily lives were performed in public spaces, and therefore made ideal subject matter for filmmakers who did not have to find actors or script scenes. Films from the 1911 *Queen Alexandra* to the 1939 *Her Majesty Inspects Casualty Train* numbered in the hundreds.[8] The recurring railway motif served not only to portray the royals as sympathetic characters who were in touch with ordinary people, but also reinforced the monarchy's authority by alluding to the train's speed and mechanical superiority. The locomotive was in turn connected to the nation's self-projected international image, as stories about the royals' movements on the railways often were incorporated into broader narratives about the family's travels within the empire. Consequently, the train was an important trope in films about the monarchy—the nation's embodied representatives—that signified Britain's supremacy on a global stage.

Second, the monarch not only was subject to public discourses in film and print, but also ruled over subjects. Hence an examination of the royal family enables us to articulate the tensions between seeing and being seen that underpinned a growing market for commoditised images. On one hand, the body was visually reproduced in photographs and on film, inviting others to look upon the self. On the other, as Janet Ward illustrates in her work on 'surface culture,' modernity made the visual available for mass consumption through media including advertising, movies and department store displays, so those who were looked at were also engaged in looking back.[9] With the cinema's advent in 1895, the royal family was bound in this reciprocal act of spectatorship. For example, in 1919, Edward (the Prince of Wales) inspected troops during public engagements in Canada.[10] In cinemas, the audience for *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part One* inspected Edward, too, and the reflective nature of the gaze between the Prince and the public altered how the monarchy was perceived.

Media representations were vital to the royals' survival because public appearance and mobility were tangible and therefore 'real' to spectators.[11] Indeed, the

royal family's decline in popularity following Edward VIII's abdication coincided with the monarchy's stasis and invisibility. However, mechanically reproduced images also exposed the family's private lives. Richard Sennett contends that owing to 'behavioural and ideological confusions between the two realms' political figures only appear credible when 'the superimposition of private upon public imagery' occurs.[12] Thus in George V's reign, the King was represented in a domestic role (for example, sitting aboard a toy train among children in *Royal Tourists at Wembley*) in order to assert his authority as the nation's fatherly ruler.[13] Yet during Edward VIII's short tenure as monarch, the King's private life was revealed in the public domain in unprecedented detail, as the abdication story engulfed British media. The more ordinary people saw behind the façade of royal duty, the less credible Edward appeared. The monarchy's trajectory throughout the period therefore coincided with that of rail and cinema, in that popularity was followed by relative decline.

Third, because royal trains onscreen register transformations taking place in society, the films are vital to a broader history of British culture. Newsreels about the monarch's rail journeys reveal the frictions between hierarchy and democracy, tradition and modernity, which were prevalent throughout the period. The royals represented a patriarchal system that predated the machine age, yet the train and the cinema were new. While the family, and so the nation, were modernised through association with the technologies, there remained a palpable tension between the usually inclusive space of the train and the elitism customary to royal travel. Similarly, the tensions between the public and private were manifest in the films. Throughout the period, the camera advanced ever closer to the royal subjects, opening up interior spaces to the outside world and exposing more intimate details about the family's life. The thresholds between inside and out were not only made visible by the monarchs who crossed back and forth from station to carriage, onscreen to off-screen, but also by the British media's insistence on revealing private information in the public realm.

The chapter is divided into four sections framed by monarchs' reigns. The first focuses on Victoria (1837-1901, with a post-1895 bias) and Edward (1901-1911). I situate the monarchs on the threshold between public and private, as the royals enjoyed a deified status as aspirational domestic figures in British media. I explore the royals' representations in a both a pre- and post-cinematic world, and show how these private individuals were represented in public life. Furthermore, I discuss congruent technological changes in Britain that altered both motion and vision, and conceptions of the public and private. The second section examines the reign of George V (1911-1936),

and the third concentrates on Edward, the Prince of Wales and Britain's 'Ambassador of Empire'. George V and his sons were filmed travelling across Britain and the empire, as mass media increasingly blurred the boundaries between private life and public duty.

New technologies transformed how people perceived the monarchy, as George and his heir embraced onscreen appearances. However, the Prince's mobility was greater than that of his father and so Edward's public appearances eclipsed those of the King. The fourth section refers both to Edward VIII (1936) and George VI (1936-1952). Edward's status was transformed by his abdication, and the royal family's onscreen representation was altered by the King's sudden immobility. I investigate how the family's image was changed by public revelations of intimate details in the abdication scandal, and how a wartime politician usurped the King's symbolic status as leader. Finally, I conclude by interrogating how power was configured through spectatorship. I contend the authority of the inspecting gaze was linked to films about royal trains, in which rail and cinematic technologies converged to make the nation more inclusive.

Victoria and Edward

In 1842, Victoria travelled for the first time by train. At this time, the railway was associated with dirt, the destruction of homes, and danger. Some passengers were said to experience nervous conditions caused by travelling at high speed, while others suffered physical complaints (for example, 'railway spine') brought about by jolting carriages.[14] The locomotive was the 'fiery Devil,' a machine that ate up humans and 'cast […their] mutilated fragments in the air.'[15] Yet, at her husband's behest, the monarch journeyed from Windsor to Paddington in a train driven by Isambard Kingdom Brunel.[16] Victoria's rail journey established the railway as accepted transportation for ordinary passengers in Britain. A retrospective article in *The Illustrated London News* determined that '[t]he Queen's patronage did much to popularise the new mode of travel.'[17] If the railway was safe for Victoria, it was safe for the people, too. Through her privileged status, the Queen (with a hint of irony) helped democratise the train.

Throughout her reign, the Queen used trains to travel across Britain and Europe on private, as well as public, business. Victoria was the head of an expanding empire with colonies extending around the globe, and as Britain's national representative she was central to conceptions of British identity. Yet her seclusion from public life—following the death of her husband Albert in 1861—earned her the nickname 'The Great Unseen'.[18] The Queen seldom inhabited official royal residences (for example, Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle), choosing instead her privately owned, remote

properties at Balmoral in Scotland, and Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. She existed on both the geographical and social peripheries, inhabiting marginal territories instead of Crown Estates, and eschewing public life.

Other members of the royal family engaged with the British public in Victoria's absence; for example, the Duke and Duchess of York (Victoria's grandson, who was later George V, and his wife Mary) appeared in the daily press on a trip to Salford in 1896. *The Manchester Guardian* recounted the couple's popularity and the crowd's 'general movement to "close-up" around the Royal [road] carriage.'[19] People wanted not only to catch a glimpse of the Duke and Duchess, but also to get close to the royal persons. Proximity made for a better story to share with family and friends, while simultaneously connecting the public to the nation's figureheads. The Duke and Duchess were 'visibly' pleased by the crowd's response. As performers, the royals ensured their private feelings were externalised for the public. Moreover, the couple reportedly travelled in an open-top carriage. This removed them from the people by enclosing the royals in a private, mobile space, while also enabling George and Mary to remain in public sight. That was, until the Duchess raised her umbrella in the rain. The newspaper describes how a supporter begged Mary to 'put it down, please!' so as to 'let the people see [her].'[20] She reportedly obliged and sat in the drizzle without cover. Whatever her private feelings about the situation, her duty was to the public gaze.

As their trip ended, the Duke paid tribute to the mayor while 'standing at the door of the royal saloon.'[21] The public were given a glimpse of the royals on a threshold, with the article suggesting that George and Mary had come, but also were going. The couple were separated from the crowd by the train, and so remained peripheral, and their implied movement distinguished them from the static crowd. Furthermore the royals' representation in vehicles connected them to technologies that produced speed, an important association for the representatives of modern Britain. That the royals were only seen in glimpses, even by newspaper journalists, also attested to the family's social standing. The monarch's partial availability turned witnesses into honoured spectators, reinforcing the notion that while the monarch performed as a public servant, the royals also were privileged, private individuals whose lives always were in motion.

Royal train carriages offered a balance in the dichotomy of looking and being looked at. The train traditionally was looked out from, not stared into. For example, while '[a] few of the privileged spectators were enabled to peep into th[e] sumptuous saloon' used to convey Princess Maud on her honeymoon in 1896, the general

population were not able to access the space.[22] Rail transportation was an experience shared by many but the specially designed royal carriages were inhabited only by a few. Nevertheless, that same year the coming of cinema was to offer spectators more opportunities to view the monarchs' coaches. *Royal Train* featured the Prince of Wales's insignia, so makes an unlikely candidate as the first film to feature Victoria using the railway. But she was recorded on camera in her Highland home at Balmoral on October 3, her diary entry for that day suggesting she had previous experience of the filmmaking process, 'which makes moving pictures by winding off a reel of films.'[23] Within a year of film's birth, the royal family already was performing for the camera, evidence of how crucial appearing in moving images was in establishing the sovereign's (and the nation's) modernity.

The royals' movements between public and private spaces courted media attention. And, while Victoria shied away from performing civic duties, she still extensively travelled, and her journeys were recorded in British media. The Queen remained unseen, but through articles in the daily press she was seen to be in motion. On holidays, Victoria travelled incognito: with an assumed name and minus the formality of state involvement, her privacy was maintained through emulating behaviours exhibited by the ordinary public. On incognito trips Victoria was represented on the margins between monarch and subject, exemplified by her first visit to Nice. While Victoria desired 'to avoid unnecessary display,' 'every eye was eagerly turned' to watch her incoming train.[24] The press's portrayal of the Queen as a royal commoner was as much a spectacle as her usual progress, for she still travelled in the sovereign's train with attendant staff.

The Queen's visit to France in 1897 further reveals the intersections between public and private that characterised her depiction in the daily press. On March 12, Victoria travelled to Noisy-le-Sec as the Countess of Balmoral.[25] Her chosen moniker concealed her identity while simultaneously exposing it, suggesting that although she was on private business, Victoria still was to be treated as a public leader. Her train stopped in an unremarkable rail junction to facilitate a meeting with the French President, Felix Faure, who wore plain, rather than ceremonial, clothes to acknowledge the Queen's incognito status.[26] Because the meeting was a private one, no spectators (save journalists, but no filmmakers or photographers) were admitted to the station platform.[27] And yet, to greet the Countess of Balmoral, a band was at the ready to perform 'God Save the Queen'.[28] The President was invited inside the Queen's royal

saloon for a private conversation, which a journalist at *The Daily Telegraph* reported was held in French, with the subject remaining a secret.[29]

In her journal, Victoria wrote that she remarked to Faure 'that the present was a very anxious time, and that political affairs seemed very difficult'.[30] The conference between the two leaders ostensibly was private. But the Queen's diary shows public matters were discussed. The train, which shielded Victoria from public view on her trips around Britain, also concealed the monarch's personal involvement in public affairs. The *Telegraph* reporter wrote that '[a] more interesting spectacle could scarce be imagined.'[31] The exhibition so vital to royal mobility was exacerbated by the congruent display and masking of the carriage. Interiority—what was imagined, and what happened inside spaces that were not seen—offered an alternative kind of spectacle.

Also in 1897, public displays took centre stage when Victoria celebrated her Diamond jubilee. The jubilee events were expected to attract larger numbers to London than any public holiday held before.[32] Tourists travelled by train to see the royal procession, but how and where people watched from became problematic amid the crowds. As a result, landlords in the capital commoditised their buildings' interiors to visitors wanting a good view. In a letter to a national newspaper, W H Ryan of Borough described how he was asked by his landlord to vacate a rented property over the jubilee weekend. As a goodwill gesture, Ryan's proprietor offered to share any money made 'in the event of the windows [of the house] being let.'[33] As the British leisure industry expanded, even public spectacle was for sale. The sight of the royals was commoditised and afforded those with a view economic power over those without. Yet on film (British Pathé filmed the jubilee procession), the Queen barely was visible, as a parasol, and the traditional pageantry of horse-drawn carriages and bunting, shielded her from view.[34]

The Great Western Railway (GWR) presented Victoria with a new train to mark her sixtieth year on the throne. There were six carriages to the vehicle, of which five were specially constructed. The sixth, which sat fourth from the engine, was the Queen's royal saloon. Victoria insisted that her old coach be retained and unaltered, even as the other rolling stock was made anew.[35] Victoria did allow electric light to be installed in her carriage. But she drew the line at the 'covered gangways' that were introduced to connect the remaining coaches.[36] The advanced corridor design enabled passengers on the royal train to pass from one carriage to another without stepping outside – a new device that improved interiority.

However, Victoria disliked this amendment, so attendants visiting her carriage from any other part of the train were forced to wait until the vehicle was stationary

before climbing down from their coaches and entering the Queen's. A report claimed that expenditure on this royal train had been 'lavish,' with 'underframes and buffers lined with gold' and interiors decorated with 'laces, trimmings, tassels' and silks.[37] Yet for all the visible, material wealth on display, the new royal train was a relic from an earlier time. Victoria's demands about maintaining both traditional styles inside the saloon, and inefficient thresholds, rendered her transport inferior to the technologically advanced trains belonging to her counterparts in Europe.[38]

Throughout Victoria's reign exchanges between inside and outside, and connections between interior and exterior, were emphasised by new technologies and design practices. In public, the Queen embraced technological change (the train, the telegram, the lift).[39] She attended private meetings with heads of state to discuss public matters, and public, government-drafted legislation was written in Victoria's name that favoured the rights of the individual over the many.[40] For example, in 1898, the 'Commons and Open Spaces Bill' that referred to land used 'for the benefit of the neighbourhood' defended the rights of the private over the public.[41] The legislation (which drew attention to the complexities of public and private space) coincided with the Queen's own preferences. Victoria favoured privacy rather than publicity, familial rather than state-owned homes and carriages that were not connected by corridors to the rest of the train.

Elsewhere in British culture, what designated inside and outside space also changed. Industrial arenas infiltrated the domestic: toy trains became popular in the mid-1890s, and a home's proximity to a rail station was a selling point on the rental market.[42] The natural world was also invading the man-made: William Morris's arts-and-crafts plant designs were superseded by the floral patterns of art nouveau in the 'New Interior'.[43] Chase and Levenson, meanwhile, describe the period's architectural fashions for brick-built houses with 'protruding' doorways that 'stretch[ed] toward public space,' while simultaneously enclosing people in private.[44] Traditional boundaries demarking space were being redrawn. In February 1896, the press excitedly reported on two new means through which interior spaces were revealed. In an x-ray experiment at St Thomas's Hospital in London, the 'new' photography showed doctors the position of a fracture within a man's finger.[45] In New York, a Dr Carleton Simon claimed to have exposed the 'whole internal chamber of the brain' using an inexplicable mix of sound, electric light and propulsion.[46] Design and technology were forcing once private spaces beyond the realms of the visible into the public domain.

For example, companies ran newspaper adverts offering customers '[p]hotographs of the invisible!'[47] Technology even revolutionised how the everyday realm of the home was seen: without sufficient artificial light, interior spaces in the nineteenth century were difficult to capture on camera. The canny photographer might 'expose for [the] shadows'.[48] But even the shadows moved too quickly for depiction on film: in 1898 an exposure in a cathedral's interior took ninety minutes.[49] In that time, the sun had moved through twenty-two degrees. Trains, telegraphs and typewriters proved that humans had overcome the natural orders of time and space – although as the nineteenth century ended, the photographer inside the cathedral was still at the mercy of the elements. In a mechanised world the ninety-minute exposure was too slow. For filmmakers—whose frame-rates split seconds into fractions—on-location interior shots were impossible without expensive (and toxic) mercury lighting systems. However, by the mid-twentieth century electric lights and portable flashbulbs showed inside spaces with ease.[50]

The ontological status of both photography and film was to fundamentally make visible the imperceptible through exposing the world as images. For example, Eadweard Muybridge's earlier sequential shots of a galloping horse proved that when in motion, the animal was lifted from the ground [figure 1].[51] By 1899, films such as *A Kiss In the Tunnel* (in which a couple share a passionate embrace inside a rail compartment as the train enters a tunnel) revealed intimacy to a public audience [figure 2].[52] According to Penny Sparke, the interior emerged as an architectural concept in the late-nineteenth century.[53] The interior defined closed-off, inside spaces within both public and private buildings, ranging from intimate drawing rooms to communal hotel lobbies.
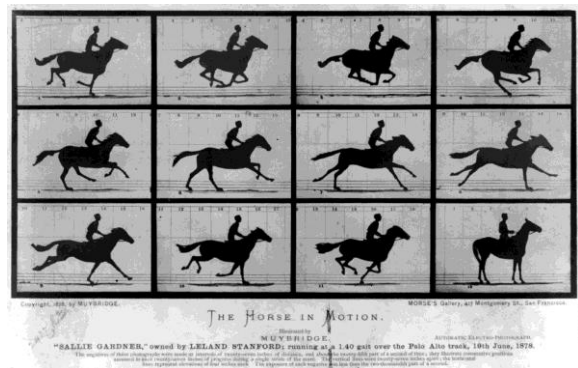

Fig 1: Eadweard Muybridge's proto-cinematic images (*Horses in Motion*, 1878).

Fig 2: A still from George Albert Smith's *A Kiss in The Tunnel*, 1899.

The concept of the interior was also applied to both the physical and figurative spaces inside the body, with advances in medical science investigating the enclosed space within the human frame. Stephen Kern asserts that technologies like the x-ray led to a 'general reappraisal of what is properly inside and what is outside the body, the mind, physical objects, and nations'.[54] Moreover, Sigmund Freud's 1900 publication *The Interpretation of Dreams* posited that there was a connection between one's internal, private thoughts and one's waking, public life.[55] He thus established links between interior and exterior realms that were also manifest in transport, medicine and media.

Victoria's own reliance on the medical profession was reported when she was taken ill at Osborne House in January 1901, and there was great public demand for information about her health. 'The eyes of the world are fixed upon Osborne,' wrote one newspaper, whose reporter mourned that 'great reticence [was] being maintained' by the royals' staff.[56] Victoria's privacy was balanced with what was described as the 'empire's public sorrow'.[57] The daily press mediated public grief through text, making visible with words the internal emotions people were expected to share. News reports guided the public's outward response to the Queen's illness. With no news on Victoria's health, and with the Queen's sickness imposing stasis on her household, the newspapers turned instead to her eldest son Edward, particularly focusing on his travels. While his mother remained concealed in her personally owned property, Edward moved between official royal residences in the capital. His mobility was juxtaposed with Victoria's inertia; while she was hidden from sight, he was visibly the symbol of the nation's future. He was a tangible figure in uncertain times – although the heir to the throne did not adhere to timetables.

During his mother's illness, the Prince displayed the private power he wielded over public services. At his request a London, Brighton and South Coast Railway special train was placed on constant standby, and scheduled trains were re-scheduled to wait for errant royal travellers.[58] Edward, along with the visiting German Kaiser, changed their plans without notice, leaving locomotives waiting throughout the night at Victoria station.[59] A 'watchful and expectant crowd' followed the Prince's movements, eager to see this public figure in his private grief.[60] Newspaper reports delved inside Edward's inhabited spaces, describing how, on the Kaiser's arrival by train, the Prince 'stepped briskly into the saloon […] the Emperor and his Royal Highness saluting each other on both cheeks.'[61] The detail crossed from the public realm into the private, stepping over the threshold between the Prince's personal and civic spaces. It is unlikely

that a journalist was present at this meeting: the anecdote was probably heard second-hand from a witness, or else embellished for effect. Either way, the newspaper's decision to publish the article was a public revelation of an intimate moment in a private space.

The Queen's death materially affected the daily press, entertainment industries and public spaces across the nation. Newspapers were printed with black columns demarcating articles, delineating the divided spaces on the page and making visible the usually indistinct margins between stories. In an article entitled 'The Closing Scene,' *The Daily Telegraph* used metaphor to report the temporary shutting down of theatres, law courts and public admission to royal palaces.[62] Even clothing was affected, with rules determining the colours and styles allowed at the royal court.[63] For six months, ladies were to wear 'black dresses […] black shoes and gloves, black fans, feathers and ornaments.'[64] After six months, women could choose either coloured ornaments, or white or grey dresses lined with black.[65] The nation exhibited what Charity Scribner calls 'collective sorrow'; that is, a type of communal mourning brought about by social upheaval.[66] Internalised grief was made visible, publically exposing an affection that some individuals may not have felt. This external display prescribed what 'private' feelings were adopted in the public domain.

Edward's short tenure as King was not markedly different from Victoria's: the royals were still accorded privacy by the British media and existed on the peripheries of public life. Edward occupied a vital role as head of empire, but was only glimpsed in public between engagements, always in motion as he travelled from a train station to a palace, or in a car on official duty. His reign, though, was itself a threshold between the traditional, privately orientated Victorian rule, and the more modern, publically positioned monarchy that followed. Edward occupied both spatial and political territory central to British culture. He stayed at Buckingham Palace when in London, inhabiting the official royal residence Victoria sought to avoid.[67] In 1902, he gifted her private residence Osborne House to the nation, the property's remote location unsuitable for 'adequate use […] as a [r]oyal [r]esidence'.[68] He was also involved in politics, taking a particular interest in foreign affairs.[69] However, Edward's engagement in public matters was carried out behind closed doors; the King guarded his privileged position and continued royal work without the public's knowledge.[70] For example, before the state opening of parliament in 1903, Edward expressed annoyance at the protocol for briefing the press about the King's Speech in advance.[71]

Another boundary between personal and communal life was blurred in the daily 'Court Circulars' published by national newspapers. The columns (carried regularly in both *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*) reported information about both royal movements and social events. During Edward's reign the stories shifted in scope from after-the-fact (the Queen travelled, the Princess took a train) to before it. The column acted as an early celebrity-spotting guide, informing the public when, and where, people might go to see the royals. 'The Princess […] will arrive at Victoria at 4.30 this afternoon from Dover, and will drive direct to Marlborough House,' supplied three locations and an approximate timetable for curious spectators to see the mobile royals.[72] In a similar vein, *The Times* announced that '[t]he King returns to Buckingham Palace tomorrow from Newmarket […] by special train, which is timed to leave Newmarket at 4.10 and to arrive at St. Pancras at 5.55 pm.'[73] The information supplied about royal travel carried risk, jeopardising the security of royal persons by giving notices to the public.[74] That the newspapers were printing official intelligence supplied by the monarchy suggests the risk was outweighed by the vital need for public attention. Advance notices enabled the public to mobilise and form crowds to watch the royals. The intersections between public and private, seeing and being seen, were evolving, with motion at all times inscribed in the monarchy's appearance.

Conceptions about what constituted the personal and communal also were transforming British life in other ways. The 1889 'Commons and Open Spaces Bill' sided with the rights of the individual. But between 1875 and 1905, public property (land or structures owned by government) increased from five to fifteen per cent of national wealth.[75] Historian Jose Harris argues that by 1911, the distinctions between public and private-owned property were so confused by debt that it was difficult to decide where wealth resided.[76] The public and private spheres were not separate but amorphous, their definitions relative and in flux. A 1906 guide to home decorating espoused a similar view, stating not only that architects should 'control' interior design, but also that homes stuffed with furniture and ornaments 'degenerat[ed] into a private museum.'[77] Private domestic spaces were so filled with items on public display that dwellings resembled personal collections in a communal space, demonstrating that there were increasingly intricate connections between what was inside and out, concealed or on display.

New technologies also continued to challenge concepts of visibility and invisibility. In 1909, *The Illustrated London News* featured two gadgets that opened up interior spaces to the exterior world. The first was a device using electric light and
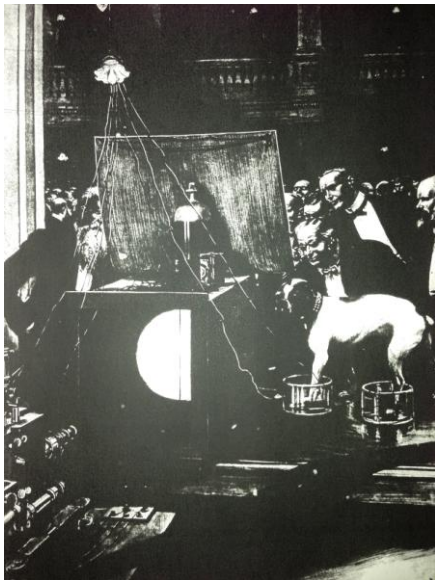
mirrors that enabled medical students to watch surgery from outside the operating theatre: the pupils looked in, while bacteria were kept out.[78] The second was the 'string galvanometer,' which rendered heat beats visible as a 'thread' (what we now know as a heart monitor) [figure 3].[79] Both machines exposed internal spaces, exciting the public fascination for the spectacle of the heretofore unseen that was also central to cinema's beginnings.

Fig 3: A dog's heartbeat is displayed on a 'string galvanometer'. *The Illustrated London News*, May 22, 1909.

The desire to turn objects and bodies into images extended to the royal family. Queen Alexandra, the royal consort, was filmed in 1911 (the year Edward VII died) as she boarded a train.[80] *Queen Alexandra* was shot in France as the royal party travelled to Italy.[81] In the film, Alexandra walks toward the dormitory coach. Four women climb the exterior steps and disappear inside as the Queen hurries back out of shot. She approaches the carriage again, the camera's view mediated by the gaze of the men who stand between her and the lens. The footage then cuts away as the Queen stands on the threshold between the train's interior and the exterior location. The short clip shows us what the *Royal Train* fragment did not: a royal body.

It is a royal figure made public by watching crowds and the camera's gaze; a body that rests on the space between inside and outside, uncertainly hovering in a doorway. This is a mobile Queen visible in moving images, now here but about to be there, journeying on the peripheries of the public gaze. As with the earlier royal visit to Salford, motion was registered by the royal body's in-between-ness, and suggested an urgency that in turn alluded to the nation's hurried, forward-looking progress. And yet, the production notes acknowledge the clip was 'unused/unissued material'.[82] The film now archives the instabilities that characterised contemporary British culture: a public figure watched by many, but displayed to none, about to step inside but forever remaining outside on the celluloid.

George V

On the royal train, a diagram outlining the vehicle's length, each coach's function and the carriages' inhabitants accompanied every journey. Above this textual and numeric

information was an illustration of the vehicle. On July 14, 1913, the London and North Western Railway issued the requisite document for the King and Queen's journey between Manchester and London.[83] The eleven-carriage train looked much like earlier versions, with

Fig 4: The LNWR royal train diagram for George and Mary's journey, October 1901. Note carriages five through eight are joined by through-corridors.

one discernible difference: George and Mary's carriages were connected by through-corridors. Victoria's, and also Edward's, reticence in connecting the monarch's saloon to the other coaches was changed to favour a more accessible design [figure 4]. This gave passengers on the train greater access to the King and Queen. The spaces between the carriages were joined up, enabling people to inhabit the thresholds between their designated living quarters. The valet, two clerks, two dressers and seven footmen residing in coach three, or even the railway officials in number ten, could walk along the train at any point on a journey to attend the sovereigns.[84]

George V's reign witnessed the opening up of private spaces for public viewing. The royal family featured in numerous newsreel items, extensively travelled throughout the empire and routinely made front-page news, their images abundant in cinemas and newspapers. While Victoria shunned publicity and Edward accepted it on his own terms, George and Mary adapted to the public's appetite for exposure. How the family travelled and where they journeyed to took on greater significance: films about the royals on foreign tours were screened around the world as yearlong diplomatic missions replaced annual holidays. The royals were representatives for a modern Britain that projected the image of a speeded-up, technologically advanced and wealthy nation to a global audience. The marriage of the royal image with cinematic and a railway technology was one that promoted such ideals, while the appearance of the monarchy attested to the nation's traditional heritage. Silent moving images, understood without the need for spoken language, offered mass international spectatorship and thus a useful medium through which to represent the nation.

The First World War brought stasis and censorship to Britain, temporarily eradicating the increased mobility and exposure that defined the years before and after.

63

But there were side effects from the conflict that contributed to changing perceptions of inside and outside spaces. Shell shock was one such outcome. British psychiatrist Charles Myers named the neurological condition in 1915.[85] The effects of shell shock were internal (caused by mental trauma experienced in battle) but were visibly exposed as patients' psychological disorders were embodied in their physical movements. Doctors permitted cameramen to film the patients' reactions to particular stimuli, in doing so creating visual medical archives.[86] Historian Jay Winters contends that the condition was based in imagery even within the patient's mind, where a continuous war narrative was played out.[87] Shell shock opened up virtual spaces beyond the body while closing down the mind's usual functions. The condition was symptomatic not only of the conflict, but also the interconnections between conceptions of interior and exterior.

During the war, the King took his first ride on a London bus, stepping inside to 'examine the interior better'.[88] In doing so, George crossed the threshold between privileged, private individual and a member of the public, which suggested his proximity to everyday life. In times of crisis, the King's public image not only preserved his status as leader, but also presented him as one of the people. Film and railway technologies proved valuable resources in creating a myth about commonplace kingship, and George's own use of photography provides further evidence of this. The King was so angered by the housekeeper moving furniture in a royal palace that he ordered photographs be taken of the room to remind her how to organise the space.[89] The camera imposed George's view of the world onto his subjects, positioning him as a director on location at a film shoot. As such, the camera's gaze served the King, archiving space for royal approval.

Queen Mary, George's wife, also interacted with visual technologies when she visited the New Gallery Cinema on Regent Street, London. The production company Gaumont Graphic made a short newsreel item to commemorate the event.[90] In the clip, Mary appears on the pavement and moves toward the camera, with huge crowds gathered around the royal figure as she makes her way toward the cinema entrance. The film served to make Mary more accessible to the public in two ways. First, the proximity of the camera to the Queen creates an illusory intimacy with the audience: Mary looms large onscreen and so the audience is offered an unobstructed view that provides close-up access to a figure that was, in actuality, both physically and socially remote. Second, the viewer watches the Queen going to the cinema, an ordinary, everyday activity that was open to all classes in an inclusive space. Her filmed visit to

the movie theatre portrayed the Queen as a woman just like any other, a crucial piece of propaganda to ensure the monarchy's continued popularity during wartime hardships.

While the film does not show her inside the auditorium, there is interplay between the public-ness of the space Mary visits and the publicity surrounding the private action of cinema going. The movie theatre is an egalitarian arena, accommodating anyone who can purchase a ticket. But the moving image also serves to distinguish Mary from those around her. Few people excite public attention enough to warrant news reports on their cinema attendance. The crowd in the shots, the footman opening the car door – these tropes set the Queen apart, marking her an individual in a mob of 'other' people. The film also alludes to a sense of self-awareness on the part of the royal family. The panning camera and over-the-shoulder shots appear choreographed, the meet-and-greet with the public planned for celluloid posterity. Inside the auditorium, Mary may even have featured in already-filmed newsreels and so watched her image on the screen. The cinema thus served multiple purposes, promoting inclusivity, supporting the established social hierarchy and aligning the monarch with innovative technology that implied motion.

On movie sets, as well as in theatres, the film industry not only was contributing to changing conceptualisations of inside and out in moving images, but also in exposés on production methods. In 1921, *The Illustrated London News* published an article by Gordon Parker detailing how a film was made.[91] The piece revealed the complex cinematic intersections between interior and exterior, from choices between studio or location shots to the type of electric light used. Artificial illumination enabled people to work on constructed interior sets: however, Parker revealed that the 'effect of the combined lights [was] to make any surface veins on the hands and face come out black in the picture' – 'hence the necessity for make-up.'[92] While some inside spaces were exposed others had to be covered up. Location shoots also required special attention, as film companies sought to shoot in spaces that simultaneously were both public and private. Parker singled out the railway station in his article to exemplify a privately-owned, publically-inhabited site, stating that such productions were usually given permission because '[e]verybody seems interested in and anxious to help the "movies."'[93]

Rail companies had a vested interest in the cinema: location shoots provided free advertising in films and potentially increased revenues. But Parker also referred to the desire from 'Mr and Mrs British Public' to be seen onscreen, reporting that passers-by tried to get into the background of shots and appear in films.[94] Ordinary people desired

the opportunity to get inside the production and inhabit the role of a screen performer. People's determination to be seen in moving images attests to the technology's role in validating one's appearance as 'modern,' which was essential to the monarchy as the nation's representative.[95] The crowds who thronged around Mary on her trip to the movie theatre were as much part of the cinematic spectacle as the Queen, who also was attending both to watch and be watched.

The movies offered just one example of how vision increasingly was imagined and enacted in public discourses within British culture. The Harrods Modern Home Exhibition in 1922, like the Ideal Home Show, displayed the contents of houses in a public, commoditised space with objects from the private sphere exposed outside the traditional domestic setting.[96] The expanding leisure industry also contributed to forming a new, inside-out world. Beach huts in seaside resorts offered private accommodation in a public space, providing holidaymakers with a miniature home in an incongruous landscape.[97] Liners were built to give the impression that passengers boarded 'some great building on land,' with regular windows replacing portholes and so domesticating the act of looking.[98] Cinemas, meanwhile, created exotic spaces within atriums and auditoriums to replicate the fantastical worlds that appeared on celluloid. Jeffrey Richards cites Egyptian temples, Jacobean manor houses and Spanish haciendas as 'providing a real-life extension of the dream world of the screen.'[99] Even the discovery of ancient Egyptian King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922 provided inspiration for making visible what was hidden away. Both architecture and design opened up new possibilities for experiencing the world, inviting consumers on journeys into interior spaces.

During the period, the royal family literally were crossing boundaries into foreign lands. In 1922, Edward (the Prince of Wales) returned home from a three-year tour as Britain's 'Ambassador of Empire'.[100] The Prince was given an official civic role as the nation's representative abroad, his youth a useful characteristic that implied the nation's looking forward to the future. His trip emphasised Britain's central role in empire through his privileged status as a traveller in foreign lands, despite his moving geographically outward from London to the peripheries of British control. But Edward's journey was not only designed to shore up support for national interests in the colonies: his travels (frequently by train) were filmed extensively and screened in UK cinemas. The royal tour helped write a new narrative about Britain's modernity and the nation's part in global politics. Footage focused on technology, transport and overwhelming support for the monarchy in overseas territory.

Edward's trip began in Canada. His movements were recorded for a four-part British Pathé news item, each segment lasting between fifteen and twenty minutes.[101] The series set up the four tropes common to royal news footage in the interwar period: inspection; crowds; mobility and thresholds. In every shot of Edward, the viewer sees the Prince wearing a naval uniform, linking him to public servitude. His outward appearance was representative not only of his military status, but also his obligations to his country and subjects. The uniform simultaneously lent authority to his inspecting naval troops. In Part One of the newsreel footage, Edward surveys the men on board *Renown*, while in Part Two he looks over troops who served in the war.[102] In the fourth part, he waves to villagers from the raised platform of the royal train's observation car.[103] He performed an act of looking that showed both the royals', and the nation's, superiority: he thus was represented both as a leader checking his subordinates and the eyes of the colonialist surveying the colonies.

The Prince's onscreen persona of inspector confirmed British superiority to those at home and reminded those abroad they were being watched. And is if to emphasise Edward's credentials as a modern royal, he was also depicted as a film spectator: in *Canada Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* he appears 'as [c]inematographer'.[104] An artist's invisible hand creates a line drawing of Edward holding a camera, before the animation dissolves into a

Fig 5: Edward looking through the camera. *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).

photographed image that reveals the Prince shooting a scene [figure 5]. Edward's informality (he appears unaware of the camera watching him and smokes a cigarette throughout the sequence) is indicative of a personal interest in a medium by now ubiquitous in British culture. But standing behind the camera, he also turns the camera's gaze back on his subjects – always inspecting and at the forefront of modern technology.

Nevertheless, the filmmaker's presence reciprocated Edward's stare; everywhere he travelled, cameras followed. From planting trees to unveiling a plaque on the Great Quebec Bridge, and from fishing to meeting local villagers, the Prince's public appearances were captured for cinema audiences. His public duty was to be looked at, more so than his predecessors. All the films depicted vast crowds gathered to see

Edward on his tour: in the third part, people scramble onto walls to catch a glimpse of the royal person.[105] The swarming masses compose the background of shots throughout the series. The crowds in the sequences, and the camera's presence, both emphasise the royal family's necessary status as spectacle in a world fascinated by new ways of looking and visual technologies. The crowds' appearances also underpinned the films' propagandist nature; the eager watchers attested to Edward's popularity abroad and proved his worth to the people back home.

The royal family's technological advancement advertised Britain's prowess to the world. John M Mackenzie argues that '[f]or the British, being imperial was being modern and that was the fundamental value to which all other values referred'.[106] Royal transport prominently featured in newsreel reports because the means by which Edward travelled were demonstrative of both wealth and speed. He was filmed arriving in Canada aboard HMS *Dragon*, the ship's name implying the ferocity of British naval industries.[107] He was chauffeured in an open-top car bearing a royal standard.[108] And, most frequently, he travelled by special royal train, his method of transport a consistent reminder of Britain's contributions to engineering. The rail vehicle used was the Canadian Pacific Special, which was built to accommodate the Prince on his tour. In one news item, the screen is devoted to portrait shots of both the train and its staff, emphasising the locomotive's magnificence through juxtaposition with relatively feeble human bodies.[109] The engine is in medium close up, dominating the screen, and the royal insignia is visible attached to the front. Anyone who passed this train knew who was aboard. The vehicle was accorded special status by Edward's presence, but there was a degree of reciprocity in that the Prince's prestige was elevated by the reputation of the train.

Edward's final trip in the British Pathé Canada newsreel series was played out on the railway.[110] He stands on a track to greet remote villagers, with no station in sight. The train in the film physically brought the Prince closer to the masses, as any spectator who wandered up the track was given the right to look at him. His representation was as a mobile traveller, which made Edward appear dynamic in his roles as both royal ambassador to empire and one of the people. Just as he easily moved from one place to another, so he was able to assume different public personas. The newsreel then shows Edward '[s]aying [g]oodbye from [the] [o]bservation [c]ar of [the] [r]oyal [t]rain'.[111] He stands on the exposed deck as the train pulls away, the space between the camera and the vehicle inevitably filled by a waving crowd. The Canadian Pacific Special not only

signified royal status, but also provided the Prince a performative space in which to enact his public duties.

The Prince of Wales

The more Edward was in motion, journeying abroad in trains, airplanes and ships, the more prominent a role the Prince played in media representations of the monarchy. Moreover, a public gaze that moved steadily closer toward the Prince's private realm also accompanied his increasing international mobility. Yet Edward did not even need to appear onscreen to contribute to Britain's narrative of technological supremacy. In British Pathé's *Canadian Tour* film, the Prince is seen in various guises (hunting, travelling, as a civilian) before the intertitle: 'Capt. May, in flying machine, accompanies the Royal Train to Edmonton, Alberta.'[112] The report cuts to a shot taken from an open train window. The cameraman is positioned in a carriage corridor, his camera pointing out to the landscape rushing past the vehicle. The viewer is seeing a film shot from *inside* the royal train. The coach's interior is not revealed in the short sequence. But the spectator has vicariously journeyed into the Prince's private space with the film crew.

Fig 6: The view of the 'flying machine' from inside Edward's train. *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).

As the train continues on its journey, Captain May's 'flying machine' appears outside the window – also travelling screen right to left in a low manoeuvre that replicates the path taken by the locomotive [figure 6]. The newsreel's audience shares a thrilling experience of speed and technology with the Prince. Spectators both occupied Edward's space and shared his view. An over-the-shoulder shot of the train's guard waving at the airplane augmented the illusion that this film privileged the ordinary person. The act of seeing Captain May's flight from the Prince's train also established a connection between the royal family (and thus Britain) and exciting new transport technologies. The film shows Britain on the threshold between the old and new, looking toward innovative technologies (the airplane) from a traditional position (the train). So congruent were images of the royals and travel that the nation's ambassador to empire was represented through this display of velocity without having to show his face to the camera.

The film broke with continuity by positioning the cameraman inside the royal train. The privileged view afforded the spectator was a departure from the usual medium-to-long-shots of royal saloons at stations, whereby the intermediary crowds mediated the camera's gaze. British Pathé crossed visual boundaries in making this report: the cameraman not only stepped onto the train but also recorded the view looking out from it while the royal vehicle was in motion. The crossing of thresholds was a trope that continued to appear in newsreel items about the royals throughout the period. George V, Mary and the Prince of Wales routinely were shown arriving or departing. For example, in *Prince of Wales Returns* Edward was filmed as he returned to Portsmouth from his tour.[113] In the film, the Prince disembarks from *Renown* before stepping onto a train. Royal travel necessitated arrivals and departures, hellos and goodbyes, and so monarchical travellers occupied a liminal space that was neither here nor there. The film portrays this marginality in a transition shot that establishes the royal train moving right to left at the South Railway Jetty at Portsmouth. The image then dissolves to reveal the vehicle arriving at Victoria Station in London. There is continuity, but also change. A threshold was crossed but much stayed the same. It was now possible for film crews to occupy the inside of royal coaches in a move toward inclusivity, but the royals nevertheless remained beyond reach and always appeared on the move.

The British Pathé cameraman's crossing into Edward's train was indicative of a more pervasive move toward public accountability in Britain (for example, the government intervened in railway services by creating the 'Big Four' companies in 1923). It was no longer enough for the royals to project an image of wholesome, middle-class homeliness: George V was required to rule the British public as one of the people and the films from the period assert the King's everydayness. In *Royal Tourists at Wembley* George and Mary were filmed on a miniature train.[114] The monarchs perch in toy-sized carriages among ordinary people, George's father-of-the-realm persona reinforced through his sitting opposite a child. The camera follows the royals' journey around the track (probably part of the 1924-1925 British Empire Exhibition), losing sight of the King and Queen when the eager crowd lean in to get a better view. George and Mary's miniature train journey served as a microcosm for British society in which the railway, a symbol of democratised space, positioned the monarchs as ordinary people. Furthermore, their position in the *miniature* train allows for spectators to stand taller. Even the filmmaker stared down on the passing carriages from a high angle, positioning audiences so that they, too, looked down on their sovereigns.

Also in 1925, the Prince of Wales visited the centenary celebration of the Stockton to Darlington railway, where he told the *Financial Times* he 'was of the opinion that the railways lengthened life.'[115] Edward implicitly suggested that not only did the train breakdown 'the barrier of distance' but also the advantages of wealth.[116] The ability to travel increased people's quality of life, so it was expedient for the Prince to use the train as a sign of the monarchy's value to the public. The British Empire Exhibition (discussed further in Chapter Four) invited every one of Britain's colonies to display goods at a purpose-built facility at Wembley. A track was laid to join each nation's site to the others.[117] The railways that connected countries at the event were more than just trade routes; these tracks were the lifeblood of a healthy, happy population that could travel around the empire on one British-built train.

The King's own health was suffering, and the ways his private ailments were played out in public demonstrated changes in British culture beyond the royals' control. *The King's Health Tour* is the earliest extant film (to my knowledge) that depicts a member of the royal family *inside* a train carriage.[118] In the clip, George and Mary disembark from a yacht and wait to board their train. The coach's uncovered, yet reflective windows, do not afford the audience a view of the interior as telegraph poles are reflected in the glass, a Schivelbuschian imagining of what the King saw looking out from the train. The door to the compartment is open, offering audiences a glimpse of corridor and the landscape behind the vehicle. Already a number of visual thresholds are crossed in what usually was an enclosed space. In medium close-up, unmediated by other spectators (another departure from standard protocol when filming the royals), Mary and George enter the train. The King's face then appears at the window next to his seat, and the camera remains fixed on George as he stares through the window, turning away only to speak to someone on his left side.

The short sequence exposes little about the King's inhabitation of the royal carriage. But the film now reveals to us much about George's position as head of state. The newsreel depicts him returning from a trip to the Mediterranean ordered by doctors to improve his declining health (if the railways lengthened life for ordinary people, it was expected that travel would have similar consequences for the monarch). George's representation as an equal to the British public was customary, but in the King's state of ill health the public assumed ownership over him. Throughout history, British sovereigns have existed on a threshold between public and private property: ordinary people were not permitted to touch royal bodies without invitation, yet personal biological details were produced for the masses as if by right. Here, George was filmed

close-up and in a heretofore exclusive space because his subjects deserved reassurances as to his wellbeing. His right to privacy was suspended in favour of public interest.

The narrative about George's physical deterioration followed the precedent set by media coverage of both Victoria and Edward VII's failing health. But I argue that what is so compelling about *The King's Health Tour* sequence is George's ambiguous onscreen representation. The camera shows us an old man whose face is distorted by reflections on the window. He does not glance at the camera, so we are unsure as to whether he knows he is being watched – a remarkable uncertainty given the royals' power lay in their visual control over their subjects. George gazes into the middle-distance, as if staring into the past. As spectators we know George must see the telegraph poles reflected in the window, so we both look at, and share a view with, the King. In comparison with the Prince of Wales, who was meanwhile depicted expressing an interest in new aviation technologies, George's continued use of rail emphasised his age.[119] The train's restorative qualities had not taken effect and the King appeared old. This was surely not the royals' intention, and for the first time the train and the cinema conspired to represent the monarch's inertia, rather than motion.

In the wake of George's health scare, cameramen and journalists further diverted their attentions to the younger, more mobile royals. This is borne out in a sample of newsreel subjects.[120] In 1924, British Pathé featured two films about George V while two concerned Edward. In 1925, there were three clips about Edward but none referring to the King. The Prince of Wales symbolised a new generation, who, with their fascination for airplanes (and in Edward's case, allegedly unsuitable women) would lead Britain into the future. The King, sitting within a static train, was being consigned to the past.

When Edward did use the railway, he demonstrated his increasing authority by subverting the traditional organisation of the royal carriages. In 1927, on his return from Canada, the Prince of Wales and his brother (the Duke of York) requested that their arrival in Britain was incognito.[121] The *Daily Mirror* reported that both princes wished to 'be regarded as private persons'.[122] When their train arrived at a London station the pair exited not from the customary central carriage, but rather through a door at the far end of the vehicle. The waiting crowd did not even have time to cheer, so determined were the royals to avoid being looked at.[123] Nevertheless, the royal brothers still created spectacle.

The brothers' use of the train's far door interrupted the established order as Edward reconfigured the railway space to suit his own agenda. His quick dash from the

station also undermined the waiting spectators' expectations, while reaffirming his speed and motion. The royals' return was, therefore, designed to draw attention to Edward's public power rather than his rights to privacy. His decision to travel as an anonymous passenger was akin to Victoria's, in that the choice attracted both coverage in the daily press and public sympathy. The details included in the newspaper article— that a crowd gathered at the station, that three horse-drawn vans and a motor coach were needed to transport their luggage, that Edward had ordered a net erected on the boat-train for his golf practice—belied both the Prince of Wales's apparent aversion to publicity and his attempts to fit in with ordinary people. His alleged efforts to conceal his identity and confuse those on the platform did not so much serve to demonstrate a break with the past but to reinforce his superiority.

The young royals' credentials as the leaders of Britain's future were affirmed through association with new, mobile technologies. On September 1, 1927, the Princess Lowenstein-Wertheim made front-page news when she became the first woman to embark on a transatlantic flight as she set off from Britain to Canada, a daring feat that wove the empire into its narrative through her choice of destination.[124] That same month, George was in the news for his use of technology. He was reported to show an interest in the movies, ordering a private viewing of the Coronel and Falkland Island battle films at Balmoral.[125] But the Prince of Wales was meanwhile appearing on screen in the British Legion picture *Remembrance*.[126] George was watching films; Edward was starring in them.

By 1930, the Prince of Wales had dispensed with the train in favour of newer transport technologies: in the aptly named *The Prince Flies Home*, he was filmed piloting his own plane back to Britain from his travels abroad.[127] He also exhibited his own documentary footage, taking his audience 'on safari' at a screening in Kennington, London.[128] Edward's reputation as an adventurer was so entrenched he was named 'the greatest commercial traveller of our day' by the Royal Commercial Travellers' Schools.[129] In 1931, his voyages were subject to further press coverage when he sailed to Argentina for the British Trade Exhibition, where he reprised his role as the nation's ambassador for Britain.[130] In a picture article that challenged the boundaries of royal privacy, the Prince of Wales's living quarters on the ship *Oropesa* (which transported him to South America) were published in *The Illustrated London News* [figure 7].[131] Photographs exposed the interior of Edward's bedroom – no doubt in the public's interest, but not *for* it. The future king's private space was opened up for outside inspection, demonstrating an informality that brought him closer to the ordinary British

people while removing him from the confines of tradition. The newspaper portrayed Edward as a common, if public, figure rather than the heir-apparent to a royal dynasty.

Fig 7: Inside Edward's bedroom on *Oropesa*. *The Illustrated London News*, January 21, 1931.

While the Prince of Wales embodied Britain's modernity on his travels around the world, the King remained in a private, domestic setting. But the cultural shift toward openness continued. Buckingham Palace—'the private residence of the King and Queen'—was subject to the public's gaze in photographs that appeared in a weekly magazine.[132] In 1932, George's voice was transmitted for the first time in a Christmas radio broadcast. His words, like his image, were now mediated and published to an audience far wider than his predecessors could have anticipated. Radio offered a disembodied form of communication that rendered the speaker invisible, complicating how public visibility and invisibility were conceived. Yet while George's speech removed the King from the public eye, it simultaneously increased the reach of his contact with the British people.

Soon after, George's reign came to an end. In January 1936, *The Times* reported from inside the '[s]ilent [s]tation' as George V's funeral procession arrived by train at King's Cross.[133] The ceremony followed monarchical tradition in that the railway was integral to the event. The King's coffin was carried in Royal Funeral Coach No. 46 and was prepared by the London and North Eastern Railway: the carriage was painted in matte black and had its windows covered, sealing the coffin from outside view.[134] George's tenure as king had encompassed technological, social and aesthetic transformations to the ways that the public and private, inside and outside were conceived. This was a king who 'raised the status of the kinema in the eyes of the minority of his subjects who had been hitherto somewhat scornful of screen entertainment,' and, the article claimed, would be remembered 'as a screen figure'.[135] Like Victoria before him, George ironically helped make fashionable a new, more inclusive space through his privileged position.[136] His world increasingly was exposed on film and in photography. Even in death the King occupied a threshold: his reign had seen a massive cultural shift away from the private, but the deceased ruler was not afforded a day of public mourning.[137]
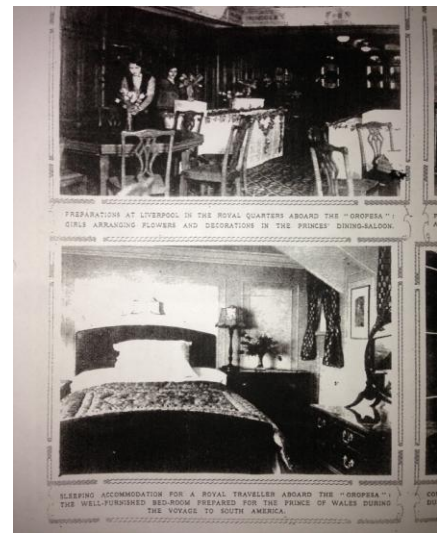
Edward and George VI

Edward was often visible in public throughout his father's reign. However, Edward's subsequent abdication was not anticipated, and the scandal that erupted in 1936 exacerbated the transformation of the royals' representation in British media begun in George V's reign. The King, whose glamorous lifestyle popularised his image on film and in print, was now public property: the reverence that Edward's predecessors enjoyed was replaced by intimate, tabloid exposures. Revelations about what went on behind Edward's closed doors upset Britain's self-projected image as a moral compass within the empire (although conservative anger perversely undermined British efforts to appear progressive in the modern world). From 1936 onward, the cinema, newspapers and in George VI's case, the royal train, revealed an immobile British institution devoid of control as public exposures undermined the royal family's prestige.

Edward's private life had long threatened the stability of the royals' public image.[138] The press's fascination with his sleeping arrangements, from the 1931 photographs of his cabin on *Oropesa*, to a 1937 article on Windsor Castle (which claimed 'King Edward VIII was the only King, at any rate for five hundred years, never to have slept there as monarch'), alluded to, but did not divulge, Edward's private affairs.[139] His decision as Prince of Wales to permit the press to print images of his bedroom provided the public with unprecedented access to his personal life. That increased visibility was tempered by his desire to travel incognito suggests Edward retained overall control of his image; he determined how, and when, he appeared before the camera. But newsreel producers' and newspaper publishers' compliance more likely was in accordance with the government's wishes than Edward's own.

The British monarchy symbolised a utopian vision of Britain: the Windsors were an institution whose adopted surname evoked the historic castle (the proverbial 'Englishman's home') and traditional seat of royal power. The family's role (particularly Edward's as the nation's colonial ambassador) in maintaining Britain's international reputation was essential following the Great Depression in the early 1930s, and also intense industrial competition from Germany and the USA. That Edward, a royal with German ancestry, had his personal affairs (or indeed, *affair* with a US citizen) concealed from sight was crucial in sustaining Britain's international image and power.

On December 11, 1936, Edward's decision to abdicate the British throne to marry American divorcee Wallis Simpson was made public. The couple's relationship previously was 'widely reported in America and elsewhere'.[140] But in Britain, the press

abided by a government request that Edward's 'strictly personal affairs should not be openly discussed'.[141] The King's announcement preceded a wave of photographs and film clips showing Edward and Wallis together. These by-then archive images exposed intimate moments shared by the King and Simpson at public events. In *World Waits with Wally*, a British Pathé news item (featuring a novelty American voiceover to emphasise Simpson's foreign-ness), viewers were treated to 'rare' footage of the couple leaning from their private box at the Grand National.[142]

In a high angle shot Edward and Wallis peer off-screen, presumably toward the horses. The couple do not acknowledge the camera pointing toward them and so the audience cannot be certain the figures are aware that the filmmaker is watching. The newsreel voiceover then announces that the sequence will be repeated, ostensibly to draw viewers' attentions to Edward's chivalry (he withdraws from the balcony to give Wallis a better view). However, the replay actually offers the film's spectators a further voyeuristic gaze at the royal subject as the audience are given—and encouraged to use—the right to look at the protagonists in a national scandal. Edward's privacy was no longer demarcated, even by the perimeter of his box at the racecourse. Public demand for information came before any personal, royal prerogative.

The abdication dominated British news, and newspapers and newsreels alike consistently repeated three themes: Edward's stasis, domesticity and military role. In *The King*, the juxtaposition between movement and stasis was increased as photographs of Edward and Wallis superseded stock film footage.[143] *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* combined still and moving images of the couple with an iris affect, the out-dated visual reference serving to age the pictures [figure 8]. The iris transformed the film footage into static, portrait-like shots.[144] While Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and other members of the royal family continued to move, Edward vicariously was trapped by his own image. Roland Barthes famously argues that '[d]eath is the *eidos* of the photograph'.[145] In these films, Edward's motionless image was tantamount to a visual death-sentence: that one newsreel commented on the 'tragic end' to the affair emphasised further still the connection between photography and fatality.[146] The newsreel companies

Fig 8: Edward's static portrait framed by the iris. *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).

were sympathetic toward the King but their films foreshadowed his subsequent fall from grace, as changes taking place around Edward left him behind in modern Britain.

Earlier in 1936, *His Majesty's Home* revealed the King's Cannes holiday retreat to British Pathé audiences.[147] He stayed in a house built by US actress Maxine Elliott, evidence not only of his connections with American culture, but also his affiliations with celebrity. During the abdication scandal, his British residence was the more traditional Fort Belvedere in Berkshire.[148] The property prominently featured on film and in print with the motif of the home used to denote the threshold between the King's private affairs and his public duty. The royal house was a space that no one had access to, and yet media outlets were determined that people would see. Images of the property's exterior were ubiquitous in newspapers and on film.[149]

Footage of Fort Belvedere featured in newsreels for which the cameraman obtained the film from an airplane [figure 9].[150] Aerial shots offered audiences a literal chance to look down on the sovereign. The King had commanded a plane when he flew from France to Britain, but here he was portrayed as grounded, and in many of the abdication films Edward and Wallis remained static

Fig 9: An aerial shot looking down on Edward's home at Fort Belvedere. *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).

figures. Before the scandal was made public, the King was represented as a mobile figure travelling aboard ships, trains, planes and cars. After his announcement, film clips showed him merely walking (often in ceremonial dress) or chauffeured in a car; Edward was represented using a passive form of movement that was at odds with his piloting an aircraft.

Simpson's 'otherness' was also represented through her domestic arrangements. *The King* exposed the socialite's old residence in Baltimore before announcing her current address on London's Cumberland Terrace.[151] The juxtaposition between the voiceover stating Simpson's humble origins, and an image of Buckingham Palace, further emphasised Wallis's inferior background. The film footage also referred to anxieties about the Americanisation of British culture. Gone from the royals' public narrative was the train, a symbol of British power, engineering, and democratised

mobility. In its stead, the Windsors were represented travelling by car: the arbiter of autonomy, individuality and American industry.

Yet the King's own, traditional, British heritage was suggested by both his domesticity, and his militarisation. In *England's American Queen?*, *The King* and *The King Abdicates*, among other newsreel clips, the King was shown dressed in his military garb.[152] Recalling Edward's 1919 trip to Canada, these British Pathé films represented him as a traditional figure serving his country. The affect was twofold. The King was shown in a sympathetic light, caught between his personal love for Simpson and his public duty. In numerous sequences he inspected troops and attended state functions, which served to create nostalgia in viewers. One voiceover poetically named Edward 'the servant of his crown'.[153] But the King's British-ness highlighted Wallis's non-Britishness. She was 'other' and so was cast outside the acceptable social sphere of both the royal family and the British people. In what *The Illustrated London News* called the '[c]onstitutional [c]risis,' Simpson was labelled the '[c]ause'.[154] The newspaper's pictorial spread featured Wallis's wedding photographs from previous marriages, suggesting her promiscuity and defining her as her ex-husbands' property.[155] She was depicted as an invading force that upset British interests – a pertinent metaphor that alluded to the USA's increasing economic power.

The public status the King cultivated not only made him a tangible figure both onscreen and in the press, but also encouraged egalitarian depictions of the royal family. Edward had become a ubiquitous screen presence, and anyone (with enough luck, determination or talent) was able to achieve that position regardless of his or her birth. Anyone might aspire to emulate Edward's lifestyle, and the once prestigious royals were revealed as redundant in a world in which celebrity was earned rather than bestowed.[156] Altering depictions of the monarchy in British media therefore demonstrate an ideological shift toward greater equality. The abdication crisis also exposed the cracks in Britain's self-projected modernity. The nation's adventurous royals signified progression, and yet ousting the King and his divorced, American mistress alluded to more traditional values.

Following Edward's exile, George VI's family were subjected to the same media intrusions that our contemporary celebrities are wont to face. Photographers captured both private and unrehearsed moments in the royals' lives; for example, a series of images printed when the abdication story broke showed the Windsors through car windows.[157] The photograph's subjects were not formally posing for the camera, suggesting the royals did not consent to their pictures being taken. Even Elizabeth (later

Elizabeth II, Edward's niece and then only ten years old) was snapped in such a way, despite her loose familial connection to the news story. Not only did the automobile represent a shift away from the traditional British space of the train, but also the car ironically proved a more visible space in which to view private individuals.

Edward's dismissal from the British throne was a political manoeuvre that did not necessarily reflect the views of ordinary British people. For example, diarist Perdita Perth (an eighteen-year old student living in London) resented the traditional pomp that accompanied George's coronation.[158] Instead, she suggested 'now, in these days of modern architecture, aeroplanes, speed and absence of unnecessary decoration, the coronation […] should be automatically altered. Edward, I feel, would not have submitted to all this'.[159] George, who played a more traditional, familial role in public life than his brother, counterpointed Edward's representation as a fast-living figure always on the move. In modern Britain, this was an anachronism.

George's apparent shift toward a more privately oriented monarchy was simultaneous with concerns about public intrusion into personal life. The 1937 Press Inquiry investigated reports that journalists were infringing individuals' rights to privacy. That Mass Observation was also in operation at this time indicates that there were complex social codes of conduct with regard to navigating public and private life. The inquiry examined specific problems (for example, the rights of photographers to take pictures at funerals) as well as ethical questions and expressed the intent 'to prohibit some forms of intrusion into private life.'[160] Yet the Inquiry did not answer so many questions as it asked and did not introduce legislation. The Council of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association responded to the Inquiry's criticisms by arguing that public authorities (for example, the police) withheld, or were unavailable to provide, information vital to the public interest. As a result, journalists called upon private witnesses.[161] The indeterminate nature of the problem—where public interest and private rights held equal sway—gave voice to the nation's anxieties but did nothing to solve them.

In 1939, George and the queen consort, Elizabeth, travelled to the USA to meet President Roosevelt and visit the World Fair. The trip was an opportunity for the anachronistic King to shake off his stuffy image by journeying abroad and participating in less formal, American culture. George was represented in a casual way: he swam with the President and was reported to make home-movies of Elizabeth at the Roosevelts' home.[162] The royal couple also smiled toward the camera from a train carriage as they rode through New York.[163] That the coach was entirely open to public

view marked a departure from the
enclosed interiority of British trains
[figure 10]. Here, there was no need for
long shots through obscured windows.
George deliberately was on show, a
spectacle for the watching crowds.
Moreover, the King's military uniform
was replaced with a suit, more in
keeping with the idealised classlessness
of the USA. The Queen's wardrobe,
meanwhile, was said to inspire American

Then round the New York World's Fair on a tractor train. The King urges higher speed so that he can see as much as possible in the time at his disposal. New York keeps up the cheers.

Fig 10: George and Elizabeth on an open-sided train in New York. *Daily Mail*, June 23, 1939.

fashions and so flew the flag for British influence abroad.[164]

Interest in the trip was fuelled by 25,000ft of newsreel footage and 1,900 photographs.[165] British Movietone News advertised the speed (estimated to be within forty-eight hours of despatch) with which audiences in Europe accessed the images.[166] The films were sent by plane to ensure fast distribution: in an expanding global economy, the train was no longer an efficient way to transport goods – especially in intercontinental transactions. These exchanges, which formed a backdrop to the royals' voyage to the USA, represented a shift in Britain's self-image as a world power. Rather than show the nation as a singular entity with superior resources, Britain was instead portrayed as a partner on equal footing with the United States. The trip established a trade link between the countries based on exchange: Elizabeth inspired fashions, while George sat in a class-less open train carriage. British films were transported in an American airplane, while the Coronation Scot engine was sent to the USA for display at the World Fair.[167] The increasing probability of a European war was a likely reason for Britain's interest in forming an alliance that would guarantee political and economic support.

On September 1, 1939, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announced via radio that Britain was at war with Germany. Newspapers and newsreels were no match for the immediacy of the BBC's broadcasts over the airwaves. The radio was a space-less medium that dispensed with image and thus concealed the programme's origin. It was a fitting means by which to go to war, for the ensuing conflict relied on both subterfuge and the ability to conceal identity, motive and location. While cinema and print proved useful in creating visible propaganda, the radio was an efficient means of

making invisible what was actually going on. Wireless information was coded to ensure no individual had private access to, or could publish, national plans.

The King and Queen were positioned on the threshold between public and private: they needed to be visible to boost morale, but also concealed as they were targets for enemy attack. Through both their travel and onscreen appearances, the royal couple was portrayed as sharing the same experiences as their subjects: as was the case in the First World War, class differences were downplayed to insinuate that George was just like everybody else. But maintaining an everyman image was difficult. In the 1939 British Pathé film *Her Majesty Inspects a Casualty Train*, Elizabeth explored a new railway ambulance.[168] The title of the news item echoed the motif of hierarchical viewing prevalent in earlier films of George V, or the Prince of Wales in Canada. Unlike a member of the public, the Queen did not visit the train as a passenger but rather surveyed it from a position of power. On arrival at the station (an undisclosed location, which protected both the vehicle's and Elizabeth's whereabouts, although also prevented the customary spectators) her car drew up alongside the carriage on the platform. Photographer's flashbulbs and nurses' bouquets greeted her.

Once in the coach, Elizabeth conversed with a worker beside an ambulance bed. While talking to the man (who remains off screen), she gesticulates toward the cot with her right hand, ensuring her body remains square to the camera. As the camera pans left the Queen glances briefly at the camera, as if to include the film's audience in her conversation, her actions so perfectly timed as to feel rehearsed. Moreover, Elizabeth's presence in the public space, home to civilians and military personnel, is incongruous and her fashionable hat and pearls look out of place amid the sterile white bunks [figure 11]. At a time when railway operators were discouraging passengers from using everyday train services to help the war effort, the Queen's arrival (and presumed departure) in a car further references her privilege. While the film supports the monarch's role as an authoritarian inspector, Elizabeth, like George V before her, was represented as inhabiting a static train carriage, alluding to her redundancy in wartime culture.

Fig 11: Elizabeth inside the ambulance train in *Her Majesty Inspects a Casualty Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1939).

Nevertheless, the royal train was so vital to the King's movements that the carriages became a second home, with George and

Elizabeth using the vehicle as their 'royal headquarters' on their travels around the country.[169] The royal carriages gave 'simple but comfortable accommodation for their Majesties' on two hundred and fifty-two journeys spanning 36,000 miles between 1939 and 1943.[170] The royals' mobile, railway accommodation removed them from the privilege of Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle, and so would have enabled the couple to be represented in a more prudent light to the British people. The Queen had a line drawn around the on-board baths so no water was wasted in filling them (still visible in the coach on display at the National Railway Museum). Telephones were fitted so the King remained in contact with London and worked from the train.[171] The vehicle provided the Windsors with a frugal, homely space and a basic means of travel that replicated domestic sites inhabited by ordinary people.

Yet, for security purposes, the royals' travels were reported after the fact. The royal train, known by the code name 'Grove' to railway operators, was therefore not a visible symbol of George's personal sacrifice.[172] Even on scheduled journeys, the train was forced to wait out-of-sight in tunnels during air raids. Without waiting crowds of spectators the vehicle lost its potency in the public imagination. The monarch was in motion, yet so far as the public could see, he was immobile. Thus while George was left hiding in tunnels, Prime Minister Winston Churchill was seen flying, driving and sailing in his capacity as the nation's leader. For example, in a news item in 1942, Churchill was filmed flying a small plane on his return from a visit to Roosevelt in the USA.[173]

The trip positioned him as successor to the royal family as the overseas ambassador for Britain. In the film, the Prime Minister was recorded in an over-the-shoulder shot of at the airplane's controls, a voiceover announcing that the leader had safely landed back home.[174] The angle of the camera within the cramped space of the aircraft invited a sense of intimacy between the viewer and the film's subject. Audiences witnessed him steering the plane, a visual metaphor for his guiding the nation. In the following sequence, Churchill is shown taking a boat to Plymouth. He then arrives by train at Paddington Station, where a vast crowd is gathered to greet

Fig 12: The Prime Minister appears in the train doorway at Paddington Station, greeted by a large crowd. *The Premier's Return Journey* (British Movietone News, UK, 1942).

him on the platform [figure 12]. So great was the crush to see Churchill that politician

Anthony Eden commented '[w]e shall have to go to the cinema to see what happened at the station.'[175] The power of the camera was such that the camera's gaze supplanted one's own eyes in revealing the world.

The film invites comparisons with the royal's earlier screen appearances. Churchill flying the airplane echoed Edward's feat in *The Prince Flies Home*.[176] The Prime Minister's transfer from boat to train and subsequent reception in London was reminiscent of George V's onscreen representation, as well as that of a visiting foreign monarch (for example, the Belgian King in *King Leopold in England*).[177] However, the cheering crowd swamping the train marked a change from the usually staid spectators waiting behind barriers to watch the royal family. The intimacy implied by the close-up shots in the airplane was further evoked by the proximity of the public to the British leader at the station. Portrayed as mobile and in control of the nation's destiny, Churchill supplanted the Windsors as the symbol of British success.

Toward the end of the war, public opinion about the royal family (as recorded by Mass Observation) indicated the monarchy's decline in popularity. One participant commented that George and Elizabeth were 'out-of-date'.[178] Another claimed the family were 'homely,' relegating the Windsors to a domestic environment that belied public duty.[179] One further respondent thought that 'it wouldn't do any harm if we was to have a president instead of a king – then he could be sacked if he didn't satisfy.'[180] Some members of the public saw the influence of other nations (including the USA) as a positive thing for British society. Invisible during the war, George and Elizabeth's public image was over-shadowed by Churchill's travels. The King represented a traditional hierarchy that was no longer relevant in a seemingly more democratic culture. And as the Mass Observation project demonstrated, even the views of ordinary people were considered significant enough to archive.

George's coronation was the first to be filmed, and also the first to be watched with periscopes, the spectating crowds repurposing the wartime optical device to get a glimpse of the new monarch.[181] *The Illustrated London News* heralded George the King in what one headline described as 'Britain's [m]ost "[s]pacious [t]imes"'.[182] But the royals' covert train travel and declining media representation were incongruous. Mass Observation found that between the outbreak of war and 1940, the royal family appeared in thirty-six out of thirty-eight newsreels.[183] The royals were applauded thirteen times, with Edward VIII proving the most popular, followed by Elizabeth, then George. In the following six months, the report states that both screen time and approval for the Windsors 'decline[d] steeply'.[184] Edward did not appear in the news, while

sequences featuring the King and Queen 'tend[ed] to become boring.'[185] The royals were no longer exalted figureheads of British culture and people: in a more open society, they had to prove their worth to audiences just like everyone else.

Conclusion

Between the 1911 *Queen Alexandra* and the 1925 *The King's Health Tour*, cameras moved ever closer to the royals as the family journeyed across the empire by railway. Newsreels clips at first were captured in deferential long shot, for example as Alexandra hovered on the threshold of her carriage, with the camera's gaze mediated by the eyes of the onscreen crowd. In *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales*, the film was shot from the royal train's interior, and so rendered even that exclusive vehicle an inclusive one, as cinema spectators were able to share Edward's view. And, while the portrait of George V in *The King's Health Tour* was shot from the vehicle's exterior, the lingering shot of the monarch through the carriage window presented audiences with an intimate view of a sovereign in his private space. The camera's journey from a communal view of royalty to a more personal one was endemic of broader changes in British culture brought about by new technologies. How people saw the world was altered by x-rays, flash photography, moving images and heart monitors that made visible once concealed spaces, and enabled exchanges between the public and private, interior and exterior.

Throughout the royal film corpus, motion was inscribed in the monarch's visual representation, making tangible the connections between moving and looking that were characteristic of the commoditisation of space and time. Mobility and sight were further linked onscreen, as the more a royal figure travelled, the more cameras, journalists and the British public looked at them. For example, Edward's onscreen persona as an adventurous traveller—inhabiting trains, journeying throughout the empire and holidaying in film stars' homes—led to him eclipsing his father, George V, in terms of depictions in newsreel. The royals' mobility, and their appearance in motion, was important to conceptualisations of the nation's modernity, as transport and visual technologies offered material evidence of both innovation and progression. Stasis implied a lack of advancement that was counter to Britain's self-projected reputation as a technological world leader. When George V's health failed, Edward's abdication confined him to the domestic arena of Fort Belvedere, and George VI's wartime travels were concealed from the public, the sovereign failed to represent the energy so crucial to the nation's image. Thus inertia was equated with crisis, and the mobile Prime Minister replaced the King as Britain's figurehead.

The railway was essential to the monarchy not only as an arbiter of the nation's mechanical prowess, but also as an agent of mobility. Furthermore, the train operated in royal newsreel items as a metaphor for everydayness and equality that positioned the monarchy as an ordinary family. Between 1895 and 1948, the royals frequently were represented as a bourgeois institution that shared experiences with the middle-classes – a depiction crucial during both world conflicts, when governments promoted the idea that the nation was united by common hardships. The railway, where any person was admitted as a passenger providing the fare was paid, was for the royals not only an efficient means by which to travel, but also a vital symbol of inclusivity that belied the hierarchical system that enabled the family to rule. However, the train also inadvertently served to make the monarchy a more egalitarian institution in practice, as well as in the public imagination. As the royals' images became ubiquitous in cinemas (often in sequences that featured railway travel) the family were transformed into common, onscreen performers.

The royal family's visibility was essential to their symbolic status as the nation's leaders. For example, 'Court Circulars' were produced to ensure that spectators were in attendance when the sovereign travelled. And in films featuring the royals, for example in the *Prince of Wales in Canada* series, or *Her Majesty Inspects a Casualty Train*, the royals were not only watched by cameras but also *seen* to be looked at by cinema spectators who observed onscreen crowds. Nicholas Mirzoeff argues that 'visuality' (which is the 'right to look') lends the 'aura of authority' to governing institutions.[186] As such, the common motif of inspection in newsreel films about the royals also lent credence to the sovereign's power. However, the royals' need to be looked at, and the increasingly invasive means by which the public looked, undermined the monarchy's position. As royal leaders from Victoria through to George VI came under scrutiny in newsreels and newspapers, the royals' impotency was revealed as new technologies' provided ordinary people a form of counter-surveillance.

The train carriage and the cinema gave power to the British public by offering the nation new and legitimate means by which to look at others. One's class or gender, once determining factors in entering public spaces (for example, clubs or workhouses), did not stop one from being looked at. Periscopes enabled crowds of common people to see their King on his coronation procession in 1937, while Mass Observation lauded the shared fundamental right to look at the everyday world. The cinema offered perhaps the most powerful new way of looking, as mediated content was projected and distributed on a large scale. Newsreels were not truths seen with one's own eyes but illusory

versions of the world and the people in it. Even so, the public's ability to witness news events on screen gave them the power both to respond to, and contribute to, formations of British culture (for example, audiences often applauded or talked through newsreels).

As Foucault contends, all people, whether royal or not, 'are in a position both to submit to and exercise […] power.'[187] The cinema granted the masses the ability to look at the monarchy in ever-closer detail, the balance of power shifting from the royals to the people throughout the exchange. Edward VIII's overtly public role led to a crisis for the monarchy because revelations about the abdication scandal resulted in the King's personal life eclipsing his national duties. During George VI's subsequent reign, Mass Observation recorded a decline in the number of newsreel films made about the monarchy and the reception those movies received in cinemas, the wane suggesting a decreasing interest in the royals among audiences. Simultaneously with Edward's accession, the train ceased to appear in filmic representations of the sovereign, with cars the preferred means of transport. Portrayed as egalitarian screen performers rather than hierarchical rulers, Edward and George no longer relied upon the locomotive to prove the family's everyday normalcy.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the nation remained on a threshold, caught between nationalistic, Victorian ideals that emphasised private rights and tradition, and the technological progression brought about by both mass communication and consumption. In particular, new transport and visual technologies had inclusive tendencies that transformed how people from all walks of life moved and looked. For example, motion and appearance were crucial to both railway passengers and cinema spectators of any class – be they royalty or ordinary citizens hoping to appear in moving images. Of course, the two technologies were not universally democratising. Indeed, the train and the cinema were liminal spaces that were beset by contradictions (such as between the public and private spheres, and inclusivity and hierarchy, a theme further investigated in Chapter Two). However, the railway and the moving image were crucial not only in facilitating the nation's figureheads projecting an image of energy and advancement, but also in enabling audiences to share in that conceptualisation.

Endnotes

[1] *Royal Train* (R W Paul, UK, 1896).

[2] In 1867, Walter Bagehot described a 'constitutional monarchy' as that whereby the sovereign maintained the right to be consulted by a democratic government, but did not have control over public affairs (for example, persuading ministers' decisions). See Simon Heffer, *Power and Place: The Political Consequences of King Edward VII* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1998), 86-87. Anna Clark argues that 'the king was a constitutional monarch who shared his power with parliament' as early as 1688. See Anna Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 6. While Victoria and subsequent monarchs attempted, and sometimes succeeded, in wielding political influence, the royal family had by and large relinquished control to elected officials and served a predominantly symbolic function.

[3] Clark, *Scandal*, 8.

[4] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*, trans. David Macey (1976; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1997), 37.

[5] *The Illustrated London News*, "Royal Family Portrait," September 24, 1898, p.447.

[6] Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7.

[7] Newsreels were not subject to censorship due to a loophole in legislation that meant local councils could restrict cinemas showing individual films, but not news items. See Nicholas Pronay, "British Newsreels in the 1930s: 2. Their Policies and Impact" in *Yesterday's News: The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. Luke McKernan (London: British Universities Film and Video Council), 150-151. However, restrictions were imposed on the press and newsreel industries during both the First and Second World Wars (1914-1918, 1939-1945).

[8] *Queen Alexandra* (British Pathé, UK, 1911); *Her Majesty Inspects Casualty Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1939).

[9] Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (London: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

[10] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part One* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[11] Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin Books, 1976), 23.

[12] Ibid, 25.

[13] *Royal Tourists at Wembley* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1925).

[14] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 134-135.

[15] Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (1848; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 823.

[16] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Queen's Glorious Reign: A Pictorial Chronicle," 1897.

[17] Ibid.

[18] David Duff, *Victoria Travels: Journeys of Queen Victoria between 1830 and 1900, with Extracts from Her Journal* (London: Fredrick Muller, 1970), 293.

[19] *The Manchester Guardian*, "The Royal Visit to Salford," March 26, 1896, p5.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] *The Daily Telegraph*, "The Royal Marriage," July 11, 1896, p.2.

[23] Duff, *Victoria Travels*, 222.

[24] *The Daily Telegraph*, "The Queen at Nice," March 13, 1897, p.7.

[25] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Queen Victoria and the French President," March 12, 1897, p.7.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Duff, *Victoria Travels*, 335-336.

[31] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Queen Victoria and the French President," p.7.

[32] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Railways and Hotels," March 25, 1897, p.7.

[33] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Letters," March 25, 1897, p.7.

[34] *Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria* (British Pathé, UK, 1897).

[35] *The Manchester Guardian*, "The New Royal Train," June 8, 1897, p.6.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Hamilton C Ellis, *The Royal Trains* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 88.

[39] Victoria was reported to use a lift (or elevator) at a hotel in Cherbourg, France – see *The Daily Telegraph*, "London By Day," March 11, 1897, p.7. On June 20th, 1890, as Victoria travelled between Balmoral and Windsor, she wrote that she was '[g]reatly astonished at getting a telegram asking for my approval to Sir Edward Bradford's appointment as head of the police.' See G E Buckle, *Letters of Queen Victoria Vol. 1 1886-1901* (London: John Murray, 1930), June 20, 1890, 616.

[40] Bills passed into law by parliament were always 'enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty'. For example, see The Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *A Bill to Amend the Baths and Washhouses Act, 1898*, British Government, 1898, 1.

[41] The Bill stated that '[n]o estate, interest, or right of a profitable or beneficial nature in, over, or affecting the any common shall, except with the consent of the person entitled thereto, be taken away or injuriously affected by any scheme under this Part of the Act without compensation being made or provided for the same by the council making the scheme'. Thus the Bill offered remuneration to private individuals that restricted public works. See The Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *Commons and Open Spaces Bill 1898*, British Government, 1898, 1-3.

[42] Example advertisements in the daily press read 'Leamington Spa – To Be Let […] very desirable detached family residence […] within a short distance of the railway stations, and comprising four reception rooms, 11 bed and dressing rooms, fitted bathroom, and capital domestic offices'. See *The Manchester Guardian*, "Classifieds," January 5, 1895, p.2. See also *The Manchester Guardian*, "Classifieds," January 10, 1895, p.2 for further examples.

[43] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 37.

[44] Chase and Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy*, 145.

[45] *Pall Mall Gazette*, "The Value of the New Photography," February 14, 1896, p.8.

[46] Ibid.

[47] *Pall Mall Gazette* "Photographs of the Invisible!" advertisement, February 18, 1896, p.3.

[48] Alfred Watkins, *Exposure Notes For Use with the Watkins Exposure Meter* (Birmingham: Kimberley Press, 1898), 8.

[49] Alfred Watkins, *Some Particulars Concerning the Watkins Exposure Meter* (Birmingham: Kimberley Press, 1898).

[50] Design historian Sparke contends improved camera technology in the mid-1890s was key to the interior's increasing photographic representation. See Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, 59.

[51] Eadweard Muybridge, *Horses in Motion*, 1878.

[52] *A Kiss in The Tunnel* (George Albert Smith, UK, 1899).

[53] Sparke, *The Modern Interior*.

[54] Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 7.

[55] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1990; repr., London: Wordsworth, 1997).

[56] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Grave Condition," January 21, 1901, p.9.

[57] Ibid.

[58] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Royal Movements," January 21, 1901, p.9.

[59] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Kaiser in London," January 21, 1901, p.9.

[60] *Daily Telegraph*, "Royal Movements," p.9.

[61] Ibid.

[62] *The Daily Telegraph*, "The Closing Scene," January 23, 1901, p.9

[63] *The Daily Telegraph*, "A Year's Mourning," January 24, 1901, p.9

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Charity Scribner, *Requiem for Communism* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 3.

[67] *The Times*, "Court News," November 2, 1905, p.7.

[68] *The Times*, "Gift By the King to the Nation," August 11, 1902, p.7.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Simon Heffer, *Power and Place: The Political Consequences of King Edward VII* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1998), 8.

[71] Ibid., 108.

[72] *Daily Mail*, "Court and Society," September 2, 1903, p4.

[73] *The Times*, "Court News," November 2, 1905, p.7.

[74] Throughout Victoria's reign, numerous people attempted to assassinate the Queen. See Paul Thomas Murphy, *Shooting Victoria: Madness, Mayhem and the Rebirth of the British Monarchy* (London: Open Road Media, 2012).

[75] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 99.

[76] Ibid.

[77] M H Baillie Scott, *Houses and Gardens* (London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1906), 12.

[78] *The Illustrated London News*, "Students Watching an Operation At Which They Are Not Present," April 17, 1909, p.557.

[79] *The Illustrated London News*, "Throwing a Dog's Heartbeat on Screen: The Scientific 'Jimmy,'" May 22, 1909, p.735.

[80] *Queen Alexandra* (British Pathé, UK, 1911).

[81] *Queen Alexandra* Production Notes, British Pathé, Web site, http://www.britishpathe.com/video/queen-alexandra (accessed April 1, 2013).

[82] Ibid.

[83] London and North Western Railway, *Diagram of Train for the Journey of Their Majesties the King and Queen, Manchester (London Road) to Euston,* Monday July 14, 1913.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Jay Winter, "Shell Shock and the Lives of the Lost Generation" in *War Wounds: Medicine and the Trauma of Conflict*, eds. Ashley Ekin and Elizabeth Stewart (Wollombi, Australia: Exile Publishing Limited, 2011), 33.

[86] *War Neuroses Version A* and *Version B* (British Pathé, UK, 1917-1918).

[87] Winter, "Shell Shock and the Lives of the Lost Generation" in *War Wounds*, ed. Ekin and Steward, 33.

[88] *The Daily Telegraph*, "The King's First Bus Ride," February 16, 1920, p.10.

[89] Kenneth Rose, *King George V* (London: Phoenix Press, 1983), 298.

[90] *Queen Mary Visits New Gallery Cinema* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1917).

[91] Gordon Parker, "The Making of a Film," *The Illustrated London News*, April 6, 1921, p.190.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] In her work on gender and vision, Liz Conor argues that 'it was as visual images, spectacles, that women could appear modern to themselves and others.' However, I contend that (as suggested by Parker's article) both men and women were eager to assert their presence onscreen. See Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IA: Indiana University Press, 2004), 2.

[96] *The Illustrated London News*, "Harrods Modern Homes Exhibition," April 15, 1922, p.563.

[97] Laura Chase, "Public Beaches and Private Beach Huts: A Case Study of Inter-war Clacton and Frinton, Essex" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, Conflict*, ed. John K Walton (Clevedon, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005), 212.

[98] *The Illustrated London News*, "Looking Exactly Like Palatial Buildings on Land: The Un-Shiplike Appearance of the Great Modern Liner," May 13, 1922, p.710.

[99] Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace* (London: Routledge, 1984), 19.

[100] *Prince of Wales Returns AKA Welcome Home!* (British Pathé, UK, 1922)

[101] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Parts One, Two, Three and Four* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[102] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part One* (British Pathé, UK, 1919); *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part Two* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[103] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part Four* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[104] *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).

[105] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part Three* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[106] John M MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries" in *Histories of Tourism*, ed. Walton, 19-38.

[107] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Parts One* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[108] Ibid.

[109] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part Two* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[110] *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part Four* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[111] Ibid.

[112] *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925).

[113] *Prince of Wales Returns AKA Welcome Home!* (British Pathé, UK, 1922).

[114] *Royal Tourists at Wembley* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1925).

[115] *The Financial Times*, "Railway Centenary," July 2, 1925, p.5.

[116] Ibid.

[117] *Never Stop Railway* (British Pathé, UK, 1924).

[118] *The King's Health Tour* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1925).

[119] *Meccano Magazine*, "The Prince's Interest in Aircraft," June 1925, p.291.

[120] I use the search term 'royal' for both 1924 and 1925 in the British Pathé archive to estimate how much interest was paid to George and to Edward on film.

[121] *Daily Mirror*, "Prince of Wales Home: 'No Ceremony' Request," September 15, 1927, p.3.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] *Daily Mail*, "Princess Sets Off on a Transatlantic Flight," September 1, 1927, p.1.

[125] *Daily Mail*, "The Coronel Film," 3 September 1927, p.9.

[126] *HRH The Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1927).

[127] *The Prince Flies Home* (British Pathé, UK, 1930).

[128] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Prince Shows His Films," December 1, 1930, p.13.

[129] *The Daily Telegraph,* "Prince of Wales as Traveller," December 13, 1930, p.8.

[130] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Prince's Voyage to South America: The 'Oropesa'; Royal Quarters on Board," January 21, 1931, p.119.

[131] Ibid.

[132] *The Illustrated London News*, "The London Home of the King and Queen: In Buckingham Palace," February 7, 1931, pp.210-212.

[133] *The Times*, "In the Silent Station," January 24, 1936, p.12.

[134] Ellis, *The Royal Trains*, 154.

[135] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Films of the King," January 23, 1936, p.1.

[136] *The Illustrated London News*, "Supplement," January 25, 1936, xvii-xix.

[137] Great Western Railway, *Letter from J Milne (General Manager's Office) to H L (Great Western Railway)*, January 24, 1936.

[138] Philip Zeigler, *King Edward VIII* (London: Harper Collins, 1990).

[139] *Sunday Express*, "Windsor, The World's Most Wonderful Home," May 2, 1937, p.14.

[140] *The King* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[141] Ibid.

[142] *The World Waits with Wally* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[143] *The King* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[144] *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).

[145] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 1980), 15.

[146] *The End of a Tragic Chapter in British Imperial History* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).

[147] *His Majesty's Home* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[148] *The Illustrated London News*, "King Edward's Residence in the Constitutional Crisis: Fort Belvedere," December 12, 1936, pp.1018 -1019.

[149] Ibid.

[150] *Mrs Simpson and Belvedere* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936); *The End of a Tragic Chapter in British Imperial History* (British Movietone News, UK, 1936).

[151] *The King* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[152] *England's American Queen?* (British Pathé, UK, 1936); *The King* (British Pathé, UK, 1936); *The King Abdicates Version 1 of 2* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[153] *The King* (British Pathé, UK, 1936).

[154] *Illustrated London News*, "The Cause of the Constitutional Crisis," December 12, 1936, p.1051.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Indeed, Andrew Thorpe contends that '[c]inema was democratising in its effects: as well as providing a common experience to all classes, it also provided, in film stars, a new focus for deference and admiration much more exciting than the aristocracy.' See Andrew Thorpe, *Britain in the 1930s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 107-108.

[157] *The Illustrated London News*, "Royal Movements During the Constitutional Crisis," December 12, 1936, pp.1056-1057.

[158] Perdita Perth's testimony was collected as part of the Mass Observation project. The scheme, begun in 1937, was set up to document aspects of everyday life, from conversations overheard on trains to reports about new cinema openings. Tom Harisson, Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings set up a panel of volunteer observers, and a series of questionnaires, to create what they called 'an anthropology of ourselves'. The

project's goals suggest a general acceptance about both public knowledge of private habits and organised (if benevolent) surveillance. See 'The Original Mass Observation,' Mass Observation, Web site, http://www.massobs.org.uk/original_massobservation_ project.htm (accessed June 17, 2013). In 1937, Mass Observation archived public responses to Edward VIII's abdication, which often were biased against George VI.

[159] Mass Observation, *Surveys About Famous People*, Perdita Perth (London), May 12, 1937.

[160] Royal Commission on the Press, *Intrusion into Private Life*, Memorandum by the Secretary, British Government, 1937, 1.

[161] Ibid., 7.

[162] *Daily Mail*, "The King Swims with President Roosevelt," June 12, 1939, p.13.

[163] *Daily Mail*, "Supplement," June 23, 1939, p.v.

[164] Ibid., p.vi.

[165] *Daily Mail*, "Newsreels Due Here Today," June 12, 1939, p.13.

[166] Ibid.

[167] *Coronation Scot Embarked* (British Movietone, UK, 1939).

[168] *Her Majesty Inspects Casualty Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1939).

[169] *Railway Gazette*, "The Royal Train in Wartime," June 11, 1943, p.574.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] London Midland and Scotland Railway, *Restrictions of the Movements of the Royal Train*, January 7, 1946.

[173] *The Premier's Return Journey* (British Movietone News, UK, 1942).

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid.

[176] *The Prince Flies Home* (British Pathé, UK, 1930).

[177] *King Leopold in England* (British Movietone News, UK, 1938).

[178] Mass Observation, *Direct/Indirect Recordings of Royalty*, UK, 1940-1944.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

[181] *The Illustrated London News*, "The First Coronation Seen By Means of Periscopes," May 15, 1937, p.896.

[182] *The Illustrated London News*, "Consort of the Sixth George in Britain's Most 'Spacious Times,'" May 15, 1937, p.859.

[183] Mass Observation, *Royal Family Methods and Results*, 1940-1944.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (London: Duke University Press, 2011), 1-7.

[187] Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 29.

CHAPTER TWO

'A TRAIN FULL OF TRAGEDIES':
FIRST WORLD WAR AMBULANCE TRAINS ON FILM

Uniformed men load patients aboard No. 15 Ambulance Train (AT) in France, the camera observing the repetitive work. The footage filmed for *Care of Our Wounded* (1918) was sent back to Britain from the continent to demonstrate on the home front what superior medical care the troops were receiving in battle.[1] In the film, shot for inclusion in a newsreel sequence, men are stretchered onto the train with the rapidity of gunfire and the carriage's brilliant white interior gleams through khaki-framed windows. Gradually the camera creeps inside a carriage and looks up at the ambulance train's inhabitants. The invalids peacefully lie in their three-tiered cots and peek over their blankets like children caught awake after bedtime. Their beds are neat and the walls are clean in an orderly, even comfortable, environment removed from the realms of conflict.

However, not all media portrayed the vehicles or the staffs in the same ways. Onscreen depictions of ambulance trains (produced subject to government restrictions) differed from the personal testimonies of those who lived and worked inside the carriages. On the battlefield, the camera shot living troops whose bodies continued to roam cinema screens long after the soldiers died. Thus cinema audiences witnessed massive slaughter by mass production. Yet death itself was not featured in movie theatres. Instead, government-censored films focused on cleanliness, medical advances and the high standards of caregiving provided on the railway. In contrast, the diaries written by the ambulance trains staffs reveal a bloodier picture. Emily Jean Hardstone, a nurse serving in France, described working on 'a train full of men, shattered and suffering […] their bandages dragging in the dirt'; she called the vehicle a 'train full of tragedies'.[2] Public experiences recorded on celluloid and private ones committed to paper were distinct from one another, indicating that the state's interventions in filmmaking undermined the legitimacy of the onscreen image.

This chapter interrogates the disparities and continuities between both official films and unofficial writings about ambulance trains on the Western Front, in order to demonstrate how cinema, despite government involvement, did archive everyday experiences of the conflict. Hardstone's account tarnishes the ambulance train's official, whitewashed image in *Care of Our Wounded*, and other writings by the ambulance train

staffs also cast shadows over the white enamel carriage interiors preserved on celluloid. Even so, the two different media shared a vocabulary that now registers congruence between public and private accounts of the war.

Throughout the conflict, the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC), Red Cross, and the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) staffed over forty British and Franco-British trains that carried patients across an extensive European rail network.[3] The vehicles played a vital role in transporting wounded troops between battlefields and hospitals. Under the cover of darkness, and the Red Cross, the trains provided relative shelter to the injured and sick, and romanticised depictions of the vehicles were prevalent in British media. Nine surviving newsreel items, including *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (1916), *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (1917), and *The Military Power of France* (1917) represent technological advancements in wartime medicine.[4] Fiction films such as *Under the Red Cross* (UK, 1914), *John and the Ambulance* (UK, 1914), *Roses of Life* (1915) and *Red Cross Pluck* (1915) all, as their titles suggest, portrayed the work carried out by nurses and medical officers.[5] Furthermore, the vehicles featured in numerous articles in the daily press, which covered subjects ranging from technical appraisals to descriptions about the work carried out on board.[6] The vehicles, like those associated with the monarchy, were ubiquitous in popular culture.

Ambulance trains are akin to royal ones in that a history of the vehicles now reveals the tensions between inclusivity and exclusivity that were manifest in Britain during the war. However, unlike narratives about the democratisation of privilege associated with monarchical travel, discourses about ambulance trains offer evidence of ordinary people's changing social interactions. For example, the ambulance train's inhabitants were portrayed on film and in personal testimonies as homogeneous, with military or Red Cross uniforms concealing people's class differences.[7] The vehicles were depicted as inclusive spaces, which not only supported the rhetoric that the nation was united by international conflict, but also exhibited society's increasingly egalitarian structure. Philip M Taylor suggests that the introduction of mass conscription for the first time in 1916, along with the government's ideological justification of the war as a fight for democracy, made an increase in the electorate inevitable at the end of the conflict.[8] The ambulance train films, therefore, prefigured the extension of suffrage legislated in 1918, when 14million British citizens were enfranchised.[9]

The First World War inadvertently reconfigured British society as ostensibly more equal, even while the concept of nationalism was redefining the state as more exclusive.[10] In particular, the chapter examines whiteness as a motif in ambulance train

films that simultaneously reinforced and undermined the nation's social hierarchy, and in two distinct ways. First, the prevalence of whiteness alluded to the privilege of racial identity during a period of crisis within the empire. Second, whiteness implied both cleanliness and uniformity, the metaphor serving to reassure audiences that wartime caregiving was carried out in sanitary conditions. Onscreen, the topos served to configure white, British people in an inclusive culture, and positioned subaltern subjects as 'other'.[11]

In films and in personal testimonies, whiteness also alluded to cleanliness.[12] Against the celluloid's sepia hues, nurses' uniforms, carriage interiors and patients' blankets all are brilliant in their whiteness. In personal testimonies, walls, chalk, sheets and crockery were described as white, and the colour (or rather, absence of it) created an aesthetic of modernity. In the three decades preceding the war's outbreak, white objects (including uniforms and bed linen) and white spaces (such as laboratories), became commonplace in the wake of germ theory.[13] Hospital facilities were redesigned so that 'the virtues of hygiene and order' were emphasised by institutions to patients and visitors.[14] Hence the First World War ambulance trains reflected contemporary medical architectures.

Consequently, British media presented the vehicles as up-to-date, clinical environments. Filmmakers' and letter-writers' portrayals of the caregiving trains not only accentuated the vehicles' (and so the nation's) modern credentials, but also assuaged the public's fears about the horror of war.[15] Filmic and personal accounts of the war aligned both state and personal interpretations of the conflict, and as such were inclusive. However, the whitewashing carried out by first-hand witnesses across the two media also served to exclude civilians on the home front from understanding the actual nature of the war – and so the vehicles prompted exclusivity.

In exploring these tensions in portrayals of the ambulance trains, I have divided the chapter into four sections. The first, 'The Ambulance Train and Everyday Life,' examines the British cultural history of the vehicles on the Western Front.[16] I use personal testimonies and popular historical accounts to interrogate what life was like inside the carriages for the nomadic workers. The second section, 'News Flash: The Camera as Journalist,' problematizes moving images and photography in the First World War. I investigate film's ontological status as a representation of the real in contemporary wartime culture, in order to establish how both the government and the masses conceived propaganda. Furthermore, I explore how and why film played such a

crucial role in documenting the war, as well as cinema's part in shaping more inclusive propaganda strategies.

Third, 'Ambulance Trains Onscreen' analyses the recurring motifs that referenced both hierarchy and commonality in films about the caregiving vehicles. Here, I discuss the extant footage of ambulance trains in both British and French film archives. In the fourth section, I argue that while the movies support state rhetorics about the war, the films are also congruent with the staffs' personal testimonies. The writings, like the moving images, detail information about the carriages' construction, as well as ambulance train rivalries and a proud obsession with cleanliness that kept blood and bandages at bay. A narrative emerges both onscreen and in writing about complex formations of national identity inside the trains. Finally, I interrogate cinema's roles as propaganda and an archive of everyday life, and consider more broadly the onscreen ambulance trains' part in formulating national identity in British culture.

The Ambulance Train

Just as the railways promised '"the annihilation of space and time"' in the nineteenth century, so the railways transported munitions, supplies, mail and men toward annihilation on an industrial scale in 1914.[17] The railway, once a symbol of human triumph over nature, came to epitomise modernity's failings. Machine turned on man to deliver soldiers to battlefields and munitions to guns. Westwood argues that '[t]he inescapable dependence of the continental powers on a rapid rail-borne mobilization and concentration has led more than one commentator to describe August 1914 as "war by timetable"'.[18] Yet the railway's role in transforming the care received by wounded soldiers on both sides of the trenches has been all but forgotten.

The ambulance train first appeared in the Crimean War in 1855, when carriages transported British troops from the front line to hospitals.[19] Lacking provisions and official transport, the army used trains to move injured soldiers from Balaklava to Sebastopol.[20] However, the railway carriages were not constructed especially for the wounded's conveyance, so the army improvised with straw mattresses in wooden freight carriages.[21] Following the vehicle's successful implementation in the Crimea, purpose-built ambulance trains were used in other conflicts throughout the nineteenth century.[22] The necessity of an officially organised ambulance system was established in 1864 at the Geneva Convention. This insisted on the legal obligations faced by the perpetrators of war to provide a humanitarian response to victims, regardless of race or nationality.[23] By the end of the nineteenth century the English, French, German, Italian,

Russian and United States armies all had dedicated ambulance services.[24] Britain first used designated 'Hospital Trains' in South Africa in 1899.[25] However, both the French and German armies' ambulance designs on the railways surpassed those of the British.[26] A press report in 1898 stated that '[t]he French and German, especially the latter, have the most elaborate regulations for railway ambulances in war, and have especially constructed rolling stock always ready for the permanent hospital trains'.[27]

Both armies extensively used the conveyance throughout the Franco-Prussian war, with French and German vehicles introducing through-corridors between the carriages that enabled communication along the entire train.[28] In comparison to the nation's European counterparts, the British trains were found wanting, with the *British Medical Journal* 'doubtful if our railways possess sufficient rolling stock of that kind to improvise proper hospital trains'.[29] The British ambulance train in South Africa was decorated in an elaborate fashion, with the officers' domestic arrangements well catered for.[30] Everyday at five o'clock '"Queen Victoria's afternoon tea"' ('a huge tea-urn, some dozen bowls, and two large loaves') was served to the workers on board the train.[31] The vehicle's design as a medical unit was incidental compared to the medical officers' comfort.

In 1914, with only one ambulance train in Britain, the country was ill prepared for the scale of care that the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) needed in the ensuing conflict. Government records show that ambulance trains did figure in contingency plans about the nation's initial response to the outbreak of war in Europe.[32] However, contemporary historian Edwin A Pratt contends that 'the enormous magnitude of our operations overseas was not foreseen' because state authorities assumed railway conveyances would be used only to transport the wounded between the country's ports and London hospitals.[33] As a result, there were no British ambulance trains sent to France with the BEF in August 1914. The oversight put both British and French military forces under enormous strain.[34] Suitable vehicles were hard to acquire as most French rolling stock was sent south to avoid capture by the invading German army.[35] Furthermore, the French rail network was running at full capacity, so even when carriages were obtained there was no certainty of their use.[36]

In his memoirs, Theodore Fox, a Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) volunteer serving with No. 16 AT, recalled that '[t]he first trains in the BEF had been haphazard collections of French railway trucks and coaches, hurriedly put together in 1914.'[37] On August 17, the French provided the BEF with one hundred freight wagons and 'a few' passenger coaches: while the need for ambulance conveyances was desperate, the

vehicles were in short supply.[38] A retrospective report described how the French 'allowed the English to beg, borrow and steal coal carriages wherever they could find them, at a time when the French themselves were very hard up for like accommodation'.[39] The casualty lists now provide evidence of the crisis faced by British medical organisations, for in the first eight months of the war, the borrowed ambulance trains evacuated 67,000 wounded troops to French ports.[40]

When the British finally began building their own ambulance trains there were no standard designs to work from.[41] The government instead relied on the state-requisitioned private railway companies to transform existing rolling stock into medical facilities, with companies including Great Central, London and South Western and London and North Western building twelve vehicles for use in Britain.[42] Many of the coaches were used despite their unsuitability for the task. For example, the 'Knight's of Malta and the Grand Priory of Bohemia' train only accommodated one hundred patients.[43] John F Plumridge suggests that the vehicle was designed to serve the staff rather than the patients, with the train's inventory listing items including 'glasses for champagne, port, claret, sherry, wine and liqueurs, as well as wine decanters and beer tumblers, spoons and nut crackers'.[44] Pratt described another early ambulance train that similarly provided luxurious accommodation for the serving officers. The vehicle had 'a bedroom, a sitting-room, a lavatory and a bathroom for the medical officer or officers; a bedroom, a sitting-room and a lavatory for the nurses; a linen-cupboard, and a stove chamber.'[45] Furthermore, each of the sitting rooms were fitted 'with a leaf or fold-up table and four chairs, and each was to have, also, two racks and hat and coat hooks' [figure 1].[46]

Contemporary articles about ambulance trains indicated that rivalries existed between the private companies manufacturing the vehicles.[47] Each week, *The Railway News* printed an article, alongside diagrams and photographs, describing the companies' various interior designs. For example, the London and South-West Railway included mahogany compartments 'with white

Fig 1: The staff car on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway ambulance train, which was displayed in Britain before being exported to France. Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, *Ambulance Train Exhibition* brochure, c.1915-1918.

STAFF CAR—MEDICAL OFFICERS' MESS.

enamel panels,' 'upholstery of dark maroon leather,' and a floor 'covered with Corticene' [figure 2].[48] North Eastern trains boasted lavatories with 'obscure-glass' windows and 'balanced blinds of Rexine in a dark green shade,' and featured kitchen floors made from lead.[49] Meanwhile, the London and North Western ambulances produced coaches
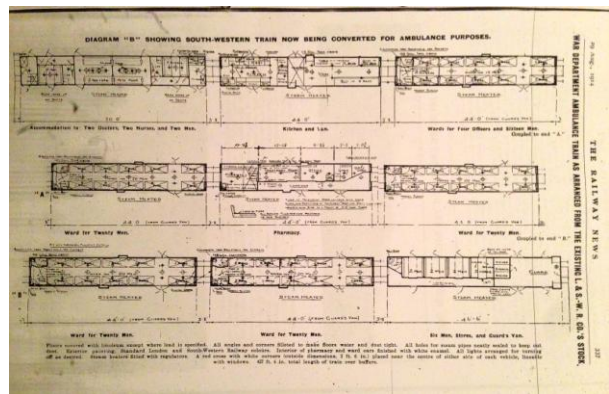

Fig 2: Diagram of the London and South Western Railway ambulance train designed for use in France. *The Railway News*, "The London and South-Western Railway Ambulance Train," August 29, 1914.

'finished in enamelled white'.[50] The interior finishes achieved by the railway companies enabled the organisations to publicise their contributions to the war effort while also alluding to standards domestic passengers might expect on domestic trains. Nevertheless, the privately built vehicles proved impractical and were found wanting.

By the end of 1914, W J Fieldhouse (who was responsible for designing the British ambulance vehicles used in South Africa), created a standardised blueprint for all new medical trains that was sent to the Birmingham Carriage and Railway Wagon Company for construction.[51] However, his plans proved unsatisfactory, as there was still no provision made for through-corridors.[52] Thus it was not until 1915 that British ambulance trains exported to France were built to suit the needs of the staffs and patients, with Fieldhouse's train the last one built from pre-existing rolling stock.[53] H Massac Buist, a contemporary medical professional, claimed that bespoke vehicles were 'undoubtedly better' at serving the military's requirements; the new coaches therefore an improvement on the earlier models.[54] Subsequently, those serving on board divided the British ambulance trains into two groups. The first were, according to an officer's diary, '[t]he green trains,' which referred to the vehicles compiled from French carriages.[55] The green trains were numbered one to eleven.[56] The second group, numbered twelve to forty two, were 'streamlined, painted a flat khaki colour, against which the white of the Red Cross shows conspicuously'.[57] The 'khaki' trains were the new vehicles, and, in Matron McCarthy's words, '[a]ll coaches communicated' and were 'most beautifully fitted up'.[58]

The staffs on these trains were no longer the priority when designing accommodation. Many ambulance train workers did not join the Red Cross, FAU or Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) until 1915 or later, because the War Office was at first reluctant to accept the FAU's help or to send untrained volunteer nurses to the

continent.[59] When the government recognised the numbers of casualties the ambulance services were encountering, many more civilians were allowed to join medical organisations. Leonard Horner, one such FAU volunteer, described No. 15 AT in a letter to his cousin. The train was typical of the standardised design sent to France from 1915, in that it was 'about 230 yards long' and had 'fifteen coaches, half of which are lying down wards and the other half sitting up wards,' that looked 'pretty much like an ordinary corridor train'. The orderlies 'ha[d] the last coach on the train. There [were] four bunks in each compartment: two up, two down'.[60]

The ambulance train wards were similar in design to those found in contemporary hospitals. In permanent caregiving institutions, wards were laid out along corridors that enabled nurses to inspect the patients with ease, while furthermore adding 'a strong element of regimentation along with sanitary order.'[61] Railway carriages, which often featured through-corridors, were structures that were well suited for adaptation into hospital environments. However, the ambulance trains were not equipped with the same amenities as ordinary caregiving establishments. For example, London hospitals were equipped with laboratories, schools, museums and spacious wards.[62] Even the larger military hospitals in France 'lack[ed] nothing that wealth c[ould] provide' and offered 'all sorts of luxury in the way of up-to-date treatments.'[63] Funding and space persistently restricted facilities inside the mobile trains.

Nevertheless, the staffs now lived and worked in railway spaces more consistent with the needs of the wounded soldiers who were transported. Gone were the champagne and nutcrackers. Instead, workers lived four to a first-class compartment. The nursing sisters, who occupied separate quarters from their male colleagues, also were offered restricted personal space. The limited workers' accommodation was described in the FAU souvenir book for No. 16 AT. 'You find yourself in the staff coach (G),' the guide reads, 'with three small compartments in which three nursing sisters lead a somewhat confined life; three bunks for the medical officers and an officers' mess'.[64] The carriage was heated 'whereas the rest of the train [was] not warmed, except when loaded, and then only if the engine manage[d] it.'[65]

Patients were provided with more spacious ward coaches as a result of the medical workers' lesser prioritisation. On the khaki trains, there were offices, dispensaries, dressing stations, operating theatres and isolation wards, all of which served wounded soldiers' requirements. Pantries were fitted in old lavatories. On No. 16, the coaches' interiors were painted in white enamel and had electric light throughout.[66] Fox described how the carriages ('[y]ou may see the same coaches at

Paddington,' he assured his readers) were mainly used for 'sitting-up' cases, or the walking wounded.[67]

Other coaches were fitted to take 'lying-down,' or more serious, cases and featured double-width doors so as to admit patients on stretchers.[68] Inside the lying-down wards, Fox wrote, 'little or nothing of the original interior remained; and along the walls there were three tiers of collapsible iron beds'.[69] The cots were installed using the *Brechot-Deprez-Ameline* system, which was an iron framework mounted on springs and attached to the carriage wall to minimise the jolting motion of the train for seriously injured men [figure 3].[70] *A Train Errant* suggests the system provided 'comfortable spring beds' for the patients as they journeyed from the battlefield, via the Casualty Clearing Station (CCS), to either a hospital or a hospital ship.[71]

Even after the introduction of a new ambulance train fleet, overcrowding proved a persistent problem. Nurse Morgan wrote that on one day alone she witnessed an improvised ('green') train unload nearly 1,000 patients, with another arriving shortly afterward to exchange six hundred more.[72] Her own train, No. 6, carried four hundred, 'the majority of whom were on stretchers.'[73] A reporter noted that inside the vehicles,

Fig 3: Nurses photographed inside a ward car for lying-down cases in a 'continental' Great Western Railway ambulance train, c.1914-1918.

'stretchers were placed three deep—that is, one above the other—and this seemed to preclude any really adequate attention being paid to any of the three.'[74] Yet in hospitals, '[i]t [was] not desirable to have more than one hundred patients and staff per acre,' with wards a minimum width of twenty-one feet, and each bed occupying six feet of wall space.[75] As the war progressed, purpose-built medical facilities also were subject to overcrowding. Nurse Margaret Brander, who initially worked in a base hospital before transferring to an ambulance train, described how 'corridors were filled with stretchers, the chairs (from the gamblers' tables) full of wounded [and the patients] were tumbled into the places as soon as they were left vacant.'[76] Nevertheless, hospitals generally were more spacious and better lit than ambulance trains, as the ward coaches had no windows and were cramped.[77]

One solution to combat lack of space was offered by No. 17 AT's souvenir book, which reported that 'the racks in the compartments were removed and stretchers

fitted up instead to increase the accommodation.'[78] However, the overhead cots were used only in exceptional circumstances. This was because the makeshift beds made for 'a crude and unpleasant' experience for the injured party.[79] There were no double doors to the sitting-down compartments so stretchers had to be 'broken' to gain admittance: the device was collapsed and lifted to shoulder height with the patient still recumbent, and the wounded man was expected to manoeuvre himself into the narrow bunk.[80] The trains, which in 1915 cost £17,500 to construct, were still not without fault, and even on the khaki trains life was not easy for the workers or patients. [81]

The volume of soldiers that required assistance overwhelmed the medical services. Official figures state that in the first five months up to January 1915, the BEF dealt with 177,423 casualties.[82] Provisions were scare. Drugs, bedding, food and space were valuable commodities. On board No. 26 AT, the carriages often were lit with lamps and candles because the gas ran out on long journeys.[83] Horner claims that, without heating, the cold was 'frightening,' and that in extreme conditions '[b]read [was] like stone and if you touch metal work with the naked fingers it freezes to them immediately'.[84] Meanwhile, Nurse Brander bemoaned the time-consuming practice of loading the train.[85] First, each soldier's temperature was taken. Second, a paper slip (similar to those seen in the film *New Zealand Ambulance*) was filled out. This recorded the soldier's name, his injury, temperature, diet and suggested treatment. The slips were then pinned to the patients' pillows [figure 4].

Finally, the nurses 'started dressing those that had not been done at the CCS and any that were soaked through. If time permitted and we had water to spare we washed faces and hands and that was the thing they were all so grateful for'.[86] Days might elapse before men were transported from the CCS to the ambulance train, or before the first dressing was applied to the men's wounds.[87] Food rations were both basic and scare, consisting of bread and tea.[88] Fox carried the tea in 'thoroughly polished nickel-plate pails' down '150 yards of confoundedly obstructed corridor' to reach the sitting cases, where '[t]he rations [were] then doled out, in the hope that they will go round'.[89] Bread

Fig 4: Sitting-up cases wait to board an ambulance train in France, their cardboard tags visible on their hats and uniforms, c.1914-1918.

was mouldy. Water ran out on journeys that took many days instead of the few hours expected. Lavatories were overflowing and had to be emptied by hand.[90] On particularly busy trips, the staff had to give up their bunks to the wounded, with officers and volunteers alike sleeping in corridors regardless of class or station.

Many of the personal testimonies that survive the ambulance trains refer to the grim sights observed by the medical staffs when treating the injured. For example, Horner wrote to his cousin: 'I have seen sights today that I shall never forget'.[91] Geoffrey Winthrop Young, an FAU pioneer, was struck by 'the stench of old wounds, among always fresh hundreds of shattered remnants of human beings' on his arrival in France.[92] According to Fox's account, actual medical treatment on board the ambulance trains was slight: men were given painkillers (aspirin or laudanum), where such drugs were available, and had their wounds dressed.[93] Operating theatres were available on some vehicles but were used only in emergencies (for example, if a patient was likely to die before reaching a hospital).[94] The train had to stop in order for surgical procedures to be carried out, and so endangered the lives of the other passengers.[95]

Patients made long journeys by railway with shrapnel, maggots and dirt in wounds that were already infected. Brander, a professionally trained nurse, found the injuries she saw 'disgusting'.[96] Her records are more explicit in discussing the patients' care than those written by volunteers. Two men particularly appalled her, and her medical terminology does not diminish the grotesque suffering she witnessed. One had '[h]is nose broken, his humorous compound fracture, femur fracture compound, penis shattered' she reported, while another had 'both eyes shot out and part of [his] brain bulging from [his] forehead'.[97]

Nurse Morgan also wrote about the injuries that the soldiers sustained. On July 1, 1916, she witnessed the casualties of the Somme offensive.[98] There were four ambulance trains waiting to load behind her own, No. 6 AT, while two further improvised trains were available with the capacity to transport 1,000 sitting patients each.[99] Morgan heard 'the news is good but the casualties terrible. Last night or this morning 100,000 casualties and deaths were expected'.[100] The first day of the Battle of the Somme produced the single highest casualty figure in the war. A handwritten logbook for No. 16 AT recorded the day's journey, taking in St. Pol, Doullens, Warlincourt and Le Havre.[101] In total six hundred and ninety-one patients were carried.[102] The number was underscored in heavy pencil lines three times.

The Role of Film in the First World War

Motion pictures were an invention of modernity that inscribed time and space on mechanically reproduced filmstrips that were distributed on a large scale. In the nineteenth century, photography presented governments, military forces and civilians with a new perspective on war, as images documented fighting in the Crimea, the American Civil War and South Africa. But the projected moving image, which in 1914 was not yet a decade old, offered viewers something newer still: film not only enabled spectators to see differently but also vicariously to experience movement. The conflict was fought both through the flow of information to the public as well as through bodies to the trenches.

The machines that fuelled the nineteenth-century industrial revolution, including trains, telegraphs, electricity and automatic rifles made possible battle on an unprecedented scale and markedly changed the geographies of war. Wolfgang Schivelbusch describes how with the train's invention '[m]otion was no longer dependent on the conditions of natural space, but on a mechanical power that created a new spatiality,' that is, space simultaneously collapsed and expanded with technological efficiency.[103] Military forces delivered supplies and communications across vast areas, and hand-to-hand combat was made redundant by the robotic ability to load a rifle and pull the trigger from inside trenches. Guns, shells, tanks and aircraft were manufactured by the nations involved in the conflict for the mechanical annihilation of men, and the cold metallic objects of war initiated a stark objectivity to the slaughter that ensued. The camera's position on the battlefield was logical in these circumstances.

Friedrich Kittler contends that cameras and automatic weapons have a shared history. He asserts that '[i]n the principle of cinema resides mechanized death as it were invented in the nineteenth century: the death no longer of one's immediate opponent but of serial nonhumans.'[104] Pictures and bullets were both projected in the same ways; both machines were designed to shoot and capture, with filmic language referencing violent acts. And the 'transport of pictures' mimicked not only the bullet but also the train and the telegram, all of which technologies shot across landscapes to reach human targets irrespective of lives lived and lost.[105] Illustrations and written reports could not match the camera for its impersonal, mechanised view of events, with aerial photographs and moving images prevalent in both print and cinematic media.

Thus the impersonal violence enacted during the First World War was a nightmare dreamt by modernity and wrought by its machines. There is prescience now to the half-page advertisements printed ten days before the war's outbreak in *The*

Illustrated London News. The three commercials all documented fixations with metal, machination and ways of seeing in products designed to enhance the human body. The advertisements offered: Paris Garters, which made the wearer 'feel safe' because '[n]o [m]etal can touch you'; Aitchison Prism Binoculars that provided users 'clearer definition and greater illumination'; and finally, 'Smith's World-Famous Chronographs'.[106] The three items on sale were produced using the consumable materials that would eventually consume Europe's populations. The binoculars' description is particularly fascinating, for along with the product's improved definition and 'illumination,' they had 'high optical properties' and were used by the army. The binoculars, a visual technology, revealed what was before concealed, just as x-rays exposed interiors and microscopes magnified unseen realities.

The Aitchison binoculars, one assumes, did not have the ability to 'illuminate' their subjects. But their power of 'illumination' alluded to the magic power accorded other, contemporary optical instruments. For example, British publications were keen to convince their consumers that the camera was an unfaltering truth teller. *The Illustrated London News* was especially, if not surprisingly, invested in this campaign, with the periodical frequently featuring articles that dehumanised photojournalism. 'The Camera as War Correspondent: Notes by Photography' replaced illustration with mechanised images and the war correspondent with the camera.[107] Photography was in effect given a byline, unusual at a time when articles were anonymously printed. The journal also ran articles under the banners 'Camera as Recorder' and 'The Camera in Three Continents'.[108]

The publication gave human agency to the camera and invested the machine with qualities superior to regular journalists (in doing so discrediting other, human reporters by proxy). The newspaper published photographs taken in trenches, after battles and on trains and presented readers with 'The First Photograph of a Diver at the Bottom of the Sea' and other unusual perspectives on the world.[109] One such story featured homing pigeons used to collect aerial photographs.[110] The birds strategically were vital to the military's operations because when in flight, the creatures offered a view that could not be easily achieved, even by airplanes. The pigeons' speed (1,836 yards a minute) and technological specifications ('[t]hey must always have a clear sight') were reported as if the birds were machines.[111] The natural could not compete with the technological when one needed to see with accuracy.

Moving images, therefore, were represented by British media as purveyors of truth in order to ensure the movie's effectiveness as propaganda. Films offered accurate, mechanical representations of an altered reality. However, alterations such as the reels spliced together to make edited news items were overlooked by film production companies seeking to sell their wares. For example, Kineto, a London-based film distributor, took out full-page advertisements in *The Bioscope* to promote their short documentaries.[112] The company suggested there was 'large demand' for films that were '[s]hort and to the point' and that featured '[e]xcellent photography'.[113] Pathé Frères also proclaimed the newsreel's brilliance in a promotion dramatically entitled 'Zeppelin Raid' [figure 5].[114] The advertisement referred to an air raid that took place on Britain's east coast. 'On Wednesday night,' the company proclaimed, 'less than 24 hours after the event, the photographs were shown in all daily editions of Pathé's Animated Gazette.'[115]

The newsreel, like the camera-laden pigeon, was as reliable as any other news source: like the newspaper, film, too, could reach the public in less than a day. Kittler, in his exploration of print and film, contends that '[l]iterature dies not in the no-man's land between the trenches but in that of technological reproducibility'.[116] Print media was therefore challenged by cinema's increasing immediacy during the war. Gaumont illustrated the camera's benefits to an audience in an advertisement entitled 'Contrasts' [figure 6].[117] The promotion features a projector on the left and a German Zeppelin on the right. The former is '[a]bsolutely reliable' while the latter is '[a]bsolutely unreliable'. Film (or British film, at least) did not lie.

Cameras, of course, tell untruths. Subjects are arranged and images manipulated to alter context and editing—the process of splicing, cutting and reordering—changes narrative. Yet mechanically reproduced images documenting the war were published as truth. This suited publishers',
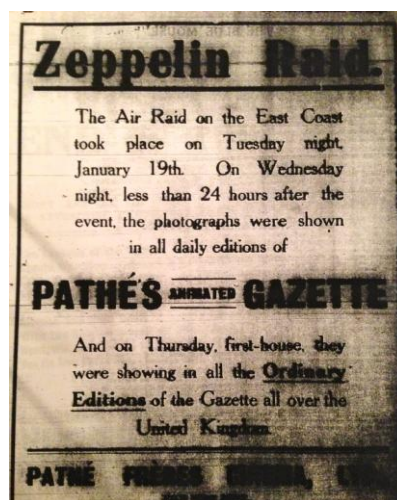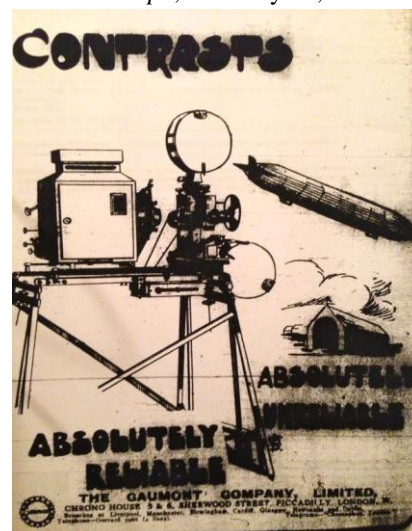

Fig 5: Pathé Frères advertisement in *The Bioscope*, January 29, 1915.

Fig 6: The 'absolutely reliable' "Gaumont Company Limited" in *The Bioscope*, February 25, 1915.

distributors', and the government's agendas alike, for their assertions about film's ontology were manipulations in another, information-based war. But despite cinema's propagandistic role, the documentary remained popular. Susan Sontag argues that '[b]y the 1920s the photographer had become a modern hero, like the aviator and the anthropologist.'[118] Taking photographs and recording film at the Front was romanticised; images were collected like new species, which, once caught, could not get away. Roland Barthes proposes that the camera's subjects 'do not emerge, do not leave: they are anesthetized and fastened down, like butterflies'.[119] His words are reminiscent of T S Eliot's allusion in J Alfred Prufrock, to the 'patient etherised upon a table'.[120] Butterflies and bodies were duly caught in mechanical processes that deliberately confused the living with the dead.

Aside from film's questionable ontological status, there were considerable pressures exerted by the British government on those working with cameras at battle sites. Cinema initially was not considered as a useful medium for promoting government propaganda because movies were considered lowbrow entertainments for the masses.[121] Luke McKernan contends that cinema was 'alien to both the class and literary culture of those who controlled British propaganda.'[122] Ministers were at first wary of the medium and were slow to realise film's potential, with government policies controlling information at best confused, and at worst overly draconian, and even totalitarian. Cate Haste argues that 'so little information [about the conflict in Europe] was released that the home front was left in a state of bewilderment about the nature of the war'.[123] Official war news was blockaded so thoroughly from newspapers and movie-theatres that in 1914, both media organisations and the masses alike largely were ignorant as to what happened on the continent.[124]

Cameramen and print journalists struggled to access the Western Front in 1914; upon arrival most were returned home. Reporters did not successfully gain admission to the front lines again until 1916 and the camera's presence was still viewed with caution by British officials, who imposed strict regulations governing the materials that made it into the public domain.[125] While the rules lacked the structure of those in the Second World War, the cameramen, their subjects, and the film distributors all accepted the government's interventions. As a result, an unlikely picture emerged on the British home front that showed order where there was chaos, and sturdy trenches where there were swamps. Footage and images released to the public showed the British Expeditionary Forces (BEF) carrying out training exercises, maintenance work or routine daily tasks. George Robb argues that '[v]isual depictions in the press of the

1916 Somme offensive conveyed a false impression of order and success, depicting troops advancing rapidly, unimpeded by either barbed wire or enemy fire'.[126] Still and moving images alike protected those at home from the real horrors taking place in Europe's trenches and towns.

Film was put to better official use by the forces serving overseas, where cinemas were encouraged as entertainment for the troops. In 1915, Nurse Brander described a screening that took place at a hospital base station in France: 'in came Major Unwin,' she wrote, 'to ask if we could lower the curtains for a cinematograph entertainment tonight. I hear it is to take place at six fifteen.'[127] A front-page article in *The Illustrated London News* similarly reported a movie experience for laid-up soldiers who were able to watch images projected onto the ceiling above their beds [figure 7].[128] The headline is accompanied by an illustration that shows the invalids watching a Chaplin-esque figure overhead, suggesting that the military authorities recognised cinema's use in boosting morale.
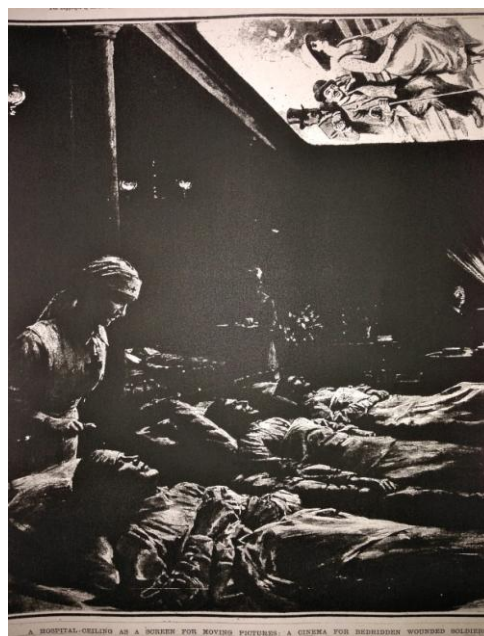

Fig 7: Patients watch overhead movies. *The Illustrated London News*, "A Hospital Ceiling as a Screen for Moving Pictures: A Cinema for Bedridden Wounded Soldiers at a Base in France," August 10, 1918.

While the short article does not mention the film programme, a separate report in *The Bioscope* alluded to the genres of entertainment favoured by the men.[129] Popular on the Western Front were 'knockabout and chase comedies, scenes of comic destructions and light humorous plays generally. Four or five sensational melodramas were also taken, however, besides one scenic film and the topical picture, "Men of the Moment"'.[130] Fiction was no doubt a welcome distraction from the realities of war: the newsreels and documentaries shown in cinemas back home, including *New Zealand Ambulance* and *Care of Our Wounded* showed audiences events that the soldiers already witnessed first hand.

The film industry was lent further credence in Britain by demonstrating support for the BEF, with both public and private generosity toward the British forces one of three popular themes in wartime newsreels. The second motif was collectivism and public spirit, and the third was the campaign's organisation and efficiency. Together, the three topoi endorsed national unity and encouraged audiences not only to support

the war, but also to participate in fundraising or national service. For example, *Result of Cinema Day* (1916) demonstrated all three themes.[131] The newsreel item self-referentially salutes the film industry for raising funds from a national 'Cinema Day,' when, states an intertitle, 'the proprietors of Picture Halls throughout the British Isles gave their entire takings to the fund […] to provide a complete Ambulance Convoy, including fifty Ambulances, four Officers' Cars, Seven Despatch Motorcycles, three Luggage Wagons, and a traveling Repair Motor Shop, for the use of our Forces at the Front.'[132]

The images accompanying the text worked on a sophisticated level as propaganda to promote cinema going, the armed forces and the government. As such, the film was typical of home-front fare, with its obvious demands for inclusivity and public involvement. The troops were '*our,*' not 'the' British Forces, and ordinary men were depicted partaking in the war effort. In the film, dinnertime is called at the factory where ambulances are constructed and workers pour outside as a singular mass, the communal crowds of men visible in one frame. The movie then cuts to portrait shots of the ambulance drivers standing in uniform by their vehicles, where there is an effective juxtaposition between the many and the individual. While every man's actions are referred to in the portrait shots, the lasting impression is of the collective.

The film also, through its cinematography and editing techniques, implies the disciplined formation of an egalitarian force. Onscreen, the new ambulances are readied and seven are visible as the camera pans left to right. The Red Cross vehicles are then lined up in a neat row and prepared for action. First the motorcycles pull away and pass the camera from right to left. Then the ambulance convoy follows. A continuous stream of trucks and cars cross the stationary camera's path in a synchronised display, with each vehicle receiving individual attention before the camera's gaze. One final inspection occurs before the ambulances move off in single file from left to right, completing the choreographed display. The repetition that underpins these sequences suggests the army's routine and enormous resources, and again ensures that while the camera acknowledges individual vehicles the parade is evidence of a communal effort.

However, this being Britain in 1916, there also were allusions to class and patriarchal authority. The third theme prevalent in the newsreels was the ruling class's imposed surveillance of the subordinate masses. The inspection sequence in *Result of Cinema Day* features Lord Montague of Beaulieu visiting the factory to survey the ambulances' construction. The scene is reminiscent of the royal observation sequences in films such as the *Prince of Wales on Tour in Canada* series (1919) discussed in

Chapter One.[133] Nevertheless, *Result of Cinema Day* portrays Lord Montague among the workers, suggesting that everyone, including the aristocracy, was pulling together to achieve a common goal – the provision of medical vehicles for the troops. Lords, ladies and royalty acted on the people's behalf to regulate quality: thus approval from Lord Montague is approval both for, and by, the British public.

Films for the home front often consisted of material shot entirely in Britain: *Result of Cinema Day* updated the public on the continuing war effort while omitting any news from the continent. *Éclair Animated Journal No. 35* (c.1915) showed similar subject matter, in which a library was donated as a hospital.[134] The movie also served to democratise the inspecting authority figure. Lord Islington 'sits with the inmates,' who are arranged on a bench for the opening ceremony alongside an assembly of smart women, with all classes and genders occupying the same space. Newsreel footage from the continent focused on soldiers' daily lives rather than battle scenes. Blood and bodies were ignored so that most sequences looked like army training initiatives rather than full-scale offensives in war. Some production companies avoided reporting on British forces altogether, and instead showed other allies at war, for example in *New Zealand Ambulance*, or a *Topical Budget Report* (1915).[135] The latter crosses to and from mainland Europe, where there is a ruined French railway station; Canadians dig trenches; the French fire guns; and Grand Duke Nicholas parades at the Front in Russia.

When the British were filmed on the Western Front it was in triumphalist propaganda serving King and Country. For example, *Royal Visit to the Battlefields of France* (1917) follows George V, his wife Mary and the Prince of Wales on their ten-day tour in July 1917 – although how close to the Front they are in the film is questionable.[136] The patriotic monarchs stand in the foreground while in the middle-distance bombs are exploding for their royal pleasure. The King maintains a similar distance from both a tank demonstration and the spinning chrome propeller of a plane. The film transparently maps the physical space between the royal couple and the action, using explosions and machinery to imply danger where there is none.

In the clip, the King and Queen arrive at the CCS and step down from their car. The Queen's white dress, which is reminiscent of a nurse's uniform, stands out against the sepia tones around her. The couple approach the corrugated iron huts that house injured men, with the Red Cross's white background gleaming from the rooftops. The monarchs then inspect a row of ambulances and prepare to leave. They return to the royal car from which a white flag is flying from the bonnet. Yet beyond the huts' sheet metal walls and the camera's gaze laid men with fractures, bullet wounds and rags for

110

clothes. The CCS was the first place many soldiers received treatment after leaving the battlefield, and so frequently were inhabited by men with injuries from exploding shrapnel and bombs (just like those demonstrated earlier for the King). For both the monarch and the nation, it was better that these images went unrecorded. Instead, the huts' neat architectural organisation and cleanliness were exaggerated by the profound whiteness of everything - the Queen's white dress was surely chosen for that reason. The film, which revealed the tensions between hierarchy (the inspecting royals) and inclusivity (the patients wounded for their country), concealed the injured behind a white façade in order to maintain support for the war at home.

Fiction film, too, was determined to validate inclusivity. For example, the 1918 *Mrs John Bull Prepared* (UK, 1918) showed the nation why women were so vital to the war effort.[137] In the movie, a traditional old gentleman refuses to let women work in his factory when the male workers are conscripted. An ethereal female figure visits him in his garden and puts him to sleep, enabling the women to work and the war to be won. The old man awakes years later to find his home donated as a hospital and his daughters in uniforms. 'A share in the hardships means a share in the glory' reads an intertitle that is framed as a message from the Prime Minister. Government leaders approved women workers so the public necessarily approved the female workforce, too, in a narrative that made congruent inclusivity and the rhetoric of victory.

Newsreels remained an unofficial adjunct of British wartime propaganda throughout the war. The Press Bureau, which supplied information to media outlets and was responsible for censorship, concentrated its efforts on targeting elite (that is, politicians, journalists, academics, and so forth) overseas audiences, rather than those at home.[138] It was not until 1917, when the Department for Information (which in 1918 was retitled the Ministry of Information) was established that home-oriented propaganda became a priority.[139]

Taylor proposes that the change occurred due to the influence of newspaper proprietors Lords Beaverbrook and Northcliffe, both of whom recognised that propaganda was most efficient when media 'directly targeted public opinion itself,' and was not implemented using an 'us' and 'them' approach.[140] The Ministry officially recognised that film was a vital medium in the government's propaganda strategy as the emphasis shifted from exclusive to mass audiences. Thus cinema's role in the First World War was a complex one. On one hand, movies were used to conceal the true nature of the conflict by perpetuating narratives about British success. On the other, the

111

medium was part of a concerted effort to make the nation's propaganda campaign more inclusive.

The Ambulance Train Onscreen

Ambulance trains, built and fitted out in British factories by recognisable British companies, were crucial to the media's propaganda strategy as the vehicles were accessible to wartime audiences. Caregiving facilities provided news outlets with relevant wartime narratives that focused on salvation rather than abjection. The trains aided British soldiers in their campaign and so the vehicles' manufacture was reported with pride. Even the men serving on the railways in France took an interest in the attention the vehicles received back in Britain. For example, Leonard Horner wrote to his cousin Robbie: '[t]he other day I saw No. 29 AT, or at least part of it which is now being "mobilised" over here. I see from the papers that two new GWR trains are on show in England.'[141] Horner also received news in February that Robbie had been to view No. 29 while it was on display in Blackpool. The new vehicles frequently toured the country to garner public interest (and press coverage) before being shipped to France. Other medical items reported on in newspapers and movies were also popular, including Red Cross training; ambulance barges; casualty clearing stations; hospitals; and the Blue Cross service for injured animals.[142]

Here, I examine the tensions between inclusivity, which was essential to the government's propaganda strategy, and hierarchy, which was endemic within British culture. I do so by investigating three recurring motifs in the extant ambulance train films. The first is the use of objects in the movies. The entire canon about the caregiving vehicles functions as an instruction manual for those members of the viewing public who may yet become privates. As a result, the films promote communal participation. The second motif is repetition, which also served to underscore collectivity through sequences that depicted vast numbers of soldiers facilitating the war effort. Among the serving staffs were working, middle and upper class soldiers, female nurses and professional officers, all of who work together as an onscreen ensemble. The third motif is the whiteness that characterised both the trains' interior spaces and the people who worked on ambulance trains. Unlike objects and repetition, whiteness undermined the nation's claims to inclusivity by staking out a national identity predicated on privilege.

The objects that made possible effective evacuation and treatment are foregrounded in the films, with items including stretchers and cot frames consistently represented onscreen. Moving images do more than simply photograph the objects for

posterity; the movies preserve how the things actually were used. It is likely that contemporary audiences took an interest in the ways things worked, and that the camera's focus on transporting patients had practical implications for British moviegoers. The ambulance train films were instruction manuals for those who might one day serve in the forces.[143] Audiences watching the newsreels in Britain not only were reassured of the high standard of treatment their forces were receiving, but also were learning in a practical sense how to perform that level of care. Viewers vicariously participated in the same processes as the ambulance train crews. In this way the films projected inclusivity, with the onscreen tuition narrowing the gap between the civilians in the cinema and the service people on the front line.

One object prominently featured in the films, with seven out of nine surviving movies about ambulance trains sharing one sequence in common. Throughout the canon, patients were loaded and unloaded from carriages on stretchers. The newsreels showed the public how to fix and collapse cots by first lifting the lower frame, and then connecting it to the top frame by a metal arm.[144] Viewers also were instructed that stretchers were carried at shoulder height in order to load men into carriage doors that stood five feet from the ground. For example, a shot set level with the ambulance train's doors in *Care of Our Wounded* demonstrated how the correct way to unloaded patients was to pass stretchers from floor level inside the coach to the waiting men's shoulders outside the vehicle.[145] In addition, the film exhibited the process of unclipping stretchers from the wheelbarrow-like conveyances that were used to move patients over short distances.

The practice of transporting recumbent men was also displayed in the 1916 Gaumont Pathé item *Mr Justin Godard Inaugurates an American Hospital Train Offered to Our Wounded* (1916), in which an eager crowd is gathered outside the train to watch first-hand as a man is borne from the carriage by two medical workers. In another Gaumont Pathé feature from 1917, *The Military Power of France*, men in Red Cross armbands bustle around the vehicle's exterior as a prostrate man is stretchered past. *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* also showed stretcher-bearers hard at work.

In one sequence, the camera lingers over an open double door as a nurse oversees the operation to ferry patients in and out of the vehicle [figure 8]. The film cuts to a long shot that reveals the same practice going on down the entire train's length. Pillows are passed on board, and men and blankets are shaken and folded. In *Pathé Old Negative Collection 15* (1915) the film provides detailed close-ups of a medical officer

fixing a cot frame inside a motor ambulance.[146] Moreover in *New Zealand Ambulance*, close-up shots reveal to the audience how cardboard identity tags were attached to wounded soldiers before the journey from the CSS to the hospital. Ambulance train films educated audiences about vital aspects of the crews' work, enabling viewers to participate in events at the front by proxy while seated in auditoriums [figure 9].

Fig 8: A white-clad nurse oversees the loading of a patient onto the train. Note the white enamel paint visible on the inside of the carriage door in *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916).

The films' spectators also were able to inhabit the spaces occupied by the ambulance staffs, and so were included in the nomadic societies that operated on the railways. In the movies about caregiving trains, the camera follows the vehicles' spaces and workers on cinematic journeys that replicate those taken by wounded soldiers from battlefield dressing stations to hospital ships. Thus the interior spaces of the ambulance trains were mapped out in the newsreel items. The onscreen tours always began outside the vehicles. No film footage remains that depicts the trains at a station; in every case, the locomotive is stopped in the countryside where space is abundant for the large-scale

loading operation and supply exchange. That the sanitary conditions at rail stations were appalling, with human waste inches deep alongside the tracks, may also account for filmmakers' stationing trains out in the countryside.[147] Once the outside location was established, the films moved toward the vehicles' interiors.

Fig 9: The crew demonstrates how to load patients into the ambulance train in *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (Pathé Frères, UK, 1917).

Inside the trains, both wards and dressing stations were revealed in *The First Italian Hospital Train for the Front* (1918). In *Hospital Offered by the Americans in France* (1920) a nurse's office

compartment—a standard first-class compartment with a table—is made visible through the window. In many films, the wide, double carriage doors are featured, signalling from the exterior the architectural changes that have been wrought inside. Giuliana Bruno contends that '[m]oving along with the history of space, cinema defines itself as an architectural practice'.[148] The ambulance train films are evidence of this. Moving images are used to redefine once familiar spaces with new practices, the camera instructing and guiding the cinema audience over new terrain. Film both reconstructed spaces viewers had hitherto been unable to access and simultaneously managed their expectations.

Within the ambulance trains' interiors, the staff are depicted onscreen performing the everyday tasks associated with caregiving – for example, loading patients, folding blankets and tending to the patients. The personal testimonies reveal that the crews were formed of disparate social groups: of the ten accounts referred to in this chapter, one author is anonymous; four are female nurses; and five are conscientious objectors. The unnamed writer recounted that he dined in the officer's mess, suggesting he was a member of the professional military personnel with a middle or upper class background. Fox and Horner were English conscientious objectors; Nurse Brander was a trained nurse from Scotland. The No. 17 AT souvenir book, *Lines of Communication*, also alluded to the working-class volunteers that worked on board the train. For example, an article entitled 'Reflections of an Orderly' was a fictitious monologue by a disgruntled man complaining about the cleaning he was tasked with carrying out.[149] The orderly was akin to 'any fatuous staff officer' or 'any trustworthy beer-sodden sergeant, any street urchin' whom the aristocratic character Syvlia Tietjens so despised in the wartime novel *Parade's End*.[150] The dialect implied by the writing style ('[w]ot the heye don't see, the 'eart don't grieve over') and the distinction between the writer and the bourgeoisie ('[r]ich people do clean the soles of their boots, ask Mrs Jones's dorter-in-lor, what's in service in Bayswater') drew attention to the worker's inferior class.[151]

Yet while none of the films, or the numerous newspaper articles about the trains, explicitly referred to the various classes and genders that made up the staffs, the crews' onscreen representations were inclusive. The camera does not privilege the upper classes or men, but instead depicts the workers as a homologous group. The female presence onscreen was because nurses were stationed permanently on ambulance trains from 1914, with between two and four nurses working on each vehicle. Conscientious objectors were involved through the FAU, the Quaker organization set up to organize

medical volunteers. The group's founder, Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, acknowledged the FAU had 'hardly been mentioned in the Press' and faced 'cold-shouldering and suspicion' from government institutions.[152] Despite such setbacks, the FAU staffed trains Nos. 16 and 17. We cannot see for certain the FAU volunteers in newsreels, because the uniformed men are all portrayed as the same alongside the officers and conscripts. However, that the FAU workers are represented as faces in the crowd indicates that the trains were egalitarian spaces where everyone lived and worked together.

In addition to the inclusivity inferred by films' register, depictions of space and portrayal of the crews, the workers' mechanical actions onscreen also described uniformity and commonality. Throughout the war, both the gun and the camera filtered the aggression bestowed upon humans, by humans: nonhumans were robotic on the battlefield and ghostly on the screen. The camera captured living soldiers' images on celluloid and restored the troops bodies onscreen long after they were dead, rendering the body technologically reproducible. Such reproduction is evidenced in the repetitive choreographed sequences prevalent in many contemporary newsreels about ambulance trains. For example, in *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC*, scores of men are unloaded from a railway ambulance onto a hospital ship: the bodies are anonymous and each new patient steadily replaces the one that went before. The newsreels' cyclical sequences were always cut before the final load came into view: there was always another replacement waiting to take their turn. As well as registering violence, filmmakers had also to imagine ways to avoid brutality onscreen, attempting to bury out of sight the masses that were shot in more literal and damaging ways.

As such, where at first there is one stretcher-bearer, there are sure to be many hundreds more. A single motor ambulance pulls away to reveal another, and another and another. Where one man lays in his cot on the ground another ten lie beside him, the choreographed sequences transforming each body in the swarming mass to a cog in a machine. For example, *Hospital Offered by the Americans in France* shows stretcher-bearers loading patients into a carriage. There is a pause between one man being loaded and the next so that the operation's lengthy nature soon becomes apparent. When three men are loaded, the film cuts to a wide exterior shot to reveal at least five more men waiting to be taken on board. Military and political personnel amble about, recalling the inspection element found in the home front films. Eventually the loading and unloading process continues. We cannot see precisely how many patients await transferral to or from the train. The tight focus on the bearer's repetitive actions (stepping up and down,

walking back and forth) suggests a mechanical activity with no beginning and no end. The camera in *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* tells us more about the numbers involved when it cuts from a medium close-up to a long shot, revealing hundreds of men working alongside the tracks, the patients' bodies stretching into the distance.

Newsreel items served to spatially reconstruct medical transport and to reduce the body to a technological phenomenon. Men who worked like wind-up toys treated patients while the wounded were loaded into mechanical trains. There was no chaos, and no blood or fear, and so the war was justified to audiences in Britain not only as ideologically necessary, but also as safe as possible for the conscripted troops. The democratised medical services were represented as coping with vast numbers of patients while maintaining routine in a class-less society. In the films every man is treated equally: the operation's scale is inclusive.

Nevertheless, there are two ways in which hierarchy persists in undermining the egalitarian spaces of the onscreen ambulance trains. First, in reporting the vehicles' operations to audiences on the home front, the camera stands in for the patriarchal gaze of the royal overseer. Newsreel films (despite their propensity both to conceal and alter information) offered a form of surveillance that positioned viewers as the authoritarian inspector. Second, whiteness, which references exclusivity, is the most frequently recurring motif throughout the extant canon of films.

Whiteness stands out from the brown sepia in every frame, with white objects, people and spaces onscreen. The juxtaposition in colouring served three purposes. First, for practical sanitary reasons, many medical implements and uniforms were white. Second, the white markings in the Red Cross design made vehicles and people visible as non-targets. Third, whiteness made people safe: just as whiteness protected ambulance trains, so it protected audiences from the real wounds sustained in war. For those on the trains, and for those in movie theatres, whiteness was a cocoon that neutralised the confusing colours of the world outside, removing any trace of blood and dirt. For example, the stretchers, so common a sight in the ambulance train films, are white. In *The Military Power of France*, the nursing sisters are dressed in crisp white linen. *The First Italian Hospital Train for the French Front* displays pristine white sheets in the racks above the cots. White pillows and blankets are supplied during *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC*. The white background to the Red Cross is visible on a waiting ambulance train's side as women sort through stretchers in *US Signal Corps, Royal Engineers and QMAAC on the Western Front* (UK, 1918). There

are white bandages and white slings. Nurses hold their hair back with white caps. Through windows and open double doors we see the stark white interiors of the carriages themselves. *Care of Our Wounded*'s short interior sequence shows white metal cot frames, white walls and three invalids resting beneath white sheets. White, which evokes peace and surrender, is ubiquitous.

Newsreels exhibited the medical objects used everyday by the medical services. But the films do not show us where the staffs cooked, slept or socialised. Silently moving images do not grant us access to the thoughts of patients who needed medical attention on cold, dimly lit trains. The films also belied the severity of the patients' suffering. The three men lying serenely in their cots in *Care of Our Wounded* are at odds with the wounded soldiers described in the crews' letters and diaries. Also the graphic descriptions of patients' injuries penned by Hardstone, Morgan and Brander, among others, attest to brutalities that occurred in the conflict that were overlooked in onscreen reports. Brander goes so far as to describe one improvised ambulance train she visited as a 'shame to the British nation'.[153] The ambulance train films were eager to promote the ideals of an inclusive national identity. Yet extant personal accounts reveal the hierarchal nature of public media, which privileged the state's discourses about democracy over narratives about the experiences of ordinary people. Hence deficiencies in wartime care were not rendered in black and white on cinema screens.

As such, whiteness also served as a visible signifier of national identity, albeit one that excluded the subaltern forces that Britain relied upon to fight, and win, the conflict. Troops from Kenya and India, among others, reinforced the British military. Subaltern subjects were depicted onscreen in movies including *From Trinidad to Serve the Empire* (1916) and *With Indian Troops at the Front Part One* (1916).[154] In the films, colonial forces are portrayed as willing participants in the war, with the troops' patriotic support for Britain alluding to the empire's inclusive tendencies. However, within the films, subaltern citizens also are depicted as subordinate to Britain, and are subject to an authoritarian gaze (for example, the Lord Mayor of London surveys the Trinidadian forces in *From Trinidad to Serve the Empire*).

Moreover, in *Our Empire's Fight for Freedom Part Two* (UK, 1918), colonial military recruits are filmed *en masse*, with the men's individual identities obscured in aerial and long shots.[155] Indian troops are filmed from above, which effaces their appearance, while Egyptian subjects are portrayed as a singular crowd. Thus the colonial forces are represented in contrast to forces from Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These white soldiers were shot in medium close up, which enabled

audiences to identify individuals onscreen.[156] Movies about the vehicles supported the government's rhetoric that the nation shared one common experience of the conflict, which was imperative in creating the illusion of social cohesion. That no Indian, Trinidadian or other colonial troops appear in extant ambulance train films contributes to distinctions between white and subaltern subjects onscreen.

A Shared Vocabulary

At first glance, moving images portraying life on the ambulance trains do not inform us about the everyday lives of the crews with anything like the honesty or detail apparent in personal testimonies. Yet the three tropes consistent throughout the extant newsreels—routine, objects and the spaces' whiteness—permeate the private letters and diaries, too. Accounts by nurses Hardstone, Morgan and Brander deal explicitly with the ambulance trains' shortcomings. Often the crews altered the interior design of their trains in order to rectify what they saw as inadequate functionality. Furthermore, despite the routine hardships faced by the workers, the authors of personal testimonies also described their experiences as encompassing both domesticity and communal living.

For example, officers and nurses personalised unfamiliar railway spaces, were fiercely loyal to their trains, and made frequent comparisons between the different vehicles' designs. An officer on No. 26 enjoyed the attention his 'travelling home' received.[157] In the compartments, the seats were 'well and luxuriously upholstered, with lace […] and an abundance of plush!'[158] Leonard Horner wrote that No. 16 was 'supposed to be the smartest and best kept in the service'.[159] Nurse Morgan recorded her visit to No. 24, where she discovered to her annoyance that the sisters there had a gramophone. 'Their bunk and mess is extremely nice,' she acknowledged: however, she noted with satisfaction that it had 'no seats'.[160] Fox also was discontented by the luxuries afforded rival trains. He griped that 'No. 14 was a fine looking train, equipped by Lady Michelham,' with a crew that 'somehow gave the impression that they were old and careful grafters to a man'.[161] His own vehicle (No. 16, on which he served alongside Horner) was 'a Rolls Royce among trains […] a kind of palace'.[162] Brander, too, admitted that she preferred her 'own "Bus"' to any other.[163] In a foreign land with no stable base, the ambulance workers found creative ways to make the trains feel like home.

Their alterations to everyday objects are described in diary entries and letters. The changes implemented by ambulance train staffs to their living quarters went some way toward making the vehicles more homely, with individuals altering the carriages'

standard designs to make the spaces more efficient. Alterations also enabled people to assume ownership of the accommodation by personalising the interiors. Nurse Morgan, for example, made 'four pairs of curtains for our carriage window […] and they look rather nice'.[164] She took great pride in her handiwork, and was also keen to reorganise the medical facilities to her own tastes, with 'many ideas stored up in [her] brain' as to how to make the stockroom more 'beautiful'.[165] In the same way that one would redecorate a new house to cement ownership, Morgan redecorated her train. She acknowledged, too, the cunning changes wrought by her colleagues. They laid rugs and attached chocolate boxes to the walls next to the cots.[166] Furthermore, the orderlies created 'meat safes' in the kitchens that used canvases and dripping water to keep provisions cool in hot weather.[167]

Changes were also made to No. 5 when Horner transferred there in March 1917. He was made secretary and given his own office compartment, which he redesigned to create more usable space [figure 10]. His renovations involved removing the upholstery, which gave 'an extra 9" in width,' and in January 1918, at 'personal instigation,' shelves were fitted in place of the luggage racks, his desk covered in 'American leather' and dining-car tables fitted in
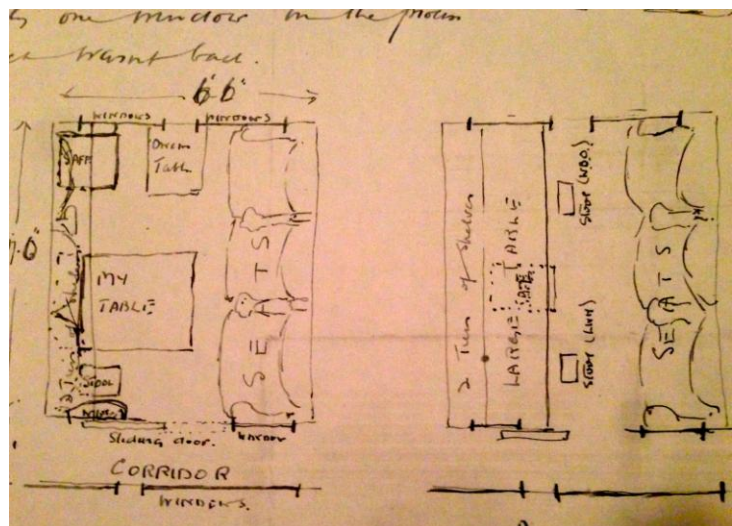

Fig 10: Horner's before and after diagrams detailing the alterations he made in the office space aboard No. 16 AT. *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, September 26, 1917.

the bunks.[168] Fortunately, he 'only broke one window in the process, which wasn't bad,' as his Captain was absent and had not approved the work.[169] Horner's personalisation of the train's office enabled him to contribute to organising a public space. His alterations provide evidence of Charles Rice's assertion that nineteenth-century design practices were democratising in that 'anyone could […] shape their own interior'.[170] Horner neatly sketched out the alterations to his office in his letters home, with before and after diagrams included as proof of his ingenuity – and no doubt more palatable to Horner's relatives than stories about injury and illness.[171]

Amid the harsh realities of war, the personal testimonies narrate the formation of football teams, birthday parties and tea parties, which all the staff participated in together.[172] For diarists with no discernable public audience, the workers' focus on domesticity, and a vocabulary of inclusivity shared with state-censored films, points to anxieties that were broader than those of the British government. The staffs were also conscious of their trains' white things. Interiors were scrubbed and brushed, and the windows washed with chalk.[173] Fox exaggerated that '[o]ur carriages were painted white throughout—doors, corridors, walls, ceilings, and everything'.

His preoccupations were endemic on No. 16. The train's culture encouraged his belief that 'if the white paint on the train was applied to a wall six feet high, this would reach for over a mile'.[174] The souvenir book for No. 16 made the very same claim – and commented upon 'the dazzling beauty of the white paint'.[175] It is possible that owing to the War Office's initial reluctance to allow volunteers to serve on the continent, the personal accounts registered the propaganda the authors consumed through British media. Consequently, the writers' focus on whiteness indicates that the workers were reflecting, as well as contributing to, formations of national identity.[176]

References to whiteness are consistent throughout personal testimonies, with both the whiteness of things and cleanliness obsessing the staffs. The workers wanted the trains to be seen and remembered as empty, polished and white. In *A Train Errant*, the reader was invited onto the train as an imaginary visitor. The writer asked that '[f]or the credit of the personnel it may be assumed that the train has been without a load for a day or two, and that it is looking at its best, its varnish sleek and glossy, and its long rows of brasses shining in the sun like gold'.[177] The passage is particularly fascinating because of the assertion that the vehicle 'has been without a load for a day or two'. Patients, the ambulance trains' *raison d'être*, were an inconvenience that disrupted the workers' attempts to establish domestic arrangements. Sanitary conditions on board were necessary for the injured soldiers' effective treatment; sanitary conditions also were maintained, the author implied, to remove all traces of the soldiers from the interior space.

The ambulance workers treasured white objects, as well as spaces. An orderly was working his second night shift on No. 17 AT when the French engine driver braked too quickly. The disturbance caused a severe jolt and many items were damaged in the kitchen coach. The orderly made out an incident report for '[p]lates, white, enamel, six' and two salt cellars with 'china, white' tops: the loss of which items was 'inconvenient'. However, other broken items were 'not worthwhile enumerating.'[178] Meanwhile, on No.

26, an officer recounted how a passenger train loaded with troops pulled up alongside the train while a dinner party occurred in the officers' mess, the lower-ranking soldiers gaping at the pristine white tablecloth through the window.[179]

The ambulance trains' whiteness was thoroughly recorded in the national press, too. In an article about the Princess Christian Hospital Train, it was reported that 'the whole of the interior [was] finished in enamelled white throughout'.[180] The Midland Railway ambulance had 'sides and roofs […] painted in glossy white enamel'.[181] The Canadian Northern Railway provided a train that 'has been painted white, having been given three coats of a hard drying highest-grade enamel'.[182] Even a 1918 advert for 'Benger's Food' (a company that supplied the ambulance services) in *The Illustrated London News* promoted whiteness, with the image of a white-clad nurse standing before both an ambulance train and a truck whose exteriors, even, appeared white.[183]

Cleaning occupied both the workers' spare time and their writings. Nurse Brander, after unloading all the train's patients, would get 'all beds brushed, cleaned and made up again' and all the 'sweeping and dusting done'.[184] The next morning, her routine would start in earnest, as 'all paintwork had to be washed inside and outside, windows cleaned and brasses polished'.[185] Similarly, the crew on No. 17 AT reported that they 'set in for a hard day's work, making beds, scrubbing floors, cleaning woodwork, polishing brasses, until the place looks spotless once more. We stay in the siding for a day or two, and in this case we spend the time in cleaning inside and outside the coaches.'[186] On No. 16, the staff aired and counted blankets, swept floors and scrubbed windows, brasses and 'the worst of the white paint'.[187] If time permitted before the train was loaded with patients, domestic chores included polishing silverware and one last attempt to clean the white walls, the 'residuary legatee of our energies'.[188] The walls' cleanliness was a major concern: *A Train Errant*'s guide noted that while the white paint was 'beautiful,' it needed 'much cleaning it needs to keep it at its best!'[189] Again, one supposes that the whiteness would have been better preserved without patients to dirty it.

Many serving ambulance staffs were insistent on the trains' cleanliness but were not prepared to write about trauma. Horner chose not to put into words what he witnessed: he decided to suppress the horrors he saw until he had returned to safety at home.[190] Hardstone consoled herself with the noble idea that 'the shedding of blood, the mutilation and the giving of life' were sacrifices for 'freedom and humanity'.[191] Mr Rutter, a non-commissioned officer on No. 17 AT, spoke about his experiences in an interview for the Imperial War Museum in the 1980s.[192] Seventy years after the

Armistice, he maintained there was 'no sense to [the war], really'.[193] Private discourses acknowledged the high human price paid for success, yet the workers still chose to uphold the dominant, state-determined rhetoric of inclusivity and domesticity in their writings.

The discrepancies between the testimonies might also be explained by the professional staffs' training better equipping them to contend with the situation. Furthermore, the First World War contributed 'shell shock' to the medical dictionary and psychological wounds were commonplace among both the troops and the supporting medical workers.[194] In her work on nurses on the Western Front, Yvonne McEwan highlights a case whereby 'a twenty-eight year old staff nurse […] died on active service in France [from] "Neurasthenia,"' or shell shock.[195] Even medical professionals were unable to cope with the injuries and widespread diseases that they witnessed during the conflict, which perhaps accounts for the writers' reluctance to address such topics.

Thus writers composed personal testimonies as practiced tour operators who drew attention to the palatable spaces of caregiving, but distanced readers from the topographies of danger. Writers were not dissimilar from filmmakers, with words painting similar pictures to those captured on film in the newsreels. Spaces and objects distracted the staffs from their patients just as white interiors and stretchers distracted viewers from the wounded on film. The institutional whitewashing that occurs in personal testimonies is all the more interesting because the comments were not destined for the public domain. Letters, of course, were censored and had an intended reader.[196] This might account for writers maintaining a positive outlook on upsetting events so as to reassure relatives at home. However, diaries were banned for all serving personnel. Fox's diary extracts, if true to his originals, describe a staff member who genuinely took pride in his railway home.

That the newsreels, with their staged footage of smiling soldiers, should differ from private accounts about life on the ambulance trains comes as no surprise, as the conflicts between public and private experiences of war affirms our historical understanding of government censorship and propaganda. However, that both images and words often intersect in similar ways undermines our preconceptions about mainstream, wartime media. Filmmakers and diarists alike inhabited a world disrupted by violence and through their writings created a space untouched by war. Hence the letters and diaries written on ambulance trains are as effective as films at glossing over everyday realities. Whether we look at stretcher-bearers going about their work in

Behind the Lines with Our French Ally, or Fox's account of his cleaning schedule, authors represented the world they wanted to perceive, not the world the authors actually saw.

The ambulance trains were mobile spaces that travelled extensively throughout Europe. The railway staffs, like most overseas British services, were dislocated. Mr Rutter, an FAU volunteer, pointed out that it is 'not an experience that many people have, to live for a year or two on a train'.[197] To define the home was one way to define the self in a geographical and cultural implosion. Personalisation projects were necessary to establish a place for oneself in an otherwise liminal space: ambulance crews had to make the vehicles homes or risk losing both their personal and communal identities. Moving images also helped transform the transient ambulance spaces into vicarious homes for the British public. Bruno recognises the cinema as a 'house,' or a 'home of voyages' and suggests that film is the 'architecture of the interior'.[198] Newsreels were the homes of voyages that physically could not be embarked on by civilians, and through representing the vehicles as domestic spaces the movies connected the unknown with the familiar. The repetitions evident both within the films and across the ambulance train canon helped to narrow the distances between the British public and those serving on the continent.

Domesticity was a motif on both screen and page because the ambulance train was a home from home, a bit of Britain that remained intact overseas. The theme served two purposes. First, the nomadic staffs relied on a traditional British identity to inure themselves from both the changes taking place around them and their alien statuses on the continent. Second, the British government used the topos of domesticity to gloss over the troops' inadequate provisions. Ambulance train exhibitions and films presented the vehicles as symbols of Britain's modernity to the public. Both homeliness and advanced engineering were 'made in Britain' – even as French, American and Canadian rolling stock was used to bolster British supplies. Domesticity was not only a private concern but also a public one for a nation whose imperial status was in relative decline. Furthermore, the whiteness that pervaded both ambulance train films and writings established a homogenous culture that looked the same at home and abroad.

Conclusion

The trains' white interiors were a new design feature in an old space: recognisable railway fittings were stripped away and replaced with those from hospitals. The public had not been exposed to the ambulance train in this way before the First World War;

diagrams, photographs and films showed people inside spaces that were at once familiar and yet alien. Onscreen and in writing, the carriages' whiteness was the ambulance trains' defining feature. The personal testimonies written aboard the vehicles were not entirely at odds with reports in the daily press, or indeed with films, about the railway ambulances. As a result, the all-consuming whiteness that pervades letters and diaries throughout the conflict provokes a reinvestigation of cinema's role in wartime propaganda. The continuity between both written and filmic sources suggest moving images represented more than just state-sponsored discourses about national life.

Of course, despite lacking recognition as part of the government's media strategy until 1917, the cinema was used to disseminate propaganda. For example, the ambulance train films illustrate organisation and safety, and in doing so omit any allusions to the chaos actually experienced by the staffs. Nevertheless, both the newsreel items about the caregiving vehicles, and the personal testimonies written by the workers, have a shared vocabulary. The continuities between the two media indicate that the tensions between inclusivity and hierarchy were not only a result of state attempts to ideologically justify the war, but also were prevalent in British culture more broadly.

The ambulance train films work in two distinct ways to reveal to us the nation's wartime preoccupations. First, the films supported the British propaganda campaign. The films' focus on participation, organisation and the Royal Army Medical Corps' (RAMC) success demonstrated the ambulance train's role in the war while declining to show any real action. The home front and front line films all played on four similar themes: donation, participation, discipline and safety. The aristocracy or foreign nations often donated the ambulance trains, as demonstrated by titles such as *Mr Justin Godard Inaugurates an American Hospital Train Offered to Our Wounded*. The staffs were volunteers, conscientious objectors, even, who contributed to the war effort. Repetition in the films alluded to the strict routine imposed on all workers. And safety was adhered to not only by avoiding depictions of danger, but also by cloaking the world in white. Second, the films explored everyday life on board the trains. The ambulance train newsreels map out the cultural preoccupations evident in personal testimonies, the moving images enabling us to see what is expressed elsewhere in writing.

Writings from the ambulance trains are reciprocal in that personal testimonies also illustrate the four themes that dominate the newsreels. Linguistic and visual vocabularies are therefore similar in different media. Words and images are used to convey individual and national pride in caregiving. The do-it-yourself projects that take

up so much of the workers' personal time are donations to the cause. Curtains, 'meat-safes,' storage facilities and desks were all made by the staff to improve life on the trains. Every writer was also keen to describe his or her individual duties, proving their participation in the war effort. The letters and diaries also inform us about discipline on the railways. Horner's letters spell out his desire for promotion and Fox describes the workers' ranks in minute detail.[199]

Brander's passages about loading men and filling in their slips, along with her numerous cleaning schedules, also point to the discipline necessary to keep an ambulance train functioning. The fourth theme, safety, is most obviously replicated in both film and personal documents. But while nurses referred to patients and treatments, the volunteer staffs shied away from such subjects. For example, Fox supposed that the men in his care did not really require any care at all, his report entirely at odds with the account given by Morgan.[200] The train was something the workers took pride in; the patients were a reminder that there was a war. Thus the staffs, like the newsreels, painted the world in black and white – and to be surrounded by whiteness was the more comfortable option.

In a world already disrupted, newsreels, newspapers and diaries all tried to inhabit a safe space that was untouched by war. But films and personal testimonies also provide us with valuable insights into the peculiarities of everyday life as experienced in wartime. Routines were described and diagrams drawn to create an orderly illusion where really there was chaos. Everything was laid out for inspection and approved like Sunday-best clothes before church. Structural certainty, be it temporal (for example, a cleaning schedule) or spatial (the ambulance train interior's white familiarity), was a survival mechanism that characterised wartime culture. The world was transformed by modernity: trains, cinemas, guns and mass production both speeded up life and altered how space was traversed. During the First World War, the nation witnessed the devastation that occurred when those technologies were turned against men and killing was mechanised. The mundane domesticity described in personal testimonies and performed for the camera represents a reaction to the temporal and spatial uncertainties that upset the rhythms of everyday life.

The shared vocabulary of both filmic and written media was also connected to the nation's changing social hierarchy and Britain's position as an international political power. For example, the whiteness motif that appeared onscreen and in written accounts implied the soldiers inhabited a safe, sanitary environment, which served to placate a population suffering conscription. Yet simultaneously, the whitewashed narrative of

caregiving divided those who did and did not comprehend the full scale and destruction of the war. Furthermore, the topos of whiteness was linked to anxieties about Britain's declining status as an imperial power and the complex intersections between both national and international wartime interests. Throughout the conflict, British forces inhabited alien spaces that were owned by others. The BEF was fighting for British interests in a foreign land alongside nations including France, Belgium, Russia, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and the British soldiers were unlikely to speak all their allies' languages.

The French donated the first eleven ambulance trains that were used by the RAMC. The vehicles were 'green' as opposed to 'khaki' and retained a label—'Franco-British'—that marked their difference throughout the war. In 1916, the French government requested that Britain take responsibility for the railways used by the BEF, which resulted in the nation supplying over two hundred miles of track to the continent.[201] By the war's end, the London and North Eastern Railway Company operated eight hundred miles of the foreign, French railway system.[202] A year later, there were calls to link Britain more permanently with her European neighbours by creating a Channel Tunnel.[203] Late in 1918, British companies began constructing ambulance vehicles for the American forces.[204] Inside the trains, wounded German soldiers were treated alongside the French and British under the internationally neutral sign of the Red Cross. The movies also added to this socio-cultural confusion as the French Gaumont production *Hospital Offered by the Americans in France* borrowed footage from the British newsreel *Latest US Ambulance Train*.

In a war fought on foreign terrain and that relied on practical, as well as ideological, alliances with international governments, the notion of British industrial and military supremacy was challenged. The nation also relied on support from the colonies throughout the war, including black and Asian troops from Kenya, South Africa, Jamaica and India, among others. Yet in the surviving ambulance train newsreels there are no workers or patients who are not white. The pervasive whiteness that featured in films and personal testimonies was vital in establishing a cohesive, if exclusive, cultural identity that responded to the multi-ethnic, multicultural war effort. Whiteness asserted dominance by unifying white British subjects in a racially erroneous narrative.

Films such as *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* depicted all-white staffs and patients but did not allude to disparities of class or gender. As such, the ambulance trains' onscreen representation registered the contradictions between

'democratic rule and the realities of slavery and colonial expansion and exploitation'.[205] While the extant ambulance train films privilege a racial identity that excluded colonial subjects from participating in wartime narratives, within Britain's borders society was democratised. Personal testimonies similarly reinforced narratives about inclusivity. The ambulance train workers' additions to the utilitarian trains enabled individuals to contribute as equals in determining how shared living quarters were used. That cameras did not enter into the transformed areas inside the carriages is at odds with cinema's claims to inclusivity. None of the films that depicted ambulance trains ventured inside the personal living compartments of the staff members. However, the movies' preoccupation with the public, rather than the private, realms of the vehicles did serve to configure the trains as communal spaces onscreen.

The topoi of whiteness (which registered exclusivity) as well as interactions between workers of different classes and genders within the vehicles (which suggested inclusivity) were ubiquitous both in films and personal testimonies. Inside the caregiving vehicles, working class conscripts, trained and volunteer female nurses, gentrified professional officers and religious conscientious objectors all worked, and lived, together. The nomadic staffs were a microcosm of British society. The disparate groups' occupation of the same railway spaces normalised inter-class and inter-gender exchanges prior to the expansion of suffrage (to the poor and women over age thirty) in 1918. For example, men and women inhabited the same onscreen sites, which alluded to women's increasing presence in workplaces (a topic expanded upon in Chapter Three). Moving images, exhibitions, press reports and letters home all were used to create a discourse about equality. The ambulance train films were an early form of cinematic propaganda. Even so, the motion pictures are now useful to us as historical records that archive the everyday experiences of the ordinary people who served on the vehicles.

Endnotes

[1] *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918).

[2] Emily Jean Hardstone, *While the World Sleeps*, 1917.

[3] The Friends' Ambulance Unit was a Quaker organization set up in 1914 to support the British Expeditionary Force on the continent. The FAU provided religious conscientious objectors with the opportunity to contribute to the war effort while ensuring the preservation of life. Many FAU members served on the ambulance trains, in particular Nos. 16 and 17. The organization's manifesto and early success were recorded by Geoffrey Winthrop Young in *A Story of the Work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit October 1914 – February 1915*, 1915.

[4] *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916); *Behind the Lines with Our French Ally* (Pathé Frères, UK, 1917); *The Military Power of France* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1917). In total there is an extant canon of nine ambulance train films that also includes: *New Zealand Ambulance* (New Zealand, c.1917); *Latest US Ambulance Train* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1917); *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918); *Red Cross Ambulance Train Used by Germans for Ammunition* (UK, 1918); *Hospital Offered by the Americans in France* (Gaumont Pathé, France, 1920).

[5] *Under the Red Cross* (UK, 1914); *John and the Ambulance* (UK, 1914); *Roses of Life* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1915); *Red Cross Pluck* (Ethyle Batley, UK, 1915). To my knowledge, none of these fiction films survives in any British archive today so are unavailable for viewing.

[6] For example, *Railway Gazette*, "The London and South-Western Ambulance Train," August 29, 1914, pp.336-338 and *Railway Gazette*, "Life and Work on an Ambulance Train," February 2, 1918, pp.131-132.

[7] Although the military and the Red Cross maintained their own hierarchies, progression was not necessarily determined by birthright but by skill.

[8] Philip M Taylor, *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century: Selling Propaganda* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 2-3.

[9] This more than doubled the percentage of voters from twenty-eight to seventy-eight. See David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2008), 19.

[10] Benedict Anderson argues that the nation 'is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign', which became 'the legitimate international norm' for conceiving of identity after the First World War. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6 and 131.

[11] Richard Dyer asserts that '[w]hiteness has been enormously, often terrifyingly effective in unifying coalitions of disparate groups of people'. Indeed, he contends that whiteness has been more successful than class 'in uniting people across national cultural differences and against their best interests.' See Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997), 19.

[12] For example in *Letters from No. 26 Ambulance Train, December 1918 – 1919*; Leonard Wiseman Horner, *Private Papers of L W Horner*, 1915-1918; and Margaret Allan Brander, *Private Papers of Miss M A Brander, Volume 1*, 1914-1915.

[13] Christopher Lawrence describes how the medical profession in Britain had reached consensus about germ theory (which proposed that bacteria caused certain diseases) by the 1890s. See Christopher Lawrence, *Medicine and the Making of Modern Britain*, *1700-1920* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1969.

[14] Virginia Berridge, "Health and Medicine' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950 Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F M L Thompson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1990), 208.

[15] Jeffrey S Reznick proposes that ordinary hospital sites also were represented by British media as 'models of efficiency, economy and comfort' to divert attention from 'the horrors of wartime life.' See Jeffrey S Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 43.

[16] Caregiving trains also were common in Britain, although these more typically were of the naval variety. To my knowledge, there are no extant films featuring these vehicles. Naval ambulance trains had removable cots that accompanied the wounded throughout their time on the train or in a hospital ship. The army equivalents had fixed cots that men were loaded to and from by stretchers. Naval ambulance trains in Britain ran between the five principle ports at Edinburgh, Hull, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Chatham. By the time the wounded reached these ambulance services, they were far removed from the deprivations of the battlefield. See Edwin A Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War Vol. II: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements* (London: Selwyn and Blount Ltd, 1921).

[17] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 10.

[18] John Westwood, *Railways at War* (London: Osprey, 1980), 129.

[19] Surgeon-General Sir T Longmore, *A Manual of Ambulance Transport* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893) 349.

[20] Ibid., 29.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Including the 1861-1865 American Civil War, 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian War, and in the British-South African War from 1899-1902.

[23] John S Haller Jr, *Battlefield Medicine: A History of the Military Ambulance through the Napoleonic Wars through World War 1* (Carbondale and Edwardville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), 63.

[24] Ibid.

[25] John F Plumridge, *Hospital Ships and Ambulance Trains* (London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1975), 91.

[26] "The Transport of Sick and Wounded by Rail," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1959 (1898): 139.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] E N Bennett, *With Methuen's Column on an Ambulance Train* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co Ltd, 1900), 19.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Edwin A Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War Vol. I: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements* (London: Selwyn and Blount Ltd, 1921), 199.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Colonel G A Moore, *The Birth and Early Days of Our Ambulance Trains in France, August 1914* (London: John Bale, Sons and Danielsson Ltd, 1922), 4.

[35] Ibid., 5.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Sir Theodore Fox, *A Boy with the BEF: Recollections of 1918*, 1919, 15.

[38] Moore, *The Birth and Early Days of Our Ambulance Trains in France*, 5.

[39] "Ambulance Trains," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 3260 (1923): 1061.

[40] Haller Jr, *Battlefield Medicine*, 181.

[41] Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War Vol. II*, 562.

[42] Plumridge, *Hospital Ships and Ambulance Trains*, 115.

[43] Ibid, 90.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Edwin A Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War Vol. I*, 200.

[46] Ibid.

[47] For example, different companies were given press attention for making ambulance trains or contributing to the war effort with charitable donations. See *The Railway News*, "Great Central Railway Ambulance or Hospital Trains for the British Army," August 22, 1914, pp.320-321; *The Railway News*, "The London and South-Western Ambulance Train," August 29, 1914, pp.336-338; and *The Railway News*, "Ambulance Trains on the London and North-Western Railway," August 29, 1914, pp.338-339.

[48] *The Railway News*, "The London and South-Western Railway Ambulance Train".

[49] *The Railway News*, "North-Eastern Railway Company's Ambulance Train for France," November 17, 1917, p.439.

[50] *The Railway News*, "Ambulance Trains on the London and North-Western Railway".

[51] Plumridge, *Hospital Ships and Ambulance Trains*, 106.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] H Massac Buist, "Ambulance Work at the Front," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 2806 (1914): 642.

[55] *No. 26 Ambulance Train December 1918 – 1919*, 2.

[56] Fox, *A Boy with the BEF*, 15.

[57] Ibid.

[58] E M McCarthy, *The Work of the Nursing Sisters with British Ambulance Trains and Station Units in France in 1914*, 1919, 2.

[59] Geoffrey Winthrop Young, *A Story of the Work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit: October 1914 – February 1915*, 4.

[60] Horner, August 5, 1915.

[61] Berridge, "Health and Medicine" in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950 Volume* 3, ed. Thompson, 208.

[62] D'arcy Power, "The Medical Institutions of London," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1803 (189): 141-146.

[63] "General and Stationary Hospitals," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 2873 (1916): 141.

[64] *A Train Errant: Being the Experiences of a Voluntary Unit in France, and an Anthology from their Magazine* (Hertford: Simson and Co, Limited, 1919), 3.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 2.

[67] Fox, *A Boy with the BEF*, 15.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Plumridge, *Hospital Ships and Ambulance Trains*, 89.

[71] *A Train Errant*, 4.

[72] Morgan, *The Private Papers of Miss F Morgan 1916-1918*, June 3, 1916.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "The Way Home of the Wounded Man," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 2811 (1914): 851.

[75] Royal Army Medical Corps, *Guide to Hospital Spaces*, c.1914-1918.

[76] Brander, *The Private Papers of Miss M A Brander Volume 1*, March 15, 1915.

[77] *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918).

[78] *Lines of Communication* (London: Wightman and Co., Ltd. 1919), 101.

[79] Fox, *A Boy with the BEF*, 20.

[80] Ibid.

[81] *Lines of Communication*, 101.

[82] Yvonne McEwen, *'It's a Long Way to Tipperary': British and Irish Nurses in the Great War* (Dunfermaline: Cualann Press Limited, 2006), 61.

[83] *No. 26 Ambulance Train December 1918 – 1919*, 3.

[84] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, October 31, 1915.

[85] Brander, *The Private Papers of Miss M A Brander Volume 1,* May 2, 1915.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Captain H C Meysey-Thompson, *The Private Papers of H C Meysey-Thompson*, 1917, 85-86.

[88] Fox, *A Boy with the BEF*, 17 and 22.

[89] Ibid., 22.

[90] Ibid., 24.

[91] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, December 20, 1915.

[92] Young, *A Story of the Work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit: October 1914 – February 1915*, 4.

[93] Fox, *A Boy With the BEF*, 23.

[94] Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War Vol II*, 571.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Brander, *The Private Papers of Miss M A Brander Volume 1*, January 1, 1915.

[97] Ibid., March 15, 1915.

[98] Morgan, *The Private Papers of Miss F Morgan 1916-1918*, July 1, 1916.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Friends' Ambulance Unit, *No. 16 Ambulance Train Logbook 1915-1919*, June 30 – July 1, 1916.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 10.

[104] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 124.

[105] Ibid.

[106] *The Illustrated London News*, "Paris Garters," "Aitchison & Co," and "Smith and Sons Watches" advertisements, July 18, 1914, p.114.

[107] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Camera as War-Correspondent: Notes by Photography," December 4, 1916, p.720.

[108] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Camera as Recorder: News by Photography," March 4, 1916, p.297; *The Illustrated London News*, "The Camera in Three Continents: War News by Photography," March 11, 1916, p.328.

[109] *The Illustrated London News*, "The First Photograph of a Diver at the Bottom of the Sea," July 25, 1914, p.137.

[110] *The Illustrated London News*, "Science Jottings and Notes," September 5, 1914, p.864.

[111] Ibid.

[112] *The Bioscope Supplement*, "Kineto, Limited" advertisement, January 7, 1915, p.iv.

[113] Ibid.

[114] *The Bioscope*, "Pathé Frères Cinema" advertisement, January 29, 1915, p.368.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, 130.

[117] *The Bioscope*, "Gaumont Company Limited" advertisement, February 25, 1915, p.704.

[118] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 90.

[119] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 1980), 57.

[120] T S Eliot, "The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock," in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 2002), 3.

[121] Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 45.

[122] Luke McKernan, "Propaganda, Patriotism and Profit: Charles Urban and British Official War Films in America during the First World War," *Film History* 14 (2002): 369.

[123] Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, 31.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Taylor, *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century*, 27.

[126] George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 138.

[127] Brander, *The Private Papers of Miss M A Brander Vol. 1*, January 19, 1915.

[128] *The Illustrated London News*, "A Hospital Ceiling as a Screen for Moving Pictures: A Cinema for Bedridden Wounded Soldiers at a Base in France," August 10, 1918, p.1.

[129] *The Bioscope*, "A Cinema Theatre at the Front," February 4, 1915, p.457.

[130] Ibid.

[131] *Result of Cinema Day* (UK, 1916).

[132] Ibid.

[133] For example, when Edward, Prince of Wales, inspected Canadian troops in *Prince of Wales in Canada, Part One* (British Pathé, UK, 1919).

[134] *Éclair Animated Journal No. 35* (France, c.1915).

[135] *Topical Budget 250-2* (War Office, UK, 1915).

[136] *Royal Visit to the Battlefields of France* (War Office, UK, 1917).

[137] *Mrs John Bull Prepared* (UK, 1918).

[138] Taylor, *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century*, 3.

[139] Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, 30.

[140] Taylor, *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century*, 6.

[141] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, March 20, 1916.

[142] For example in *The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC* (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916), *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918) and *Topical Budget - Ambulance for Horses* (War Office, UK, 1917).

[143] Michael Hammond argues that in First World War films '[t]here was a tension between the attraction of real action footage and the educative properties of experiencing first hand what the boys at the front were going through.' See Michael Hammond, *The Big Picture Show: British Cinema Culture in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), 101.

[144] *New Zealand Ambulance* (New Zealand, c.1917).

[145] *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918).

[146] *Pathé Old Negative Collection 15* (British Pathé, UK, 1915).

[147] RAMC Medical Officer, quoted in McEwen, *'It's a Long Way to Tipperary,'* 62.

[148] Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (London: Verso, 2002), 27.

[149] *Lines of Communication*, 47.

[150] Ford Maddox Ford, *Parade's End* (1924-1928; repr., London: BBC Books, 2012), 472.

[151] *Lines of Communication*, 47.

[152] Young, *A Story of the Work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit*.

[153] Brander, *The Private Papers of M A Brander Vol. 1*, August 17, 1915.

[154] *From Trinidad to Serve the Empire* (Topical Budget, UK, 1916); *With Indian Troops at the Front Part One* (War Office, UK, 1916).

[155] *Our Empire's Fight for Freedom Part Two* (UK, 1918).

[156] Michael Hammond argues that for audiences on the home front, slow pans and medium close-ups of British troops 'provide[d] the chance of finding the face of someone they knew.' See Michael Hammond, *The Big Picture Show*, 115.

[157] *No. 26 Ambulance Train December 1918 – 1919*, 5.

[158] Ibid., 3.

[159] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, August 5, 1915.

[160] Brander, *The Private Papers of M A Brander Vol. 1*, May 26, 1916.

[161] Fox, *A Boy with the BEF*, 16.

[162] Ibid., 15.

[163] Brander, *The Private Papers of M A Brander Vol. 1*, May 31, 1916.

[164] Morgan, *The Private Papers of Miss F Morgan*, May 26, 1916.

[165] Ibid., May 25, 1916.

[166] Ibid., May 29, 1916.

[167] Ibid., May 25, 1916.

[168] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, September 26, 1917.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (London: Routledge, 2007), 81.

[171] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, September 26, 1917.

[172] Horner formed a football team and also celebrated his birthday with a meal of artichoke soup, chicken, tinned cherries and cheeses. See Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, September 1, 1915 and January 15, 1917. Nurse Morgan enjoyed social gatherings with her fellow nurses. See Morgan, *The Private Papers of Miss F Morgan*, May 31, 1916.

[173] Fox, *A Boy With The BEF*, 26.

[174] Ibid., 25.

[175] *A Train Errant*, 4.

[176] Penny Summerfield argues that all personal testimonies register the culture prevalent at the time of writing. See Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 11.

[177] *A Train Errant*, 2.

[178] *Lines of Communication*, 10.

[179] *No. 26 Ambulance Train December 1918 – 1919*, 6.

[180] *The Railway News*, "Princess Christian Hospital Train," April 17, 1915, p.628.

[181] *The Railway News*, "Midland Railway Ambulance Train for Service with the American Expeditionary Forces," January 5, 1918, p.7.

[182] *The Railway News*, "The Canadian Northern Railway and the War," May 15, 1915 p.784.

[183] *The Illustrated London News*, "Benger's Food" advertisement, July 13, 1918, p.51.

[184] Brander, *The Private Papers of M A Brander Vol. 1*, May 2, 1915.

[185] Ibid.

[186] *Lines of Communication*, 9.

[187] *A Train Errant*, 5.

[188] Ibid., 6.

[189] Ibid., 4.

[190] Horner, *The Private Papers of L W Horner*, December 12, 1915.

[191] Hardstone, *While the World Sleeps*, 4.

[192] Mr Rutter, Interview with the Imperial War Museum, *British Conscientious Objector*, c.1980.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Elizabeth Stewart, "Introduction" in *War Wounds: Medicine and the Trauma of Conflict*, eds. Ashley Ekins and Elizabeth Stewart (Wollombi, Australia: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2011), 19.

[195] McEwan, *'It's a Long Way to Tipperary,'* 99.

[196] Carolyn Steedman argues that unlike books, films and other published materials, the personal testimonies we discover in archives have 'unintended reader[s]'. See Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001), 75.

[197] Rutter, *British Conscientious Objector*.

[198] Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 52.

[199] Fox, *A Boy With the BEF*, 16.

[200] Ibid., 23; Morgan, *The Private Papers of Miss F Morgan*, June 1, 1916.

[201] Westwood, *Railways at War*, 153.

[202] Ibid.

[203] *The Railway News*, "The Channel Tunnel: A Link Between East and West," October 6, 1917, p.297.

[204] Haller Jnr, *Battlefield Medicine*, 181.

[205] Lee Grieveson, "Introduction" in *Film and the End of Empire*, eds. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCabe (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 1.

CHAPTER THREE

PORTERS, PROJECTIONETTES AND PRIVATE INVESTIGATORS: WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS OF RAILWAYS, CINEMAS AND SCREENS

Joan, the ambitious protagonist in *I Know Where I'm Going!* (1945), knows where she is going and how she is going to get there.[1] Her world is one of material consumption in which furs, brooches, hats and dinners in expensive jazz clubs are par for the course, even amid Britain's wartime austerity. In order to attain the lifestyle she desires, Joan has earned her own wage working a secretarial job at a factory. However, her bank manager father and her rich fiancé also indulge Joan's taste for bourgeois commodities. She seeks to acquire an island in the Scottish Hebrides through her marriage, and so embarks on a rail expedition to wed the affluent owner of 'Consolidated Chemical Industries.' As a worker, Joan is represented as an active participant in a capitalist society, and, as a traveller, she is depicted as experiencing new ways of moving and looking. However, as a daughter and a wife, she is portrayed as a passive object that is looked at and exchanged between men.

    I Know Where I'm Going!, alongside other railway films from *The Wrecker* (1929) to *Brief Encounter* (1946), represent female protagonists who not only are workers and consumers, but also commoditised objects.[2] Joan is despatched in a rail carriage like a parcel; she is sent from her father, via her fiancé's aides, to her future husband. Men prescribe her movements and appearance in the realms outside the home. As such, while Joan exerts a degree of autonomy in opting to work and choosing her fiancé, her traversing public spaces such as railways is predicated on male authority. Similarly, movies including *The Lady Vanishes* (1938), and *Seven Sinners* (1936), form part of a sixteen-strong canon between 1929 and 1946 that depict women both working on, and being despatched upon, railways.[3] Female characters variously are employed as insurance investigators, amateur detectives, criminals and shop girls who conduct work upon trains. Yet, all (with the exception of Alison in the 1944 *A Canterbury Tale*), are sent or received on journeys by men.

    The movies, therefore, reveal tensions between women's inclusion in public space as workers, and a patriarchal hierarchy that sought to control female mobility. The films also highlight the complex intersections between moving and looking, labour and consumption, which shaped in material ways women's experiences of modernity in Britain. In 1928, Virginia Woolf described how her occupation of space, and in turn her

access to knowledge, was restricted by, and in comparison to, men (noting 'how unpleasant it is to be locked out' of a male-only Oxbridge library).[4] She suggested that patriarchal society shut women out of public spaces, denied most females the security of a steady income and reduced them to dependents on their male counterparts.[5] Men determined women's abilities to work, the roles in which females were employed and the economic authority that women exerted. Yet, while female participation in the workplace was controlled, women consumers were crucial to capitalist networks. Thus women inhabited contested roles within British society that were both public and private, mobile and restricted.

Within the film canon, female characters are mobile, and so are able to travel across Britain or Europe on public transport. However, the onscreen women have limited social mobility, often deferring to their male peers and appearing within liminal sites (for example, in doorways) that position the female body on the threshold between public and private realms. In particular, the connection between appearing and motion in the corpus is pertinent. In both the Introduction and Chapter One, I argued that modernity fundamentally altered how people moved and looked, and that in cinemas and on railways, the experience of moving was made visual. In movies about female train travellers, the women's journeys are observed by men and yet also present opportunities for the female characters to engage in surveillance. Within the corpus, eight movies not only depict women carrying out jobs on trains, but also cast them as detectives. The topoi of the female sleuth intersects with motifs about women as both spectacles and spectators, as the characters must all search for visual clues inside the trains.

The films expose the contradictions between women's statuses as objects-to-be-looked-at and agents of vision. Furthermore, anxieties about female appearance and subjectivity were evident in actual cinema spaces. Female audiences were encouraged to inhabit the inclusive auditorium space – indeed, women were a crucial demographic for the film industry.[6] But there remained uneasiness about how female spectators were positioned within the capitalist framework of movie going.[7] Railway sites were also represented accommodating female passengers in films and the daily press. Yet carriages were depicted as dangerous public arenas in which women's bodies were subject to both machinated violence and male aggression. While women were invited to share the new experiences of moving and looking offered by the train and the cinema, female encounters with the technologies were framed differently to male ones.

The complicated ways in which female characters inhabited onscreen railway spaces in the interwar and Second World War periods is congruent with actual transformations to women's roles in the public realm throughout the era. In this chapter, I connect the filmic representation of women workers on the railways with a broader historical narrative about the changing roles of females in public space. I do so by analysing women's occupations of three sites: the carriage, the auditorium and the representative space onscreen. The railway and cinema industries were trades that opened up new arenas in which women were (in theory) able to spend, and to work, as equals with men. The material histories of women railway employees and cinema projectionists enable us to investigate women's increasing physical and social mobility, visibility in the workplace and participation in spectatorship. Onscreen railway spaces register the transformations to women's mobility and vision throughout the period.

Cinema provides crucial visual evidence of changes to women's appearances and participation in, as well as occupations of, public spaces. Historically, women's lives were not visually recorded. Middle-class women 'worked behind the scenes' in their own, or other families', homes.[8] Censuses did not record women's occupations because female employment was hidden from public view, leaving the extent of women's work 'invisible to the historian'.[9] Victorian women who appeared in the public space of the street might be labelled 'street-walkers,' a negative term that alluded to prostitution.[10] Judith Walkowitz contends that in public environments, women were stripped of their autonomy: on the street females were 'bearers of meaning rather than makers of meaning.'[11] The visible woman connoted the reduction of the female body to an object, both in aesthetic and metaphorical terms. Women were treated as property, reduced to spectacle and posted from place to place by male employers, husbands and fathers. D H Lawrence acknowledged this in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, as the character Tommy Dukes moans that women are 'labelled' by men, 'just like a trunk on the railway that belongs to somebody.'[12]

Women's access to public space was legitimised when, owing to conscription in the First World War, females were called upon to work in traditionally male roles. It was female labour in the visible arenas of factories, farms, railways and cinemas, among other sites, that precipitated change in how women occupied the public sphere. But female consumerism was also vital in enabling women to access conceptually masculine realms, as employment offered women an income and consequently presented greater opportunities to participate in consumer culture alongside men. Miriam Glucksmann outlines the connections between women's work and

commoditisation in the interwar years.[13] She argues that mass consumerism in the 1920s not only changed the kinds of domestic products that women bought (for example, tinned food and electric appliances), but also the types of work that females carried out, in factories rather than in homes.[14] Hence women's participation in interwar society was predicated on their participation in the capitalist practices of buying and selling their time, services and goods.

Women's roles in industrial spaces both reinforced and undermined females' connections to the private, domestic sphere. Judy Giles contends that '[d]omesticity, the home, housework and "private" life shaped the day-to-day experiences of most women' in the first-half of the twentieth century.[15] Domestic appliances were aimed at women, entrenching views that females were responsible for household work. Washing machines, vacuum cleaners and irons were thought to speed-up chores and provide women more free time. Yet electronic, domestic items did not liberate housewives, instead confining them more than ever to the space of the home.[16] Moreover, even when females did gain employment, women's labour was considered less valuable than men's: while in 1931 the average wage for males was twenty-seven pounds and thirty pence, for women the figure was twenty-five pounds and seventy pence.[17] Even so, women 'constituted the basic market' for mass-produced commodities not only as purchasers, but also as workers.[18] As such, mass-production techniques and mass-consumable goods enabled women to assume a crucial new role within British industries.[19]

The onscreen intersection between moving images and trains, as well as evidence of altering industrial practices in cinemas and on railways, enables us to trace the transformations that occurred in the period. For example, the connections between female passengers and mail onscreen were altered in the Second World War. Whereas previous movies represented women as parcels, Alison in *A Canterbury Tale* travels of her own free will. The movie set a precedent that saw onscreen trains change from physical cargo-carriers to mystical sites of female liberation, whereby rail travel initiated psychological transformations.

The chapter is organised to reflect both the material and conceptual changes to women's work, mobility and vision that were occurring in British culture. First, I trace the material histories of women's labour on railways, as well as broader social and political attitudes toward women in public space, throughout the interwar period.[20] Furthermore, 'Women's Occupations up to 1939' provides a historical overview of the tensions between inclusivity (for example, admitting females into public space) and

hierarchy (imposing patriarchal limitations on women's mobility and vision) that are discussed throughout the chapter.

The evidence I present about railway labour in the first section mainly is concerned with the 1920s, a decade when women were engaged in public disputes about equality in the workplace. Yet the second section, which focuses on interwar, filmic representations of women working on railways, is more concerned with the 1930s. That the cinematic corpus is dominated by movies from the 30s suggests that the films were reflecting discourses about women's social mobility brought to light in the previous decade. In part three, 'Women's Occupations in Wartime,' I analyse both material and onscreen accounts of women's work on trains and in movie theatres during the Second World War. In the fourth section, I examine the shifting attitudes toward females in public space evident in the wartime period. I suggest that women's interiorities (their private thoughts) were opened up onscreen, the once invisible space of the mind providing females a figurative site in which they were liberated from patriarchy.

Women's Occupations up to 1939

In 1903, a woman named Mabel Truelove was reported to have seventy-seven convictions for trespassing on the railways.[21] She extensively travelled the London and North Western Railway (LNWR) and was said to have explored 'every mile of the system.'[22] Truelove evaded police by journeying up and down the line between Euston and Crewe before being caught and imprisoned at Stafford.[23] Determined to find a permanent position on board a train, she claimed she was willing to dress in a man's suit and disguise her gender in order to gain employment upon her release.[24] However, Truelove's obsession with travel, her interest in trains and desire for employment was at odds with preconceived notions of femininity. Both the authorities, and the newspaper article, sought to contain Mabel Truelove. She physically was confined in a prison cell and figuratively was contained in print. The headline 'Mania for Travelling. Woman Who Almost Lives on the Railway' fixed Truelove in a domestic space by equating the train with the home. The suggestion of mania simultaneously alluded to her mental state, which connected her to an interior, private arena. Despite Truelove's effort to escape the role allotted her within society, patriarchal forces intervened and used physical and linguistic barriers to limit her movements.

Attempts to control women within the realms of public space were practical, as well as ideological measures, to protect men's work.[25] Joyce Burnett contends that '[i]f women were employed, men would be unemployed,' and that men feared wage

decreases as a result of competition from an increasing labour force.[26] Her argument does not explain the subjugation of women in the pre-industrial era. However, it does draw attention to the rationale behind negative attitudes about female employment in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[27] In her work on female subjects in paintings from the same era, Kristina Huneault asserts that females' containment is a common motif.[28] She proposes that women's representation as packagers (of objects including cigarettes and artificial flowers) is connected to the visual packaging of the subjects: women must be 'enclosed, delimited and constrained.'[29] The female employee's threat to the masculine world of industry required that women be 'positioned safely *inside* the boundaries' of femininity.[30]

Furthermore, women faced government-imposed restrictions on female rights. As late as 1909 the House of Lords needed convincing that women should be granted the status of '"persons"' under British law.[31] Until politicians recognised females as 'persons,' British women were mere bodies, or objects. Nevertheless, women successfully fought for political recognition of their rights, campaigning for the Trade Boards Act of 1909 and the 1911 Shops Act.[32] The early-twentieth century was also a period that witnessed females branching out into new lines of work. For example, a feature in a 1913 edition of the *Daily Mirror* highlighted the non-traditional roles of the Barton sisters, who were the daughters of a bus operator.[33] All three women were qualified to drive buses, carry out mechanical repairs and work as conductors.[34] Despite the sisters' achievements, allusions to their appearances—they were 'smiling and cheerful' and 'spick and span'—alongside their photographs, turned the women's work into spectacle.[35] The newspaper story served to contain the Bartons' achievements within a patriarchal narrative that characterised the sisters as 'other,' and outside of conventional experiences. However, the article made visible women's mobility and increasing presence as workers in public spaces. Women drivers not only were able to travel, but also were able to make authoritative decisions about their movements.

From 1914, all women were eligible to stand for government office, a development that, in theory, gave females parity with males in terms of democratic representation.[36] In the ensuing European conflict men were recruited into the armed forces and women's labour was necessary to fill vacant jobs. But despite legislation, and the demand for female employees, positions of responsibility were not given to women unless in exceptional circumstances. The police were required to grant dispensation for rail companies to employ female staffs, which led to disparities in female labour across the country.[37] By 1917, women were employed at only nine light railway companies in

roles including conductors, postwomen, telegraph messengers, cleaners and guards.[38] In Cardiff, two hundred women were 'loyally helped by the men' in joining trade unions relevant to the rail industries.[39] But in London, the trade unions remained opposed to female employment and so the police refused railway companies' requests to hire women.[40] In Birmingham, one man was even tried for refusing to accept a female conductor's right to bar his entry to the vehicle when he did not have a ticket.[41] Social cohesion in wartime made useful propaganda, but the individual and local experiences of women workers undermined the myth of national unity.

Those women who did work on the railways replicated roles traditionally associated with the home. *Women Railway Workers* (1914-1918) comprised a series of vignettes that depicted the types of work female staffs were undertaking for the war effort.[42] In the film, women scrub trains, clean carriage windows and fix posters to hoardings (an activity reminiscent of hanging wallpaper). Their tasks are domestic chores transferred to the railway, with the nation's vital infrastructure standing in for private houses. Women still were confined to traditional gender roles; evidence that while female citizens won greater legal rights, so far as ideological discourses were concerned, little had changed. Woolf asserts that 'addressing envelopes,' 'making artificial flowers' and 'teaching the alphabet to small children in a kindergarten […] were the chief occupations open to women before 1918.'[43] For both middle- and working-class females, experiences of moving and looking were still couched in domestic terms.

Before discussing the implications of women's work on the railways, it is first useful to think about how women's mobility and vision in public space was broadly conceived. In 1918, women over the age of twenty-eight won suffrage in Britain after a protracted feminist campaign. Their enfranchisement was not equal with men's, but the struggle for voting rights was close to being achieved. Yet female workers faced redundancy as male troops were demobilised. An article in *The Times* suggested that while the country was 'convinced […] of the value of woman-power,' those women who could rely on a husband's or family member's income should retire from work.[44] The writer feared that 'having tasted the sweets of independence and the interest of regular outside work, [many married women] are unwilling to return to a dependent and desultory existence'.[45] The article acknowledged the inferior lifestyle available to women confined to domestic environments (who would have a 'desultory existence'), but simultaneously asked the female workforce to accept this as their lot. Male employers sought to relegate women employees to domestic roles for fear that

demobilised men might face unemployment.[46] In a culture that equated masculinity with work and providing for the family, the prospect of losing a job to a woman was conceived as an emasculating experience.

Even so, women's fight for equality within British society went on, and the terms in which females' inhabitations of public space were codified began to alter. In December 1918, Emily Phipps fought a public campaign as a parliamentary candidate for the London borough of Chelsea.[47] The 1918 election was the first since women won the right to stand as Members of Parliament. An article in *The Times* described Phipps's ambitions, demonstrating not only women's increased political visibility, but also a shift in the ways females' experiences were elucidated.[48] The report used geographical words ('space,' 'length,' 'opening') in setting out Phipps's aims, playing on existing connections between women's experience and spatial terms.[49] But the qualifying language that accompanied these phrases was noteworthy. Women's issues '*occup*[*ied*] a *larger* space' in Phipps's campaign than in her opponent's (all italics my own).[50] She was prepared to carry her principles to a '*very great* length'.[51] She demanded 'the *opening* of all trades and professions' to women candidates.[52]

The article gave space to Emily Phipps's ideas and in doing so represented her point of view. Her interior thoughts were externalised, and her arguments were configured within the traditionally male-oriented public sphere. Rather than contain her ambitions within patriarchal language, the newspaper gave weight to Phipps's intentions through alluding to expanding space. 'Larger,' 'very great length' and 'opening' all suggest that women were playing broader roles within British culture.[53] An anecdote about Phipps's supporters, who 'paraded[d] the streets' bearing posters 'illuminated in the December darkness by portable lamps' also furthered the narrative about women's increasing presence in public life.[54] Those involved in Phipps's campaign were entering into a communal arena with their message. They asserted their rights to participate in political processes, their rights to mobility and their rights to visibility. Portable lamps were therefore used to illuminate women's presence in public debate, as well as the slogans on their posters.

Emily Phipps did not win the Chelsea seat. However, her demand that all trades and professions admit women was soon met when the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 challenged gender discrimination in the workplace.[55] The Act stated that in their capacity as employees, women now had legislated access to the same industries and spaces as men. Women were also able to participate more in the processes of both democratic governance and justice, as females were elected as jurors and justices of the

peace.[56] But the Act was a partial victory, for while in theory women workers were the equals of men, in practice female employees were still oppressed, and women's access to space remained circumscribed. For example, even in industries that took on female staffs (many professions were reluctant to do so) equal remuneration remained a disputed topic. Thus a woman's participation in capitalist networks of exchange was still dependent on patriarchal regulation.

Wage records for employees on the railways show the inconsistencies in workers' values to industry. Women were employed as clerks for the rail companies, performing administrative duties in offices. Female workers were limited in their options and did not take on traditionally masculine roles such as engine drivers, porters or stationmasters. In 1920, the pay rate for all women clerks was the same as for boy clerks (males aged under eighteen years of age).[57] Girl clerks (females aged under eighteen) earned only half the rate for women and boys.[58] The Railway Clerks' Association (RCA) disagreed with the employment terms, arguing that 'the work carried out by Female Clerks was comparable to that performed by males and justified equality of treatment.'[59] Both the RCA and the National Railwaymen's Union also asked that women received the same pay and privileges as men with regard to night duty.[60] When the Minister of Transport and the unions failed to resolve the issues, both sides agreed to consider abolishing all female clerks' night work.[61] Hence the 13,031 female railway staffs faced further restrictions, rather than freedoms, in the on-going dispute about women's employment.[62]

The reluctance of the railway industry to provide women with equal pay indicates that acts of female containment persisted within British society. Both women's mobility and visibility in public space were challenged by refusals to treat female workers as equals. Liz Millward's study of women pilots in the 1920s and 30s reveals the differences between female and male mobility in the air.[63] She suggests that following the First World War, the sky was a gendered space dominated by men.[64] Between 1924 and 1927, women were banned from holding a commercial pilot's license, reconfiguring even peacetime airspace as masculine.[65] Patriarchal authorities sought to limit women's mobility, citing doubts about both the female body and psyche in efforts to prevent women flying planes.[66] A woman's physicality, her inhabitation of space and the ways that she interacted with industry were all subject to containment.

How women moved and looked (in terms of looking and being looked at) were also central to anxieties about females' interventions in public space. Narratives about the intrinsic dangers facing women in the workplace were prevalent in print and

onscreen. Public spaces historically were portrayed as dangerous for women; any woman who occupied, or appeared in, industrial space therefore placed herself in jeopardy.[67] For example, *The Daily Telegraph* was conscientious in reminding readers of the perils women faced in the outside world, with the newspaper reporting numerous cases of aggression against women on the railways.[68] In doing so, the publication established a causal link between women entering, or traversing, public space, and resulting bodily harm. Tales of industrial accidents and violence enacted on women in public arenas reminded the female population that only the home offered women security.

The attention-grabbing headline 'Girls in Flames Leap from Blazing Film Store' made explicit the connections between women, work and danger.[69] In 1927, a fire broke out at the Film Waste Co facility at St Pancras, London. While many of the all-female workforce escaped, the four workers in the winding room (where the fire started) were killed.[70] A newspaper article about the event claimed the victims were unable to escape the burning celluloid. The women, therefore, were killed by their work.[71] The press report did not speculate as to the implementation of safety procedures at the premises, even though the hazards of working with flammable celluloid were well known. Rather, the article represented the deaths as resulting from the women's choice to participate in labour: that the female staff occupied an industrial site was the ultimate cause of death.

Both sexual and physical hazards for mobile women were made explicit in the 1929 movie *The Wrecker*. The narrative was based on a successful West End play and was filmed on the Southern Railway.[72] The story follows two would-be detectives (Mary and Roger) who try to find the culprits behind a series of fatal train wrecks. After the first onscreen rail crash, survivors leave the upturned train. Amid the chaos of metal and smoke, it is a woman's body the viewer sees trapped in a seat [figure 1].

Fig 1: A man helps a woman trapped by the train smash in *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929).

The film then cuts to the image of a newspaper article that reports on the train crash. The headline 'Jack the Wrecker at Work' dominates the screen, an allusion to the nineteenth-century serial killer Jack the Ripper. The sequence establishes the consequences of travelling for women

(the woman is confined by the train, just like the victims in the Film Waste Co. fire were trapped by work) and also implies that traversing public space is congruent with sexual threat. Jack the Ripper was infamous for murdering prostitutes in the streets of London. Here, the criminal is reconfigured as Jack the 'Wrecker,' who enacts mediated violence on women through the railway. The train becomes an agent in an assault on women who dare to enter public space.

Incorporated in the risk of entering public space was the perceived threat to women of *appearing* in public space. Being seen as promiscuous was a threat to a woman's reputation; public women were encouraged to appear virtuous. Hence advertising not only marketed products, but also the female form's virginal ideal. For example, an Ensign photography promotion showed a young girl in a conservative white dress being directed by her companions to take pictures in a countryside garden.[73] The character appears innocent in her white clothes and pliant to the wishes of her elders, a model of traditional femininity. In another example, a Lux soap advertisement emphasised the product's 'purer and milder' qualities in an address targeted at a female readership.[74] The modern girl, claimed the advertisers, was 'capable and practical'; she travelled with few clothes and packed luggage that she lifted herself.[75] The female character was mobile and 'modern,' and assumed to be a traveller with the means (and so the earnings) to journey alone.[76]

But when traversing public space, women bore certain responsibilities: they were to demonstrate frugality, purity and mildness. As a pure and mild soap, Lux was advertised as suitable for washing 'artificial' silks.[77] While women were expected to appear chaste in public, the artificiality of their appearance, and thus performance, was acknowledged. Conor riffs on the phrase 'seeing is believing' to argue that women were 'tangible through a longstanding epistemological equation between vision and truth'.[78] She also indicates that female visibility was connected to 'superficiality,' as women changed their appearances with cosmetics and self-consciously performed throughout the image-making process.[79]

Walkowitz also alludes to the deception of public appearance. She describes the stereotype of the *flâneur* (a male who roamed the streets both looking, and being looked at) as an 'illusionist' who 'transformed the landscape' with his presence.[80] Conor's interpretation of female visibility in the 1920s likens women to *flâneurs*. Women both transformed and used their bodies to alter public space through performance. She proposes that the new possibility of artifice, or uncertainty of truth, in the female form upset the traditional positioning of men as subjects and women as objects.[81] In part,

women's illusory qualities stemmed from self-awareness, and the ability to alter their own images.[82] Both the Ensign and Lux advertisements represent self-conscious women. In the former, the white-clad girl points a camera at another female figure also dressed in white: she is looking at a mediated, or reflected, self. In the latter, the female reader is invited to see herself as the fictional modern woman in a process predicated on self-recognition.

Ensign's and Lux's representations of women ascribed female readers the power to trick male viewers. Through employing artifice in her performance of being-looked-at, a woman might avoid the trap of appearing promiscuous in public (although self-consciousness alone did not diminish the dangers of public space). Indeed, the motif of the self-conscious woman in both advertisements also reinforced traditional conceptions of femininity. According to Woolf, women were meant to act as 'looking-glasses' that 'reflect[ed] the figure of man at twice its natural size.'[83] Women who were interested in their *own* reflections were portrayed as narcissistic.[84] In an article decrying the lack of professional portrait photographers available to aspiring actresses in Britain, one journalist described the dangers of the female self-gaze.[85] Those women who were vain enough to consider their chances as film stars soon fell into the photographer's exploitative 'clutches'.[86]

Also undermining the transformative power of the woman's reflective gaze were the actual women represented on screen. For example, *The Railway Queen* (1929) was a newsreel item that recorded the custom of electing a young girl as 'queen,' or public representative, of a railway company.[87] The tradition not only codified the railway as feminine ('queen' gendering the transport system, just as Britannia gendered the nation), but also transformed the female's image into a visual metaphor for the rail firm. The 'Queen' was objectified and her body commoditised to advertise a product. In the film, the newly crowned Queen is dressed in a flowing white gown, with her hair held by a wreath of flowers. Her train pulls into the station and she steps down onto the platform, where she is greeted by maids-in-waiting that also are

Fig 2: The Railway Queen arrives at the station in *The Railway Queen* (British Pathé, UK, 1929).

147

dressed in white [figure 2]. The Queen then receives a bouquet and is seated on a throne adorned with the Union Jack flag. Finally, she is borne through the crowd on the back of truck.

The Railway Queen is not only virginal, but also bridal in her appearance. In a ceremony imbued with overt religious symbolism, the girl wears a wedding dress, holds a wedding bouquet and is married to the nation as she joins the British flag on the throne. The young girl is looked at, and so is a spectacle in her representation of Britannia. But she does not display self-consciousness. There is no knowing glance at the camera, nor any evidence that she is aware of an audience. Throughout the film, the girl has the performance thrust upon her. She is not in control of her mobility, for it is the crowd that carries her along. While Conor's argument about the self-recognising, performing woman holds true in some cases (as demonstrated by the Ensign and Lux promotions), not all women experienced visual culture in this way. Women successfully fought for enfranchisement on the same terms as men, but their appearances in public remained unequal.[88]

In 1929, British women's images onscreen were accompanied for the first time by their voices. *Blackmail* (1929) is often cited as the first British 'talkie,' following the introduction of sound technology to cinema three years earlier.[89] The decade also witnessed a female representative in the House of Commons giving a speech before Parliament for the first time.[90] Women, who were silent as well as invisible participants in history, were no longer 'keeping mum'. Female voices infiltrated public debates (for example, Emily Phipps in *The Times*), and were amplified in picture houses. Of course, as with women's visibility, audibility was subject to artifice. Anny Ondra, the star of *Blackmail*, mimed her lines throughout the film because her German accent was deemed too difficult for British audiences to understand. Actress Joan Barry (who remains invisible throughout the film) recorded the vocals for Ondra from the side of the set. Nevertheless, the popularity of sound cinema ensured British audiences regularly heard women's voices in public spaces.[91]

Yet despite increases in female audio and visual representations, negative attitudes toward women persisted in public discourses. In 1932, author H G Wells published a damning assessment of women's contributions to public life in *The Daily Telegraph*.[92] He argued that in the thirteen years since the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act women were still limited to 'certain forms of work such as nursing, where there is authority without initiative'.[93] Outstanding women had 'not yet emerged' and were not likely to equal men in fields such as politics. Wells also claimed that

women in British society remained 'decorative and ancillary.'[94] He failed to acknowledge the patriarchal education system, marriage bar, unequal pay schemes and ideological barriers that prevented women achieving success on parity with men. His argument not only suggested female subjugation was women's fault, but also that female workers were superfluous to British businesses. As Glucksmann has demonstrated, women were crucial to the new manufacturing industries that sprang up in the interwar era.[95] But Wells's article found a receptive male readership. One respondent wrote in the letter pages that while man was 'ever the leader and inspirer,' a woman's place was as his follower.[96]

'Of Course, This is a Man's Job'

Fiction films from the period evoked both transformations in women's public lives and opposition toward such changes. Following *The Wrecker*, twelve further British railway movies offered commentaries on women and work prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. Of the twelve films, six are available for viewing.[97] While the films vary in their scope, all five examine themes including women's work, mobility, visibility and consumerism. The films are congruent with the broader historical attitudes outlined in the previous section, in that women enter into public space, yet are subject to conservative attempts to limit them. The corpus portrays the railway as a dangerous site for women to inhabit or to appear, for onscreen female travellers are always beset by male aggression. In order to survive in the world, women must undergo a transformation from active labourers into docile characters receptive to patriarchal influence.

For example, a criminal gang takes Nora hostage in *Number Seventeen* (1932). She initially works with the gang to steal a valuable necklace and export the item out of Britain. Her boss, Sheldrake, the gang's leader, tells the undercover detective Barton that Nora is both deaf and dumb. Throughout most of the early 'talkie,' the female protagonist is muted and denied a public voice: she exists only to be looked at, and so is merely a spectacle on the screen. However, Nora reveals she can speak when she double-crosses the gang. In finding her voice, she is emancipated, freed from the rules imposed on her by her male subjugator. Miss Ackroyd, a witness to Nora's announcement, exclaims '[i]t's just like the movies, isn't it?' The sound film thus provides women a public platform from which they can affect change.

However, Nora is not only spectacle but also a spectator, for she witnesses the gang's criminal actions. As such, the villains are concerned that Nora knows too much

about their operations. She is the subject, as well as the object, of looking and so she threatens the men's identities. Her work for the gang leads her into danger, and her mobility and seeing place her in peril. Sheldrake forces Nora to accompany the gang on the boat-train. In doing so, he transforms her from an active agent into a passive piece of cargo, and she occupies the train not as a

Fig 3: Nora is loaded on the train in *Number Seventeen* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1932).

passenger, but rather a piece of luggage within a goods coach [figure 3]. Nora becomes the loot: she embodies the stolen necklace and is exported like a commodity in a transaction. She is objectified and becomes part of the '[t]raffic in [w]omen.'[98] She then suffers the consequences for straying outside conventional femininity when the train crashes at the docks. She is trapped within the sinking carriage, contained within the coach as a punishment for her actions. The train is a transformative space, for it constrains Nora and so enables her to re-enter the world as an ideal woman – a wife. In the water, she is cleansed of her former criminal life and is then rescued by Barton. As his wife, she is freed from the prospects of both jail and future employment. Nora is passed from one male owner to another, and with her working days behind her, she is restored to society as a model of femininity.

Hitchcock's next film, *The 39 Steps* (1935), had much in common with *Number Seventeen*. Another detective thriller, the movie follows Richard Hannay's journey from his accusation as a murderer in London to attempts to clear his name in Scotland. Annabel Smith, a spy whom Hannay meets at a London music hall, sets the story in motion. She fires a gun in the theatre to create a diversion when two threatening men seek her out. Smith flees with Hannay to his apartment, where she hides. She is desperate to conceal her identity, and so she provides a false name and closes the curtains at the windows. She even turns a mirror to the wall to avoid seeing herself, suggesting that through erasing her image she eradicates her identity. Annabel is a spy, and, like Nora, she is a woman who has seen too much; actively engaged in looking, she poses a threat her male pursuers. Robin Wood contends that the film's espionage plot disguises a narrative about heterosexual gender relations under patriarchy.[99] He cites Annabel's 'prostitution' as evidence for this, referring to the character's assertion that she spies 'for any country that pays me.'[100] Annabel's unconventional role as a female

who looks is therefore linked to promiscuity, one of the dangers facing mobile, public women. The price she pays for her work is death – and like many women before her, she is blamed for her own downfall, a consequence of her employment.

Hannay's second encounter with a woman occurs on the 'Flying Scotsman' service on the Firth of Forth Bridge. Pamela's carriage occupies a liminal site. The coach is neither here nor there as it journeys through space, which is emphasised by the train crossing the bridge, another transitory site. As a result, she is positioned on the threshold between public and private space. She is a mobile woman who is about to be contained, for when Hannay bursts in to the compartment he assumes control over her. On the run from the police, he is looking for a place to hide. He embraces Pamela in a kiss as the detectives run past the window, forcing the police to avert their gazes from a public display of private affection [figure 4]. Caught in Hannay's arms, Pamela's spectacles fall from her lap.

Fig 4: Hannay corners Pamela in *The 39 Steps* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935).

She is confined within a patriarchal space from her first appearance, for Hannay both invades her private compartment (and in doing so commands the site), and challenges her ability to see. Inside the train, Pamela is transformed from an independent, mobile woman to Hannay's accomplice, and where he leads, she follows – literally, as the pair is handcuffed together in a later sequence. She also is cursed with bad vision (perhaps as a result of losing her glasses) and she looks upon Hannay as a criminal. When she eventually does learn of the plot against him, the revelation is not a visual one, but rather aural: she overhears an informative conversation in a guesthouse.

Moreover, the promotional material that accompanied *The 39 Steps* was predicated on vision, as the film's advertising played upon the ways audiences saw Pamela (Madeleine Carroll). The actress appeared in an article for *Kinematograph Weekly*, promising the film's viewers that they would see her in a new light.[101] Where once Carroll was seen as 'reserved and dignified,' her role as Pamela revealed her as a comedic actress.[102] The article demonstrates Carroll's self-awareness as she instructs audiences' readings of her image. But her changing appearance was a result of male intervention, for she claimed that her reinvention was Hitchcock's idea; he told her '"[y]ou won't recognise yourself when I've finished with you!"'[103] The film's focus on

females losing their identities and changing their appearances was carried over into the movie's advertising. Annabel effaced her identity through turning Hannay's mirror away, and Pamela's identity became secondary to Hannay's when she dropped her glasses. So, too, Carroll's identity as a dramatic actress was changed by her appearance in *The 39 Steps*. Hence the containment of public women was a trope used not only as a narrative device, but also a marketing ploy to draw in potential viewers.

A similar motif inflected *Seven Sinners* in 1936. Although the film featured two American protagonists, John Harwood and Caryl Fenton, the movie dealt with the complex issues surrounding women's work in British culture (and featured British writers and producers). In the film, Harwood occupies a Venetian hotel, awaiting an insurance investigator's arrival from New York. Together, the pair must attempt to track down a stolen necklace. The colleagues meet in a hotel elevator, each attempting to travel in a different direction from the other. An exasperated Harwood discovers his colleague, Fenton, is a woman. 'Why aren't you a man?' he demands. The mobile, international female surprises him, for she has assumed a typically masculine identity in both her travel and line of work. Her determination to decide the destination of the lift, and her gender-neutral nomenclature (the surname Fenton) are at odds with his understanding of femininity. He goes on: '[w]hy didn't you say in your telegram you were a woman?' Hardwood conceives Fenton's nondisclosure as artifice. He assumes that she is the self-aware, modern female who keeps her identity secret in order to perform an illusion.

Fenton further challenges Harwood's views on women's work throughout the film. In his hotel bedroom, the frame space is given over to her as Harwood disappears into an off-screen bathroom, enabling Fenton to command the space. She hurries her colleague, organising his travels with demands to '[m]ake it snappy now!' She also accompanies Harwood across Europe to track down a criminal train wrecker.[104] On the rail journey to Paris, she stakes out her personal space, occupying a room of her own. Harwood has booked a twin-berth sleeper on the assumption that Fenton was male. Despite the lack of alternate accommodation, Fenton refuses to share the room with her male colleague and so forces him to sleep in the luggage coach [figure 5]. In this moment, she inhabits the

Fig 5: Harwood and luggage in *Seven Sinners* (Albert de Courville, UK, 1936).

centre of the frame, putting her jacket and hat down in the room to codify the boundaries of her personal space, and Harwood is relegated to a peripheral site in which he temporarily occupies the status of baggage.

The ensuing train crash soon puts an end to the arrangement. Once again, the railway is a site in which a female character is transformed. From this point on, Fenton follows, rather than leads, in the couple's investigation. While Harwood is shown dazed amid the train wreckage, it is Fenton to whom the accident occurs. In the moments before the disaster, the film cuts back and forth between the train speeding toward imminent disaster and Fenton sleeping in her room. She is the figurative target of the train's destruction, while Harwood is an accidental victim.

Throughout the rest of the film, Fenton is submissive to Harwood. She acquiesces to his cover stories about their sham marriage, children and family life throughout the journey. He stakes out their inhabited space as a masculine one unfit for women to occupy, asserting that 'I've got to get you out of here!' Moreover, his claims that 'this is a man's job,' and that he'll 'do the thinking,' further undercut her authority. She is demoted to marginal onscreen spaces, resting in doorways and on the thresholds between rooms. For example, at Guildhall, she tentatively approaches a door that leads to a private part of the building. She hovers on the boundary between public and private space until the male tour guide catches her out and orders her to leave.

Harwood's demand that Fenton submit to patriarchal influence is implied as justified when she breaks her necklace while the pair searches the criminals' office space. Her clumsiness draws attention to them, and gun shots are fired in their direction. Fenton's decision to wear a necklace demonstrates her self-interest in her appearance; that she causes the pair to be seen is also evidence of woman's inherent role as an object-to-be-looked-at. While her self-awareness at first confused Harwood's subject-status, her self-recognition is here represented as a demeaning trait that reveals her as a commodity. Her feminine narcissism almost enables the criminals to catch the detective pair, like an aspiring actress falling into the 'clutches' of a photographer.[105] Furthermore, in the cinema (where Harwood finally catches the train wrecker), Fenton is not physically present. In the auditorium, she exists only on the screen in a newsreel item about the pair's investigation. She is mediated by her image, which stands in for her body, and so is changed from a woman worker with an individual identity into a spectacle. The final sequence, in which the couple are married, completes Fenton's transformation from a mobile, unnatural woman into a conventional, domestic wife. Her

train travel begins a process of subjugation that effaces her identity, for by the denouement Fenton no longer exists – she is, instead, Harwood.

Kate Plus Ten (1938) similarly represented a world in which women's place in society was contested. Kate is a criminal who disguises herself as a secretary to gain access to a businessman's house in order to spy on his transactions. Her secretarial work is an illusion, for she secretly heads a gang who plan to steal a shipment of gold bullion. Kate is the working, modern woman whose public appearance is artificial and who looks even while she is looked at. Like Nora, Annabel and Fenton, her identity is bound up in her image: it is Kate's photograph (which provides the police with her writing sample) that confirms her involvement with the gang. She *is* her image and the detective Pemberton is able to contain Kate through obtaining the photograph.

When a member of Kate's gang shoots her uncle, she decides to abandon her plot and assist Pemberton. He realises that to reach London in time for the pair to save the gold, they must drive a train toward the city. Kate is uncertain about the plan's legitimacy but is given no option but to participate in the detective's scheme. He drags her up the locomotive's ladder and into the driver's cabin, yelling at her to '[g]et up there!' all the while. She is his cargo, an unwilling traveller who is despatched at man's say so. The rail journey is once again a transformative one; for it is while being forced to shovel coal that Kate reveals her love for Pemberton. Her position as second-in-command on board the train forces her into submission, and at the end of the journey she assumes a more conventional, feminine role.

However, she must relinquish her autonomy one final time before she is accepted into society. Kate breaks into Pemberton's home and performs the role of his wife, divulging to his butler that she will buy a new tea set and take expensive holidays. Her consumerism and mobility remain intact, and Pemberton is irate that she still insists on artifice in taking on a wifely status. He throws her out, and so she beats against the front door, begging to be let inside. Only when she has submitted to this final humiliation is she readmitted to the house, a now docile woman who is contained within a domestic space on her future husband's terms.

The final interwar film in the canon is *The Lady Vanishes*. The movie not only features topoi common to Hitchcock's earlier train-based pictures (*Number Seventeen* and *The 39 Steps*) but also *The Wrecker*, *Seven Sinners* and *Kate Plus Ten*. The film's motifs include a woman spy (Miss Froy); women who are the cargo of male characters (Miss Froy, the nun and Iris); and a narrative that resolves a female character's heteronormativity.[106] Throughout the movie, the authenticity of women's mobility and

vision—and thus women's abilities to participate in society—are called into question. On one hand, Miss Froy's role as a spy is undermined when she does not see an informant's murder, which takes places under her window (literally under her nose). On the other hand, Iris's vision is doubted when she is hit on the head and subsequently claims to have seen Miss Froy on the train, a fact denied by the other passengers. That Iris (whose name refers to both part of the eye and an optical, filmic device) is hit on the head, rather than the intended target Miss Froy, conflates danger with looking. Those women who do not see remain safe, while Iris's vision condemns her to further attack. Gilbert tells Iris she has the trait of 'seeing things' in common with his father, the equation casting her in an unnatural, masculine role. As a result of her seeing too much, Iris is positioned as a hysterical woman and her sight is dismissed as an interior,

psychological trick. The authority of looking belongs only to men, and what Iris sees is not to be believed.

Iris's head injury causes her vision to blur at the moment she crosses the threshold from platform to train, for as she leans from the carriage window to wave goodbye to her friends, her sight deteriorates [figure 6]. Her former companions' images multiply and spiral around the screen, echoing the turning of the train's wheels. The audience sees what Iris sees, and so are drawn into her psychological space. The train becomes a dream-like site occupied by characters in Iris's mind that may, or may not, be real. The mirroring of her vision and the railway machinery merges both her mental space and the interior of the train. In the film, it is not only the woman who is transformed by a train journey, but

Fig 6: Iris's sight is blurred in *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938).

Fig 7: Miss Froy's name appears on the window/screen in *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938).

also the train journey that is transformed by Iris, as the carriages are occupied by her

visions. Viewers share her point of view: the film's spectators see evidence of Miss Froy's presence (her name written into the dirt on a dining carriage window), whereas the train's passengers do not [figure 7].

However, the clue's disappearance from the screen-like surface undermines Iris's story and simultaneously draws attention to the validity of the looking woman. It is only when Miss Froy's tea packet appears to Gilbert on the window/screen that the lady's presence on the train is proved. Visual signifiers are necessary to verify that Miss Froy exists: without the inscribed name or the waste from her consumption, her identity is effaced. The image-less woman is the vanished woman, confirming females' necessary function as objects. The film self-referentially alludes to the screen's role in maintaining the status quo, as images representing Froy appear on the screen-like windows.

Within the train, male characters use women's appearances to contain the female characters' movements. For example, Dr Hartz dresses Miss Froy in bandages to restrain her, and diagnoses Iris's visions as concussion to undermine her. Later on, the magician in the luggage coach breaks Miss Froy's glasses. And at the end of the journey, Iris's claims that she cannot see her fiancé among the station's crowds delivers her into marriage with Gilbert. The onscreen train is a place where mobile women are immobilised, and looking women become looked at. The high-class Iris, who was travelling to London in order to marry for money, is transformed into a romantic female stereotype that falls in love with a folk musician. As such her social mobility, as well as her physical traversal of space, is diminished. In addition, Iris's association with Gilbert, a musicologist, ensures that as Mrs Farthingale, she only need hear, not see.

From Kate's banishment from Pemberton's home in *Kate Plus Ten*, to Gilbert enforcing his unwanted presence in Iris's hotel room in *The Lady Vanishes*, interwar railway films seldom represent female characters in public or private spaces over which women assert authority. Instead, women are sent and received between sites like men's belongings. For example, Hannay promises Pamela in *The 39 Steps* that 'I'll see you're sent back' once he has finished using her, for she is a commodity that will become obsolete and be returned. On the railway, autonomous women are transformed into cargo. Rail coaches offer mobility and new perspectives, but deliver modern women into patriarchal control.

Train travel in the films represents the contradictory experiences of women in British culture, who negotiated public spaces fraught with conservatism and transformation. The train, and by extension, the railway film, are sites that register

women's material experiences of modernity, for while the spaces are inclusive, they also are arenas in which female intervention has to be controlled. Women's earnings increased females' value to capitalist culture, which led state institutions to support female employment. However, the woman worker was contained within a hierarchical framework to appease existing male employees. The promise of improved mobility, expanded vision and new experiences offered by women's work (and figuratively by the onscreen train) was limited by the narrow terms that set out the rules for women's occupations.

Women's Occupations in Wartime

The outbreak of the Second World War, which brought with it the conscription of men into the armed forces, enhanced, rather than transformed, women's statuses in public life. Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson argue that while the war wrought changes on British culture, many facets of life in Britain were maintained – especially for women.[107] For example, social convention still insisted that a woman's visibility in public space benefitted men: as objects, women bore responsibility for the ways that they appeared. As such, the availability of cosmetics remained stable throughout the conflict. Despite the rationing of many chemicals and solvents, the glamorous appearance of female workers was thought to boost the male population's morale.[108] Self-awareness was essential, but so too was the submission of identity to image, and the self to spectacle. Even in the midst of war, the ways a woman appeared was configured in patriarchal terms.

Female mobility was also subject to containment. Women, like men, were mobilised to serve the war effort. However, the government aimed to create a female workforce 'that would retain the conventional roles and meanings associated with women.'[109] Echoing the situation twenty-five years earlier in the First World War, the state attempted to maintain traditional gender roles in the workplace to protect men's jobs. That is not to suggest women's mobility, appearance (which I use here to encompass vision and visibility), and status as both workers and consumers did not change over the course of the second conflict. Indeed, my work here on female employees in the railway and cinema industries indicates that women's access to public space was expanded. Toward the end of the war, the cinematic trope of the psychologically liberated woman (for example, Alison in *A Canterbury Tale*, or Joan in *I Know Where I'm Going!*) alluded to a transformation of the positions occupied by women in contemporary culture. Equal pay, more responsibilities in the workplace and

increased opportunities to travel all contributed to an altering gender ideology that recognised women as autonomous figures. The onscreen railway, which once served to immobilise female passengers, was accorded a new role, providing agency for women escaping patriarchy's confines.

Men's mobilisation led to service in either the Armed Forces, or industries that were deemed vital to the nation's wartime infrastructures. The conscription of male employees left Britain facing a worker shortage. The Ministry of Labour was tasked with organising employment to reduce the deficit, and 'directed labour to an unprecedented extent.'[110] The state and other authorities intervened in industry, and in doing so assumed control over the movements of the civilian, as well as military, population. As a result, women's work was regulated alongside men's, albeit in different ways. The external officials who organised female labour at both local and national levels questioned women's suitability as projectionists and railway staff, and so configured female employment as different to that of male workers. Nevertheless, women's labour in cinemas (as projectionists) and on the railways (including as engineers and porters) provided them with increasing exposure in what traditionally were masculine roles.

A photograph showing ambulance train work at the war's outbreak makes visible the variances between male and female roles. In the picture, nine men and eight women pose for the shot on the railway in Yorkshire.[111] While the numbers of employees is almost equal, the roles assigned to male and female workers separate the genders. The men dominate the foreground, their positions of responsibility in the workplace reflected in their occupying a central space in the image.[112] Meanwhile, the women are all dressed in Red Cross nurses uniforms and are contained within the train.[113] Relegated to the background, they lean through windows and hover on doorways, on the threshold between inside and out. Female employees are shown occupying wartime workplaces while maintaining conventional notions of femininity in caring, supporting positions. The women's statuses are secondary to the men who occupy the exterior space: men still lead, and women follow.

A similar principle pervaded the film industries. In Britain, the cinema remained a popular pastime throughout the war.[114] When conscription created a dearth of projectionists, women were trained to fill vacant roles, and in doing so enable movie theatres to continue functioning. In September 1939, the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association (CEA) was quick to make contingency plans, stating that the organisation urged the employment of women projectionists.[115] Training was provided for females in

areas where no men were available to work, and women were expected to serve for the war's duration.[116] However, female employees were not described on the same terms as men and were hired only on a temporary basis. Women's work as projectionists was temporally contained (as employment was offered within a discrete period) and male workers were preferred. The moniker 'projectionettes' further undermined women's roles, implying gendered differences between the work carried out by male and female employees.[117]

Even as patrons, women faced exclusion within cinema spaces. In 1939, the Home Secretary (then Sir John Anderson) was called on to inquire into a West Country movie theatre's conduct when the cinema banned women from attending screenings on Sundays.[118] While the case was a peculiar one that warranted a newspaper headline, the story's political ramifications were significant. The Home Secretary's involvement in the affair was no doubt to appease the female population at a moment when women's work was more crucial than ever to national interests. The cinema's decision to exclude female customers also demonstrated that negative attitudes toward women in public space were endemic across the various film industries, rather than particular to projectionists.

By November 1939, just two months after the declaration of war, the lack of trained projectionists available to cinemas was a critical problem.[119] The issue was worst in industrial areas, where large concentrations of factories limited potential recruitment numbers.[120] A commentator in *Kinematograph Weekly* suggested that exhibitors offer inflated wages to coax women into the industry, evidence once again of female workers' vital roles in wartime.[121] However, without facilities in place to instruct women as projectionists, even those who already worked within the cinema industry (for example, as usherettes) could not efficiently be trained.[122] Women's employment within cinemas thus resembled their work on the railways in the First World War. Local CEA branches implemented training schemes and decided terms of employment, and women workers were hired on an arbitrary basis, with no national system in place to provide industry-wide support.

Despite the CEA's early attempts to mobilise female workers, the lack of a coherent national strategy left cinema exhibitors in disarray. In response to the predicament, the Bristol CEA division established a centre for training women projectionists in April 1940.[123] Recruits were to be instructed how to perform male operators' responsibilities over a six-month period of study.[124] But the organisation's efforts to regulate training were belated, as one CEA member 'revealed that he was

already training one woman.'[125] Differences in recruitment strategies were also evident in Associated British Cinema's employment of female managers.[126] The company announced a national drive to train females in managerial roles, based on the local successes of women who already ran some London movie theatres.[127] The disparity between national and local systems indicates a broader confusion about the status of women in British culture. Female employees were essential to the war effort, yet their recruitment was challenged by an ideology that dictated femininity was essential to a woman's interventions in public space. Projection exposed women to a new point of view, gave them access to male-oriented spaces (for example, the projection box or the winding room), and conferred on them the responsibility of operator. The job entailed new ways of seeing and occupying space, which was at odds with patriarchal efforts to preserve the status quo.

The railways, which were unified under government control for the war's duration, employed women in less traditional roles from the outset. Female workers in the rail industries were engineers, smelters and also operated heavy machinery. Yet while railway women were exposed to novel ways of looking and accessing space, their exposure on screen maintained the fiction that nothing had changed. For example, the propaganda film *Britannia is a Woman* (1940) asserted that female employees served in ancillary roles and carried out only domestic activities.[128] As the camera cuts from members of the women's armed forces lining up in uniform to a scene where those same workers serve lunch, a male voiceover reassures viewers that 'women must cook that men may fight.' Women are employed to free up men for 'more urgent duties,' creating a distinction between male, militaristic service and the homely work enacted by females. Throughout the film, women are turned into spectacle, their appearances central to their identity as workers. The narrator's declaration that 'for all the appearance' of the uniformed female, 'she is thoroughly womanly,' implies that a woman's work is a performance. Her masculine uniform is mere artifice, for underneath the employee is still feminine.

In fiction, as well as documentary, women's status as workers was explored onscreen. The female protagonist in *Night Train to Munich* (1940) is Anna, a Czechoslovakian woman who travels across Europe, her mobility enforced by the war. Her nationality, which serves the film's narrative about united European allies, is incidental to the movie's portrayal of women, and well-known British actress Margaret Lockwood played the part. Throughout the movie, the same tropes that dominated the interwar canon are still in evidence: Anna's mobility, vision and consumption are all

central to the plot, and the railway is a transformative site. However, *Night Train to Munich* departed from convention in that Anna was expected to prove she was not only submissive to a man, but also faithful to the nation. In wartime, the onscreen woman's conversion from autonomous individual to wife was analogous to her transformation from civilian into worker, as she cedes her identity and assumes a role supporting the nation's interests. The mobile female, therefore, is vital to Britain's success so long as the woman travels along the patriarchal route prepared for her.

At the film's beginning, Anna—the daughter of a scientist whose work is essential to the Allies—is told she must leave Prague to avoid capture by invading Nazi forces. She runs up the stairs in her stately home to pack a case, surrounded by the products of her father's wealth. But her preoccupation with saving her belongings delays her, and she subsequently misses the flight. Anna is then arrested and incarcerated in a concentration camp, a fate that punishes her consumerism through denying her basic freedoms including speech, travel and identity (her name is effaced and replaced by a number). Anna's imprisonment is the first in a series of journeys on which she is transported as cargo, for the patriarchal authorities that instigate war also move Anna across Europe with, or without, her consent. For example, Carl, a Nazi officer disguised as a fellow prisoner, arranges her escape from the camp and conveys her to London to search for her father. A British officer then despatches her to the fictional town Brightbourne. Once there, she is captured by the Nazis and taken first to Berlin by submarine, and second by train to Munich. Finally, she is deposited in a mountaintop cable car by British agent Gus, and removed to safety in Switzerland. She represents not only women mobilised by war, but also the refugees and evacuees that were uprooted across Europe.

Anna's geographical movements leave her without home or nationality. Her occupation of the screen contributes to her indeterminate position as both a refugee, and a woman in public space. She frequently resides on thresholds: on the cusp between interior and exterior, she is neither here nor there. Anna is seen standing in the doorway to her home, hovering by the door to her hotel bedroom while conversing with Carl, and is seen disappearing through the door to her father's room in Brightbourne. That she has no national identity of her own is also implied through her lack of personal space. In a sequence reminiscent of Iris and Gilbert's first encounter in *The Lady Vanishes*, Gus invades Anna's hotel room and spends the night, his ruse that they are lovers enabling Anna and her father escape. Thus her mobility proves dangerous, for as a result of her

travels she is labelled promiscuous, and her respectable appearance in a public arena is destabilised.

However, the film breaks with interwar representations of women in affirming, rather than critiquing, Anna's ability to see. Carl accompanies her to visit his compatriot John Fredericks, who is an 'Oculist and Ophthalmic Surgeon.' At first she is blind to the situation around her: while men are connected to vision, Anna fails to see the trap being laid for her and her father. In the following sequence Carl eavesdrops Anna's telephone conversation with a British officer. The viewer observes him creeping down a stairwell with his shadow thrown into relief on the wall behind; he appears to spectators as Nosferatu, the monstrous German Other.[129] Yet Anna does not see him and so does not recognise his evil intentions. It is only when she is on the train to Munich that her

Fig 8: Anna and Gus in *Night Train to Munich* (Carol Reed, UK, 1940).

vision improves, when she spies a note sent by Charters and Caldicott (characters originally featured in *The Lady Vanishes*) to warn Gus that he is in danger. But Anna does not give the game away. Rather, she maintains a domestic role as she serves tea within the train carriage [figure 8]. Her actions save Gus and also Britain, for even though she actively looks at the secret message, she follows the advice given by British propaganda campaigns to 'keep mum'. Anna's ability to see but not be heard proves her subservience both to Gus and the nation. The train journey serves to transform her from an inept upper-class woman into a worker who is a useful citizen.

Night Train to Munich asserted women's essential contributions to the workforce in wartime Britain. In actuality, jobs were not always easy to find.[130] Nevertheless, in 1941, female employees' usefulness officially was acknowledged by the government, which announced that conscription applied to females for the first time. After the National Services Act (no. 2) was passed in December that year, any woman aged between eighteen and thirty who was not married to a serviceman, and had no children under age fourteen, was liable to work wherever the authorities saw fit.[131] Women's mobilisation and the charge that they must answer '"[a]m I mobile?"' suggests that conscription expanded female workers' access to space, jobs and public life.[132] Yet, contrary to increasing women's choices, official war work often reduced autonomy.

162

Mobilisation constrained women within a system that championed national, rather than personal, interests. Women attended compulsory interviews at local Labour Exchanges, which determined an applicant's suitability for different jobs. Reports surfaced that women were bullied, and in some cases threatened with imprisonment, for demonstrating reluctance to participate in particular industries.[133] Conscription also halted the ambitions of female graduates.[134] Historian Pat Thane asserts that educated women 'might enter only the armed services, the civil service, teaching, nursing, medicine, the land army, or war-related factories.'[135] Those who hoped to join 'new occupations' (including journalism, architecture and law) were thwarted as a result of the war.[136] For many women conscription meant less, not more, opportunities to enter the workforce.

Mobilising female employees not only was an anathema to some women, but also conservatives who retained traditional views about gender and work. For example, the *Daily Mail* was critical of female conscription, although the newspaper was careful to level condemnation at the government, rather than women readers.[137] In one article, writer Ann Temple referred to conscription as a 'black mark' against leaders who failed to organise an effective workforce.[138] She also drew attention to the altered boundaries of women's encounters with the world, bemoaning that '[w]here we once said *Home* we must now say *Country*.'[139] The rhetoric that domestic and national spaces were conflated was used as propaganda to appease critics of women's conscription. By shifting the thresholds between public and private, home and country, the government was able to reimagine factory work as a domestic chore. Antonia Lant demonstrates how in wartime culture, train carriages, pubs, villages and training camps were interchangeable with domestic sites, providing a narrative in which women figuratively to remain within the home.[140]

Female employees' representation as domestic servants rather than qualified workers is evidence that women still were considered second-class citizens within British society. Sue Harper claims that this sentiment persisted in part because the Ministry of Information (MoI, the government organisation responsible for wartime media) consisted of middle-class, male personnel who disdained feminism.[141] Gender issues, therefore, were not addressed in official propaganda, which targeted women viewers only as consumers.[142] MoI films (produced by the Crown Film Unit) were 'addressed to females, usually by a male voice-over who instructed them about the correct compilation of a pie, for example.'[143] MoI policymakers patronised women, not

only focusing on domestic chores, but also teaching female viewers what women already were expected to know.

Even after women's conscription, the attitude that the female workforce was inferior to the male one persisted. Lucy Noakes argues that this was a consequence of militarisation, for while employment opportunities were expanded for women, men simultaneously 'moved forward into the higher status of the combatant.'[144] In some unusual cases people did seek to improve females' roles in military environments. For example, in 1941, Major Donald Anderson (leader of the MoI's branch of the Home Guard) successfully campaigned for women under his command to bear arms. He argued that '"[e]very capable adult should know how to kill Germans if there is an invasion."'[145] Anderson also revealed to the *Daily Mail* that he had trained women to use guns for some time, a fact he kept concealed owing to 'anti-feminist feeling always retained by some British men.'[146] However, the MoI Home Guard's bid for equality was short-lived. The War Office forced females to quit artillery training, citing the defence

that while women had done 'good work' as 'cooks, orderlies and canteen workers,' their status as combatants was 'not encouraged.'[147] The female worker was positioned as 'other' to the male soldiers to ensure that men were willing conscripts, and were not distracted by fears for their jobs in the post-war world.

Fig 9: Women and children aboard the train in *Evacuees Leave London* (British Movietone, UK, 1941).

Evacuees Leave London (1941) was a short newsreel item that visualised the juxtaposition between men and women's roles in wartime.[148] In the clip, evacuees scurry around a platform at a busy train station where hundreds of families are saying goodbye to loved ones. Women and children climb aboard the carriages ready to depart for the countryside. On the platform, fathers wave to children and husbands kiss wives through train windows, the men wearing uniforms representing occupations ranging from milkmen to businessmen [figure 9]. Men are workers; women are luggage. Female passengers are only mobile because they are despatched on journeys by their husbands. The narrator's comment that the men have 'sent their youngsters off' further undermines the mothers occupying the carriages: women, too, have been sent off and so are made juvenile by the narrator's omission. Mothers are looked after like children, and are not safe in the public, city spaces

occupied by men. Also released in 1941, *The Ghost Train* featured a similar narrative about women's inferior roles in wartime culture. In the film, male characters are identified by their jobs (for example, comedian, detective, sportsman, stationmaster). Female characters appear only in relation to their male counterparts, featuring as fiancés and wives.

Women who worked within male-oriented industries were further patronised by the authorities that presided over employees. For example, J Whitnell offered a gendered industry dictionary in a guide for female trainee projectionists.[149] '*Making up*,' Whitnell wrote, was a term that he assured women had 'nothing to do with a lovers' quarrel.'[150] In another example, a plea by British Railways (the wartime amalgamation of the Great Western, London Midland and Scotland, London and North Eastern, and Southern Railways) asked customers to refrain from sending heavy parcels by train.[151] The advertisement featured a slim, attractive woman in a railway uniform who smiled out from the page. The accompanying text reminded customers that checking wartime parcels were 'not so heavy or cumbersome' was 'as British as offering your seat to a woman, because British Railways are now employing female porters.'[152] The beautiful woman porter was 'not so skilled' at handling heavy post and was unable to perform as equivalent to a man in the same role.[153] Like the projectionists' guide, the poster suggests that women were treated differently to men. The advert determines that the female worker exists to be looked at, rather than to carry parcels. The conflation between giving up one's seat to a woman and sending mail also confirmed women's status as post, and in doing so validated the notion that female mobility was determined by patriarchy.

As the war continued, women's media representations did begin to change, with scripts, articles and voiceovers written and performed by females providing an increased space for women's voices in public life. Women's Royal Naval Service and Women's Royal Army Corps recruitment films both featured female narrators, who enticed potential recruits into the services by offering women's perspectives on labour.[154] Furthermore, in the daily press, patriarchy was turned on its head in a report that acknowledged male orderlies served women, who now were able to use guns.[155] One artillery specialist explained how the war transformed her experience of the world: "'I used to run to a shelter – now I help to make *them* run.'"[156] The conflict enabled her to control both her own, and others' mobility, positioning her in a once masculine role that gave her access to the heretofore closed world of the military.

'I Can't Change Myself'

As a result of the war, women increasingly were able to access employment, regular wages and thus mobility, although that access was regulated by patriarchal authorities. As more and more men were conscripted, women's options ostensibly were multiplied, and attitudes toward females who appeared in the public spaces associated with work were altered. For example, female occupations in the male-dominated film industry included projectionists, camera operators, still photographers, cinema evaluators and managers.[157] In Scotland, the CEA introduced a two-tier certificate system that enabled women projectionist trainees to become second operators, a position of responsibility not previously offered to female workers.[158] On completing the appropriate examinations, women employees were 'permitted to take charge of the operating enclosure' – albeit when a more senior male was present on the premises.[159] Similarly, women railway workers were employed across all associated trades, including moving traffic, making and mending rolling stock, and maintaining the network.[160] After thirty-two weeks' training, female rail staffs were paid on parity with men (although in cinemas equal pay was not compulsory).[161] Janet Thumin contends that female autonomy was validated in wartime as 'a consequence of the propagandist emphasis on women's democratic equality,' which emphasised 'their rights as well as their responsibilities.'[162]

Feminists lauded the 1942 Beveridge Report (which later underpinned Welfare State reforms) as recognition of their democratic entitlements. A female commentator in the *Daily Mirror* asserted that the report was significant because 'for the first time in an official document, it describes husband and wife as a team, and treats them as partners.'[163] The newspaper printed the report's central findings in order to provide all women with access to Beveridge's landmark conclusions. The *Daily Mirror* engaged in a democratising endeavour that enabled female readers to see the document's content and so recognise the right to participate in society as equals. That the newspaper addressed the article as a 'Message to All Women' also is evidence of women's increasing power as news consumers.[164] The expanding column space given over to female voices in both the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mail* indicates that while the MoI dismissed women as mere consumers, newspapers were both recognising, and taking advantage of, a growing female clientele.

At the mid-point in the war, women's mobility and visuality were improving. On the railways, even companies outside Britain emulated the progress made by the industry toward gender equality. In 1943, E G Laing of the Canadian National Railways

wrote to the London, Midland and Scotland Railway requesting details regarding women's employment on British Railways.[165] The UK networks' high female staff numbers (106,000) contributed 'to […] good publicity for the British Railways on the other side of the Atlantic.'[166] In 1944, the total number of female rail employees peaked at 135,000, with women assigned to three hundred and twenty different roles.[167] The only work that a woman did not carry out was engine driving, staffing the fire crews and 'the heavier shunting and signal work.'[168]

Furthermore, a rail transport report acknowledged that female staffs were capable of taking on leadership responsibilities, and so women were promoted to supervisory positions with men serving under them.[169] The railways not only gave passengers access to travel, but also increased women's equal participation in society. In addition to offering female recruits non-traditional and varied work, British Railways moreover provided married women with greater employment opportunities. The report (written in or after 1944) stated that eighty per cent of workers in goods yards were married.[170] While traces of traditional attitudes toward gender remained (with the writer's tone alluding to the novelty of working mothers), the rail industry transformed female workers' options through progressive employment policies.

A Canterbury Tale now archives the on-going changes that were taking place for women over the wartime period. The film acknowledges both conservative antipathy toward females in the workplace, and women employees' usefulness in contributing to society. The movie also expands on *Night Train to Munich*'s representation of females as valuable to the nation. *A Canterbury Tale*'s Alison is a female protagonist who makes a worthy contribution to the war effort while maintaining her autonomy. She is contained within a patriarchal culture that enforces rules about where she may work and how she is seen, but she ultimately is responsible for her own destiny. And, alongside a shift in how women were represented in public space, the train's function is altered. The railway is still transformative, in that it delivers the mobile woman (Alison) to her fate. However, the vehicle is no longer an agent of subjugation. Instead, the train is a site of revelation. Alison's journey in a Canterbury-bound carriage is a spiritual one that enables her, and her fellow male travellers, to see and move in new ways. The film focuses on the character's psychological interiority, and while in *The Lady Vanishes* Iris's mental state undermines her judgement, Alison's liberates her from the material world of patriarchy.

On both her train journeys (the first to the fictional Kentish village of Chartingham, and the second to Canterbury), Alison is an authoritative passenger. She

is not despatched by a man and so freely travels on the railway. At first, her mobility is challenged by the conventional tropes of danger and objectivity; arriving at the station in the blackout, the stationmaster tells the two other passengers leaving the train to 'keep an eye on the young lady!' British officer Peter Gibbs, and American soldier Bob, both oblige. Yet Alison eschews their protection by turning on her torch. The light illuminates the trio, enabling her to see, while simultaneously making her visible to others. The Glue Man, a notorious local villain who attacks women's hair with glue during the blackout, then punishes her self-aware emergence in public space. Alison's long, feminine hair is attacked in an assault on both her physical, and figurative, appearance.

In spite of the Glue Man's attack, Alison remains in the village and asserts her rights to see and move in public space. She even vows to seek out the culprit and expose him. Moreover, she attends a slide-projection lecture advertised for male troops, insisting that she asserts her right to see the event as an equal with the men. Alison's primary objective, though, is to find work as a Land Girl. A former shop assistant (and so connected to consumerism), she is keen to assist with the war effort. Nevertheless, Colpepper, the local squire, rejects her application. 'You don't want me because I'm a girl?' she asks, incredulous at his dismissal. Colpepper (an amateur historian) presents a traditional, patriarchal attitude toward female labour, and throughout the movie he attempts to preserve a dying way of life. His remark at the historical lecture that the medieval ducking stool was a useful way to silence women demonstrates his conservative attitude. That Colpepper is the Glue Man, who seeks to prevent women joining the workforce by scaring female recruits, is not an unforeseen revelation.

Fortunately for the nation's onscreen war campaign, Alison and the film's other female characters are undeterred by Colpepper's arcane beliefs. She finds work on a farm that is owned by a woman, and goes on to meet the bus conductor Polly Finn, Dorothy the postwoman and Gladys the railway signalwoman [figure 10]. From the hotel manageress to the local farm workers, all the women in the movie are defined by their jobs. However, Alison is objectified, and her identity is effaced by generalisations.

Fig 10: Gladys the railway signalwoman in *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1944).

As Alison and the local villagers attempt to wash her hair, the police refer to her as 'The Incident.' Indeed, she is the latest in a string of other 'Incidents,' which implies that she is the same as all the other women. Later, she is subject to an army training exercise that sees tanks descend on her location – and so she is positioned as the 'objective.' That Alison and the rest of the female workforce resist both Colpepper and the villagers' stereotypes demonstrates both the women's resilience, and the inevitability of social change.

On the train to Canterbury, Alison inhabits a carriage with Peter, Bob and Colpepper [figure 11]. The railway is here depicted as an inclusive space that unites people of different genders, nations and classes as equals, and so the sequence positions Alison as equivalent to her male counterparts. The characters all are pilgrims on this final journey, with the train delivering them to spiritual freedom in a city steeped in Christian history. Alison's goal is to visit the caravan given to her by her dead fiancé; she wanders alone through the bombed streets of Canterbury, observing the city's altered topography. When she reaches the caravan, her enduring loyalty to her fiancé is rewarded when she discovers that he is still alive. She has resisted Colpepper's barriers to her plans and faithfully followed her own path, which leads her to fulfilment.

In *A Canterbury Tale*, there are many overt references to spirituality that are juxtaposed with narratives about modern, wartime Britain. Alison's hair-washing in the aftermath of the glue incident is reminiscent of baptism, with local men gathered around a font-like bucket to cleanse her. The plot also evokes the narrative of pilgrimage in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, as multiple characters seek redemption in the holy city.[171] Moreover, Peter figuratively is brought closer to God as he ascends the Cathedral's staircase to play the organ.

Fig 11: Alison and her fellow pilgrims in *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1944).

The movie's focus on preservation (both Colpepper and Alison's fiancé are historians) serves to connect the action to a nineteenth-century idyll before world war was enacted. However, *A Canterbury Tale* also recognises change: modernity's technologies (including railways, airplanes, tanks and cars) transform pastoral landscapes, while women alter the workforce. The film laments the past but does not shy away from the

future. In Alison, the movie progressively represents a modern woman who is rewarded for her endeavours despite being mobile, autonomous and material – she does, after all, seek out the caravan, not Christ.

That both *A Canterbury Tale* and *I Know Where I'm Going! (*Powell and Pressberger's next film) featured women changing their addresses imply the ordinariness of the population's wartime mobility. Lant describes how between 1939 and 1945, there were approximately 34,750,000 changes of address in England and Wales.[172] The figure accounted for around ninety one per cent of the population moving home during the war. Moreover, both Alison and Joan were depicted moving from the city to the provinces. Their journeys not only reflect the experiences of wartime evacuees, but also remove the female characters from the confines of the city. Liz Conor contends that beginning in the 1920s, '[t]he type of the City Girl was discursively negotiated alongside older feminine street presences, such as the prostitute'.[173] Women who worked and resided in the metropolis were subject to negative codifications about their appearances in public space. In the earlier films in the corpus, female characters travel toward cities from the suburbs (for example, Kate journeys to London, Pamela to Edinburgh and Anna toward Berlin), and are altered from active into subservient agents. However, Alison and Joan already have negotiated the topography of the metropolis, respectively catching the train from London to Canterbury and Manchester to the Scottish Highlands. As such, both films imply that women experience freedom from patriarchy *outside* the modern, contested sites of the city.

The two movies also are nostalgic for a pastoral way of life that predated mechanisation. In *I Know Where I'm Going!*, Joan has a penchant for the trappings of modernity: she is obsessed by consumer culture and determined to get where she wants to go, and quickly. Once in Scotland, she is introduced to a slower, rural culture that eschews speed, money and technology. At a moment in British history when many of the population were uprooted, Mull's island inhabitants represent continuity that is resistant to change. The film may be read as more conservative than *A Canterbury Tale*, for the mobile Joan is despatched like a parcel on the train and rendered immobile on the remote isle. However, I argue that through focusing on Joan's interiority, *I Know Where I'm Going!* critiques the illusory freedoms offered to women under patriarchy. Hence the film provides space for, if not a sympathetic representation of, the modern woman.

Joan's primary characteristics are rampant consumerism, mobility and an obsession with her appearance. The film opens with a montage depicting Joan's early life, with a voice-over telling the audience that '[w]hen Joan was only one year old she already knew where she was going—not right or left, no—straight on!' The infant Joan is seen crawling away from her parents, determined to take her own path. At school, she travels home on the milk cart and leaves her school friends behind her at the bus stop. By age eighteen she is a 'working girl' with her own income. The narrator tells us that '[a] boy wants to take her to the movies – if she'll let him. She would rather have dinner at the best hotel in town.' She occupies space with authority and travels through life with confidence. Her predilection for expensive dinners is evidence that she values commodities, further exemplified by her appearance on screen aged twenty-five. Joan enters a plush restaurant dressed in an expensive fur hat, and with a large brooch adorning her clothes, thus displaying ostentation during wartime rationing. She greets her father with the question '[d]id you bring my money?' Without engaging in familial conversation, Joan then announces she is to marry. Her husband-to-be is 'Consolidated Chemical Industries' – a second-wave industrial company that stands in for the owner, Sir Robert Bellinger. That Joan's fiancé is effaced by his business demonstrates Joan's determination to marry money.

After making her announcement, she leaves at once to be married in Scotland. Hunter, Bellinger's assistant, deposits Joan on the night train. Her last words to her father ('[d]on't worry about me… I know where I'm going!') ring hollow as the locomotive pulls away from the station to deliver her to an unknown destination. Hunter posts her like a parcel on the night mail, an analogy made more pertinent by the train's evening departure. She does not even know Bellinger's address, and so resorts to consulting a travel itinerary he has designed for her. When she arrives at Glasgow Central Station, Joan is caught unawares in her bedclothes and does not know where she is. Another of Bellinger's men is there to greet her, and despatches her to Buchanan Street; from there, another man takes her on board a ship. A fourth man posts Joan onto a smaller boat and a fifth delivers her to Mull, the island closest to Kiloran (where her journey is due to terminate). The film therefore reveals Joan's freedom as artifice. At every stage of her journey, postmen collect her in order to ensure her safe delivery to Bellinger.

But while Joan's train journey reveals the illusion behind her mobility, the railway also serves as a portal to an interior, psychological space. The modernist sleeping berth, with its white walls, chrome fittings and stark light, is her mind's

topography. At first the space is empty and devoid of images, reflecting Joan's lack of knowledge about her destination. Yet as she sleeps, her dreams are projected onto the carriage walls. For example, a wedding dress bag hangs empty in the corner; the bag's glistening plastic material as manufactured as the marriage proposal. The image dissolves to reveal Joan standing in a white

Fig 12: Joan's dream is projected inside the carriage in *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945).

dress with the empty bag transposed across her like a veil. Hers is a transparent dream in which '[e]verything's arranged!' for her. As she marries Consolidated Chemical Industries, wheels and cogs spin around the vicar, eclipsing the man she is betrothed to [figure 12]. Finally, as an announcer signals '[y]ou're over the border now,' her dream slows in pace and the tartan-covered landscape of Gretna Green (a Scottish village traditionally associated with performing impulsive marriages) rolls out before the train. The surreal sequence enables viewers to enter into Joan's mind, in which real and imaginary geographies collide. The impossible topography created by the wedding, machinery and tartan hills confirms that Joan does not know where she is going at all.

Joan's vision, as well as her knowledge, is represented as flawed and so undermines others' attempts to lead her to fulfilment. A product of 'surface culture,' Joan sees only surface images.[174] Fog thwarts her vision so that she cannot see Kiloran. She only glances at the island's map because she has already 'heard all about it,' and she also sees the dancing locals 'perfectly well from here, thank you.' She remains at a distance from the people of Mull, sits separately to Torquil at dinner and occupies a peripheral seat on the bus. She continuously inhabits rented rooms and borrowed spaces. On the island she is rendered immobile, for rough seas block her last boat journey across the bay. Even her money is useless, for the twenty pounds she pays the sailor Kenny to deliver her to Kiloran cannot hold back the wind. But still Joan attempts to forge on with her journey, refusing to accept her immobility.

Generic convention dictates that Joan realises her heart lies with Torquil. A veteran and laird, he owns Kiloran, whereas Bellinger rents the land. Torquil represents tradition, nobility and a world in which material wealth is dismissed as 'only money.'

On one hand, Joan's decision to marry him supports a conservative ideology in which women relinquish both their mobility and vision. When the fog clears and her crossing to Kiloran is allowed, Joan refuses to look at the island. Instead, she asks Torquil to look on her behalf, and so acknowledges his authority. On the other hand, Joan's fate is determined on her own terms. Like Alison before her, Joan is rewarded for her materiality rather than her spirituality. All the while Joan prays for the fog to clear, she is disappointed; yet the weather improves when she abandons talking to God. Moreover, she asserts her identity even as she recognises her love for Torquil, exclaiming 'I can't change myself!' The final sequence sees Joan return to him, for she realises that to marry Bellinger is an error. Torquil observes her from high up a tower as she walks along the road toward him. She is not transported as a parcel but approaches him of her own free will. Her actions also subvert the narrative trope of the prince rescuing the princess from the castle, for her reappearance liberates Torquil from an ancient curse that has dogged his family. Joan's self-awareness enables her to retain autonomy, with her interiority offering her a space outside the patriarchal world she inhabits.

Anna, Alison and Joan do not exert control over material, public spaces. But these female characters do have money, mobility and a self-aware look. Alison and Joan are both determined to traverse public space according to their own desires, and are rewarded for following their own paths. While Joan is despatched like a parcel on the train, the film uses the motif to acknowledge the continued constraints placed on women in British culture. In an ironic twist, Alison and Joan's freedoms come from within. *A Canterbury Tale* and *I Know Where I'm Going!* represent women's interiority—an inside space associated with the private, female 'sphere'—as the source of liberation. Neither Alison nor Joan conforms to society's expectations, and yet both women assert their rights to autonomy. Alison will be a land girl; Joan refuses to change. The two characters precede further post-war onscreen women who are determined to choose their own paths. For example, *Brief Encounter*'s Laura (1946) uses her mobility and consumption (she takes the train to go shopping) to hide her illicit affair. Furthermore, Bridie, the protagonist in *I See a Dark Stranger* (1946) is so determined to retain her individuality that she walks away from her husband altogether. The wartime films register a shift in the ways that a woman's place in public life was conceived, and offer more sympathetic representations of mobile women who appeared in public spaces.

Conclusion

Both history and filmic representations of British culture now show us that there was continuity in women's experiences in the interwar and wartime periods. Before the war's outbreak, female citizens already had equal voting rights and in theory (although not in practice), the same rights as men to all trades and remuneration. During the conflict, women's work was recognised as essential to the state's interests. But there was still a stigma attached to those females who asserted their mobility, visuality and consumption in public space. Fiction films' representations of women in both periods demonstrate the persistence of patriarchal ideologies that sought to contain females within a conservative gender ideology.

Onscreen train journeys from *The Wrecker*, through *Seven Sinners*, to *Night Train to Munich* are all dangerous, or even fatal, for women travellers. Female passengers are involved, or killed, in train wrecks (*The Wrecker*, *Number Seventeen*, *Seven Sinners*). They are held hostage in carriages (*Number Seventeen*, *Kate Plus Ten*, *Night Train to Munich*, *The Lady Vanishes*). And women travellers become mixed up in crimes (in all the movies listed above, plus *The 39 Steps* and *The Ghost Train*). Thus mobility is punished, for train journeys in all these films render women protagonists immobile. The female characters are all stopped in their tracks in order that they are restored to society. Seeing too much is castigated (for example, Nora and Iris are attacked), while overt consumerism and working for one's own wages is also hazardous (for Annabel, Fenton and Anna). Women throughout the corpus are objects sent on the railways by men and delivered into marriage. No female characters have authority over the sites they inhabit, and men persist in invading the women's private spaces.

Penny Summerfield contends that so great was the continuity between interwar and wartime periods that the only real changes to women's working lives came in the form of demographics.[175] She argues that although female employment expanded to include older, married females, 'women's wartime access to "men's work" was extremely limited.'[176] My investigation into female recruitment in both film and rail industries demonstrates that there were disparities in attitudes toward female labour perpetuated across different trades. While British Railways accepted women into a large number of roles previously carried out by men, cinemas remained more masculine worlds. Despite the CEA's efforts, there was not an expansive take-up of female recruits during the war. The projection booth was so unwelcoming to women that even in a post-war environment (when men were demobilised), there still was a shortage of skilled projectionists.[177] Late in 1945 the changing education system and falling birth

174

rates were blamed for the limited number of young people entering the profession.[178] But the industry's confused, and often localised, stance on training women probably contributed to the shortage.

In practice, the Second World War did little to alter representations of women in public space. The home's figurative extension encompassed the nation, and, alongside a focus on women's bodily appearances, was a rhetoric that maintained traditional gender ideologies. Women continuously were objectified and contained within the private sphere. Moreover, after 1945, progress to extend women's rights was slow. In March 1946, the Ministry of Labour reported that there were just six and half per cent more women employed in Britain than in June 1935.[179] In manufacturing industries, there were fewer female workers than in 1939, a fact attributed to both the savings accrued by employees during the war, and male relatives' comparatively higher earnings.[180] By 1947, the total numbers of women working on the railways had fallen to 57,871, a 77,129 decrease in the three years since the 1944 peak.[181]

Not only were women giving up work, but also female bodies were still subject to confinement. For example, '[w]ives for Germany' were despatched by military authorities like parcels to join spouses on the continent.[182] The Archdeacon of Chesterfield attempted to champion women's rights when he objected to 'glamour' lessons in schools. But even in this case, he only sought to alter the ways women were contained, arguing that '"young girls should be taught how to make a happy home instead of the skilful application of paint and powder."'[183] Furthermore, women's mobility and self-awareness consistently were connected to danger in public space. In 1948, the *Daily Mail* reported that sixteen-year-old May Banks was found dead on a railway line after disappearing into town to buy lipstick.[184] Like so many women before her, Banks was guilty of vanity, consumption and travel, and her punishment was objectification as spectacle in a newspaper column.

Even when projection room doors or engineering workshops were opened to admit women, patriarchal management structures limited the 'freedom' that ensued. In post-war British culture, women's experiences of the world were still predicated on their gender. However, the growing proliferation of gendered discourses enunciated by females in Britain's media did open up new, figurative spaces in which women intervened in public life. Female-authored newspaper articles, onscreen voices, and speeches in parliament all contributed to a shift in how women were represented in public arenas.

In both *A Canterbury Tale* and *I Know Where I'm Going!*, the complex ideologies surrounding gender, work and access to space are played out onscreen. In the films, mobile women take train journeys without repercussions, and use their self-aware gazes to assert their identities. Annabel in *The 39 Steps* cannot bear to look at her own reflection; Joan does not care how she appears to others and asserts that she will not change. Alison and Joan are still connected to the private sphere, but it is their interiority that liberates them. Both women are material, mobile and visible, yet both are also able to access a psychological space beyond the realms of patriarchy.

Woolf, too, had argued in *A Room of One's Own* that material barriers were not sufficient to contain the female population. She told the authorities to '[l]ock up your libraries if you like; but there is no gate, no lock, no bolt that you can set upon the freedom of my mind.'[185] Joan's railway journey gives viewers access to the liberating geographies of psychological space. Inside the train is a world where Joan travels beyond the confines of the carriage in an '"annihilation of space and time"' that evokes the functions of both the railway and the cinema.[186] Indeed, the surreal, dream-like images cast onto the walls inside Joan's sleeping compartment are reminiscent of a film projection. Through inhabiting a private sphere (with all the irony that entailed), modern women could travel anywhere they wanted to go.

Endnotes

[1] *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945).

[2] *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929); *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1946).

[3] This is a canon of surviving films that does not include those unavailable for viewing (even if the lost movies are known to represent women on the railways). This means that while I investigate the period 1918-1948, the films I use are from a shorter period between 1929 and 1946. The canon is: *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929); *The Flying Scotsman* (Castleton Knight, UK, 1929); *Number Seventeen* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1932); *The 39 Steps* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935); *Seven Sinners* (Albert de Courville, UK, 1936); *Kate Plus Ten* (Reginald Denham, UK, 1938); *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938); *Night Train to Munich* (Carol Reed, UK, 1940); *Contraband* (Michael Powell, UK, 1940); *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1941); *Millions Like Us* (Frank Launder and Sidney Gilliat, UK, 1943); *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and UK, Emeric Pressberger, 1944); *The Halfway House* (Basil Dearden and Alberto Calvacanti, UK, 1944); *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michel Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945); *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1946); and *I See a Dark Stranger* (Frank Launder, UK, 1946).

[4] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Penguin, 1928), 25.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Shelley Stamp's investigation of female cinema audiences in the USA indicates that women were targeted as potential viewers from the 1910s. See Shelley Stamp, *Movie-Struck Girls: Women and Motion Picture Culture After the 1910s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[7] Ibid., 8.

[8] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 435.

[9] Joyce Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 16.

[10] Spatial terms often have been used to describe women's lives, with language sorting women into chaste and unchaste categories, and reducing females to stereotypes. For example, Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* articulates the intersections between geography and gender not only in her central proposition, but also her encounters with lawns, libraries and colleges (see Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*). In the Second World War, recruits in the Women's Army Services were referred to as 'the groundsheets of the army,' another spatial, objectifying metaphor that implied female promiscuity (see Lucy Noakes, *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907-1948* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 18). And an allegedly immoral woman might be called 'baggage'; an object carried on journeys. Thus women's access to space linguistically was determined in patriarchal terms. The phrase 'baggage' cast judgement on women who broke the boundaries of convention, while simultaneously containing the female body within a dominant, masculine-oriented culture.

[11] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago Press, 1992), 21.

[12] D H Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (London: Penguin, 1928), 34-35.

[13] Miriam Glucksmann, *Women Assemble: Women Workers and the New Industries in Interwar Britain* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1990).

[14] Ibid., 7.

[15] Judy Giles, *Women, Identity and Private Life in Britain, 1900-50* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 1.

[16] Sara Horell's investigation of household labour reveals the link between technology and time saving as fiction: while appliances made chores easier, women carried out domestic tasks more often as a result. Sara Horrell, "The Household and Labour Market," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Nicholas Crafts, Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 131.

[17] Ian Gazeley, "Manual Work and Pay, 1900-70," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Crafts, Gazeley and Newell, 66.

[18] Glucksmann, *Women Assemble*, 7

[19] Ibid., 3; Gazeley and Newell, "Introduction," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Crafts, Gazeley and Newell, 5.

[20] While some women were employed in cinemas as projectionists during the First World War, evidence (for example, articles in *Kinematograph Weekly* at the outbreak of the Second World War) indicates that nearly all were demobilised. Consequently, my research on the interwar period does not refer to female projectionists.

[21] *Daily Mail*, "Mania for Travelling. Woman Who Almost Lives on the Railway," September 17, 1903, p.3.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Burnette, *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain*, 3

[26] Ibid.

[27] For example, in 1909, male workers called for the 74,000 women working in the Lancashire cotton industry to quit in an attempt to limit competition and thus increase their wages. See *The Manchester Guardian*, "Women and the Vote," March 18, 1909, p.9.

[28] Kristina Huneault, *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2002), 116.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Women and The Vote," March 18, 1909, p.9.

[32] The former was aimed at providing women who worked in unregulated sweatshop conditions with a minimum wage, while the latter reduced retailers' working hours and established a compulsory half-day closure each week. Furthermore, that same year, both unemployment and national insurance systems began. While these schemes provided men more security than women (due to certain exclusions relating to female employment), women had improved access to work and legal support. See Pat Thane, "The Welfare State and Labour Market," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Crafts, Gazeley and Newell, 181-183.

[33] *Daily Mirror*, "Girl at the Wheel," July 3, 1913, p.5.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Pamela M Graves, *Labour Women: Women in British Working-Class Politics 1918-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 168.

[37] *The Electric Railway and Tramway Journal*, "Women as Conductors," September 17, 1917, p.165.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] *Women Railway Workers* (British Pathé, UK, 1914-1918).

[43] Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 34.

[44] *The Times*, "Advice to Educated Women," December 10, 1918, p.11.

[45] Ibid.

[46] For example, Mr J W Shergold, a manager at the General Post Office (GPO), voiced a number of complaints about women workers to the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry (1918) in order to justify dispensing with the female labourers' services. War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, *Letter to Mr Murray (War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry) from J W Shergold (General Post Office)*, December 12, 1918.

[47] *The Times*, "A Thorough Feminist," December 5, 1918, p.12.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Krista Cowman and Louise A Jackson, "Introduction – Women's Work, A Cultural History" in *Women and Work Culture: Britain c.1850-1950*, eds. Krista Cowman and Louise A Jackson (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate), 2.

[56] Graves, *Labour Women*, 168.

[57] British Railways, Rates of Pay and Conditions of Service of Railway Staff, *Draft Circular Letter to Controlled Railway Companies of Great Britain*, 1920.

[58] Ibid.

[59] British Railways, *Minutes of Meeting Between the Minister of Transport, National Railwaymen's Union, and Railway Clerks' Association*, August 5, 1920.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] British Railways, Controlled Railway Companies, *Summary of Classification of Women and Girl Clerks, Shewing Total Numbers and Percentages in Each Class*, October 21, 1920.

[63] Liz Millward, *Women in British Imperial Airspace, 1922-1937* (London: McGill University Press, 2008).

[64] Ibid., 2.

[65] Ibid., 14.

[66] Ibid,. 15.

[67] Eileen Janes Yeo, "Introduction," in *Radical Feminity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 1.

[68] For example, see *The Daily Telegraph*, "South-Western Railway Murder," March 17, 1897, p.4 (the murder of Annie Elizabeth Camp in a LSWR carriage); *The Daily Telegraph*, "Tunnel Outrage," January 15, 1907, p.9 (a British woman 'murderously attacked' in first class on the Turin-Paris express); and *The Daily Telegraph*, "Train Crime Inquest," February 5, 1920, p.14 (the murder of Miss Florence Nightingale Shore in a train from London to St Leonards).

[69] *Daily Mirror*, "Girls in Flames Leap from Blazing Film Store," September 10, 1927, p.3.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] The line used was Basingstoke to Alton, which was closed in 1932. Two further films were shot on this line in 1936 (*Seven Sinners*) and the 1937 *Oh! Mr Porter* (Marcel Varnel, UK).

[73] *The Illustrated London News*, "Ensign Photography" advertisement, August 31, 1921, p.252.

[74] *Daily Mirror*, "The Modern Girl 'Travels Light,'" Lux advertisement, September 1, 1927, p.14.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 27.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 16.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 18.

[83] Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 37.

[84] *The Sunday Express*, "Film Stars and Parasites," October 7, 1928, p.6.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] *The Railway Queen* (British Pathé, UK, 1929).

[88] Women were given equal enfranchisement (the voting age for women was lowered to twenty one) in 1928.

[89] *Blackmail* is regarded as the first British movie using a sound-on-film recording process; rather sound being recorded on disc. *Blackmail* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1929).

[90] This was Viscountess Astor, who was also the first woman elected to parliament. See *The Daily Telegraph,* "Voice of Woman," February 25, 1920, p.11.

[91] By 1930, 1,000 cinemas were equipped for sound in Britain. See J R Whitley, "One Thousand Talkie Cinemas," *Daily Mirror*, February 3, 1930, p.20.

[92] H G Wells, "Women's Capacity in the Modern 'Man-Made' World," *Daily Telegraph*, February 12, 1932, p.12.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Glucksmann, *Women Assemble*.

[96] Edgar Little, "Woman in the Modern World," Letter to the Editor, *The Daily Telegraph*, February 13, 1932, p.9.

[97] The lost films (unavailable for public viewing in the UK) are *Rome Express* (Walter Forde, UK, 1930); *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1931); *Cock O' The North* (UK, Oswald Mitchell, UK, 1935); *The Private Secretary* (Henry Edwards, UK, 1935); *The Silent Passenger* (Reginald Denham, UK, 1935); and *The Last Journey* (Bernard Vorhaus, UK, 1936).

[98] In 1927, concerns were raised by international political organisations about the abduction and enforced slavery of women. See *Daily Mail*, "Traffic in Women," November 17, 1927, p.5.

[99] Robin Wood, *Hitchcock's Films Revisited (Revised Edition)* (Columbia, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), 278.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Madeleine Carroll, "'De-Bunking My Serenity,'" *Kinematograph Weekly*, June 7, 1935, p.27.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] The narrative of *Seven Sinners* was based on *The Wrecker*.

[105] *The Sunday Express*, "Film Stars and Parasites," p.6.

[106] Liz Millward argues that throughout the interwar period, 'heteronormativity'—the alignment of physical and performed gender identities—was central to thinking about

men and women's roles. There were two characteristics (male and female) to which people conformed, and any person who stepped outside their conventional role was considered abnormal. See Millward, *Women in British Imperial Airspace*.

[107] Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson, "Introduction," in *Nationalising Femininity*, eds. Gledhill and Swanson, 3.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid., 7.

[110] Gazeley and Newell, "Introduction," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Crafts, Gazeley and Newell, 3.

[111] *Railway Gazette*, "Home Ambulance Trains," October 20, 1939, p.521.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Mrs H D Medcalf, a wartime diarist, visited the cinema thirty five times in 1943, averaging 2.92 visits per month. See *Private Papers of Mrs D H Medcalf*, 1943.

[115] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "CEA Urges Employment of Women Projectionists. For Service During War Period Only," September 7, 1939, p.1.

[116] Ibid.

[117] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Training Film Projectionettes," May 8, 1941, supplement p.10.

[118] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "SO Ban on Soldiers' Wives and Girlfriends," November 16, 1939, p.22.

[119] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Exhibitors Face Dearth of Projectionists," November 23, 1939, p.1.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Training Centre Aim for Women in Bristol," April 18, 1940, p.1.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

[126] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "A Bold ABC Experiment," June 13, 1940, p.1.

[127] Ibid.

[128] *Britannia is a Woman* (British Movietone, UK, 1940).

[129] *Nosferatu* (F W Murnau, Germany, 1922).

[130] Miss V Reid, *The Private Papers of Miss V Reid*, May 16, 1940, 65.

[131] *Daily Mail*, "All Women Must Answer 'Am I Mobile?'" November 21, 1941, p.1.

[132] Ibid.

[133] *Daily Mail,* "'MP Says Women Are Bullied at War Work Interviews,'" November 28, 1941, p.3.

[134] Thane, "The Welfare State and Labour Market," in *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. Crafts, Gazeley and Newell, 190.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ann Temple, "To the Women of Britain," *Daily Mail*, November 3, 1941, p.2.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Antonia Lant, "Prologue: Mobile Femininity," in *Nationalising Femininity*, eds. Gledhill and Swanson, 17.

[141] Sue Harper, "The Years of Total War: Propaganda and Entertainment," in *Nationalising Femininity*, eds. Gledhill and Swanson, 195.

[142] Ibid., 195-198.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Noakes, *Women in the British Army*, 4.

[145] *Daily Mail*, "Girls Learn to Use Tommy Guns," November 1, 1941, p.3.

[146] Ibid.

[147] *Daily Mail*, "No Guns for Them. Women Must Not be HGs," November 12, 1941, p.4.

[148] *Evacuees Leave London* (British Movietone, UK, 1941).

[149] J Whitnall, "Running the Show – 1," *Kinematograph Weekly*, October 9, 1941, supplement p.xi.

[150] Ibid.

[151] *Railway Gazette*, "It's Not Only Courteous – It's Helpful," British Railways (GWR, LMS, LNER, SR) advertisement, August 1, 1941, p.20.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] *WRNS Recruiting Trailer* (British Pathé, UK, 1949 [trailer selected from earlier 1940s material]) and *Women's Royal Army Corps Recruitment Trailer* (1941).

[155] Olive Melville Brown, "Shopgirl, Nurse, Cook – All Gunners. These Girls Direct London's Guns," *Daily Mail*, November 4, 1941, p.3.

[156] Ibid.

[157] See *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Male Trouble," March 5, 1942, p.5 and *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Lady Valuer is Kinema Specialist," July 1, 1943, p.19.

[158] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Women Projectionists in Scots Kinemas," April 2, 1942, p.20.

[159] Ibid.

[160] British Railways, Emergency Arrangement and General Organisation – General Employment of Women; Employment of Married Women, Jan 1943-Apr 1943, *Letter from H Aidely (LMSR Secretary) to E G Laing (Canadian National Railways)*, January 27, 1943.

[161] British Railways, Emergency Arrangement and General Organisation – General Employment of Women; Employment of Married Women, Jan 1943-Apr 1943, *Letter from H Aidely (LMSR Secretary) to All Invested Companies Involved in Producing Railway Stock*, August 23, 1941.

[162] Janet Thumim, "The Female Audience: Mobile Women and Married Ladies," in *Nationalising Femininity*, eds. Gledhill and Swanson, 243.

[163] *Daily Mirror*, "Message to All Women," December 16, 1942, p.7.

[164] Ibid.

[165] British Railways, Emergency Arrangement and General Organisation – General Employment of Women; Employment of Married Women Jan 1943-Apr 1943, *Letter from E G Laing (Canadian National Railways) to LMSR*, January 19, 1943.

[166] Ibid.

[167] British Railways, *Rail Transport Report*, post-1943.

[168] Ibid. In the employment of women as fire officers, the cinema proved a more progressive employer. In Birmingham, females were hired as fire officers in order that licensing regulations were met. See *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Firewomen for Brum Kinemas," December 25, 1941, p.20.

[169] British Railways, *Rail Transport Report*, post-1943.

[170] Ibid. Heretofore, women typically were not permitted to retain their jobs after marriage.

[171] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (c.1400; repr., Penguin: London, 2005).

[172] Lant, "Prologue: Mobile Femininity," in *Nationalising Femininity*, Gledhill and Swanson, 13.

[173] Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, 10.

[174] Janet Ward discusses 'surface culture' in *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*, (London: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

[175] Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 3.

[176] Ibid.

[177] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Shortage of Skilled Projectionists Feared," September 20, 1945, p.14.

[178] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Training for Projectionists," September 20, 1945, p.43.

[179] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Women Workers," June 6, 1946, p.4.

[180] Ibid.

[181] British Railways, Employment of Women (Railways), *Women Workers as of June 30, 1947*, September 5, 1947.

[182] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Wives for Germany," June 19, 1946, p.4.

[183] *Daily Mirror*, "'Plain Janes' and Thwarted Teachers," May 11, 1948, p.5.

[184] *Daily Mirror*, "Girl, 16, Went to Buy Lipstick, Found Dead on the Railway After Weekend of Wandering," May 13, 1948, p.8.

[185] Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 76.

[186] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 10.

CHAPTER FOUR

INSIDE THE CINEMA TRAIN:
ARCHIVING MODERNITY AND EVERYDAY LIFE

On March 12, 1924, the first British cinema train was unveiled at King's Cross Station in London. It was inside the movie coach that both the historic and aesthetic intersections between film and rail technologies that I have been examining were made tangible. In the motion picture carriage, the train's rhythm on the track was inflected by the shutter gate's whir; twenty-four frames per second marked time's passing alongside the minutes in the railway timetable. In the movie coach, audiences watched films inside a moving vehicle, thus altering how the two technologies intervened in everyday life by marrying two ordinary spaces in one architectural site. Inside the space, spectators simultaneously travelled through both imagined and actual landscapes, transforming movement and vision. A product of Britain's particular experience of modernity, the movie coach both was formed by, and contributed to, the nation's expanding networks of visual consumption. Patrons' views and movements from inside the train were commoditised twice over, as customers paid to be both passengers and spectators in the same space.

In this chapter, I examine how, and why, the spaces and practices of the cinema and the train physically converged by contextualising the site's emergence within the railway and moving images' shared history. My examination of the movie coach frames an investigation into broader cultural changes taking place in Britain in the early- to mid-twentieth century, because the film carriage not only registers alterations in industrial practices, but was also a space in which tradition and innovation converged. The cinema train was a site that offered customers a new way to experience the world, yet was also an architecture in which an imperialist rhetoric was expounded in the newsreels projected onscreen (for example, in the 1938 British Pathé film *New Berth for Bananas*).[1] Similar frictions were prevalent in British society, as the nation witnessed both social improvement in the aftermath of First World War, with suffrage expanding between 1918 and 1928, and also stasis, in that myths about British colonial supremacy were perpetuated in popular culture.[2] As such, the history of mobile screens and cinema trains enables us to interrogate the tensions between the nation's imperial, hierarchical antecedents and the more socially inclusive future that was conceived by the British government after the Second World War.

The chapter thus offers an archaeological inquiry of British media and their mobility that situates the cinema and the train in a narrative about empire, technology and modernity. I propose that developments in filmic rail technologies are indicative of material transformations to public space that occurred in the first half of the twentieth century, because the carriage-auditorium was both inclusive (admission, in theory, was open to all patrons regardless of class or gender) and exclusive (as the newsreels screened in the coaches defined a national identity that was restricted to particular groups). The cinema train was the physical manifestation of the frictions between hierarchy and democracy, individualism and egalitarianism, which were also evident in the narratives about class, ethnicity and gender discussed in the previous chapters.

The coming of the movie carriage heralded a new era of technological innovation on the railways in Britain. The 1924, London and North Eastern Railway's (LNER) model was the world's first mobile cinema on rails. While Russian agit-trains already featured projectors and screens, films were shown only when the vehicles were stationary. In Britain, one watched movies on the move, vicariously travelling through the world onscreen while also being propelled through the physical landscape on the train. Inside the railway movie theatre, passengers were invited to view silent Hollywood features in a blacked-out carriage that served as an auditorium, with the *Railway Gazette* describing the venture as 'an unqualified success'.[3] Nevertheless, the first incarnation of the movie coach was short-lived; the convergence of silent films and noisy railway carriages was not a success. Thus the cinema train did not become a regular feature on British railways until 1935, when LNER went into partnership with British Pathé, a film production and distribution company.

The LNER-Pathé movie coach showed newsreels in a carriage better designed for a cinematic experience, and the service between London and Leeds proved so popular that additional film carriages were put into operation between the English capital and Edinburgh.[4] People from all walks of life, including children and businessmen, religious groups and royalty, visited the movie coach and so shared in a singular experience of moving and looking at the world.[5] The film carriage's visitor numbers totalled approximately 3,200 per month in an auditorium that seated forty people, a figure that indicates the technology's popularity with the travelling public. Customers who purchased tickets for the Pathé-LNER shows were contributing to an increasingly leisure-oriented economy that was predicated on the sale of visual culture – and as wages improved and the distinction between work and home life was entrenched, people could spend more of their time as tourists.[6]

But the LNER-Pathé carriages disappeared without trace after 1938. Cinema trains did survive the Second World War, although subsequent movie coaches reflected British post-war austerity: they were basic in design, limited in function and could not be used while the vehicles were in motion. The cinema train, which was innovative in the 20s, then luxurious throughout the 30s, and finally obsolescent in post-war culture, registers the transformations in Britain's trajectory as a global political power over the same period. Disparities between the space's projected image of innovation (evidenced in a 1935 British Pathé newsreel film that reported the film carriage's inception), and the actual images projected inside the auditorium (which were jingoistic in tone), allude to anxieties about the nation's changing international role.[7]

In the first part of this chapter, I explore the shared histories of screens and vehicles. Transport and the movies have crossed paths since the late-nineteenth century, both figuratively (in fiction films and travelogues), and materially (for example, in war-time cinema vans). I examine the rise of mobile media technologies from the travelling showmen of the 1890s, to the cinema train's various incarnations between 1904 (when Hale's Tours, a cinema space designed to replicate a train, began operating), and 1948, when the railways were nationalised in Britain. I use contemporary press reports, advertising and company records to investigate how the convergence of the cinema auditorium and train carriage arose. I propose that the movie coach was not only a product of modernity, but of nostalgia, too, for older entertainment media, and so registers the friction between tradition and innovation that was prevalent more broadly in British culture throughout the era.

In the second section, I look inside the 1935 carriage-auditorium to examine its design and function. I ask: Who used this space, and why? What was the purpose of the movie coach? How does the cinema train help us think about Britain's projection of modernity in the period? I answer these questions in two ways. First, I refer to press accounts about people's experiences in the film carriages to gauge how and why the spaces were used. Second, I refer to an extant movie-coach newsreel programme from 1938 to access the films projected inside the space. Using the films as archives of the nation's contemporary cultural preoccupations, I analyse the aspirations and anxieties that were represented onscreen to interrogate the cinema and the railway's connections both to empire and formations of national identity.

Third, I explore the film carriage's post-war incarnations. I examine the technology's transformation from a component in the leisure economy to one in public service, and connect the movie coach's altered status to broader social changes that

include the implementation of the Beveridge Report.[8] I argue that as British society was reconfigured as more publically oriented, the cinema train was made redundant. Once a popular tourist destination, the film carriage has not been remembered as 'an event in screen history' but rather footnoted in motion pictures and railway history books.[9] Nevertheless, the movie coach was given an afterlife onscreen, in both *Brief Encounter* (1946) and *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948), and I explore the film carriage's cinematic representation in the two fiction films.[10]

Finally, I offer a conceptual analysis of the movie coach's decline that implements theory to investigate the resonances of the vehicle's historical narrative in the present day. I situate the film carriage on the thresholds between interior and exterior space, the modern and traditional, to show that the hybrid cinema-train accommodated complex spatial practices that were symptomatic of Britain's changing technological and colonial position in the post-war world. However, while recognising the failure of film-carriage technologies, I conclude by proposing that the cinema train contributed to leisure and information industries that—especially through mobile news media—are manifest in our everyday lives even now.

The Emergence of the Movie Coach

Early cinema's showmen and *actualités* fix film exhibition in a tradition of travel. The movie coach was innovative in that it married two distinct times and spaces to create a new, modern experience. But the technology emerged from a history of mobile cinema that depended upon site-specific screens. Jon Burrows's history of London nickelodeons defines early film exhibition as transitory, with moving image projection absorbed into local environments.[11] Showmen also displayed Bioscopes across the country as part of their travelling fairs. Fairground historian Vanessa Toulmin describes how early showmen transported their Bioscopes by train in order to visit 'largely provincial audiences whose chances of seeing [these] new display[s] were limited' and be assured of making a profit.[12]

The middle classes were encouraged to invest in portable cameras and projectors because there was money to be made in expanding the cinema's reach. In 1896, an advertisement appeared in a national newspaper for '[v]itascopes… [c]inematographs or [a]nimatographs' (all early types of film projector).[13] The complete set—a vitascope, screen, stand, lamp and instructions—promised showmen a 'grand money earner'.[14] Priced at sixty-five pounds, with films costing extra, the portable cinema was not for the ordinary working-class citizen. The mobile film theatre was an investment opportunity;

that people in remote locations would get to see the invention was incidental to the advertisers' aims.

Unlike Russia, a nation that relied on travelling cinemas for communicating with citizens across vast distances, Britain's mobile film exhibition was characterised by economic gain. There were notable exceptions – for example, in the late-nineteenth century, the Salvation Army used magic lantern slides (and subsequently film projectors) to accompany public lectures. Moving image apparatus was mounted in coaches and disseminated the Church's teachings across Britain.[15] But entertainment was the primary product, sold as part of a growing leisure industry. Travel, a pastime associated with holidaymaking, not only contributed to cinema's distribution but also featured as a popular movie genre.[16] In 1903, following the success of Edison's *Life of an American Fireman* (an early attempt at narrative cinema), 'sixty one of the next sixty-two films copyrighted by [his company in the United States] were travel films'.[17] The cinematic was pervaded by travel culture: films encouraged watching, and moving through, alien spaces by divorcing the imaginary from the bodily experience. The cinema in Britain thrived by taking train journeys and then rendering those journeys on celluloid; the railway, therefore, guaranteed the film industry sought-after box office returns. One example of the successful commercialisation of the two technologies' convergence was Hale's Tours, a venture imported from the United States.

Hale's Tours was the earliest incarnation of the cinema train – although these movie theatres imitated, rather than occupied, railway spaces [figure 1]. Founded in 1904 at the St Louis World Fair, the cinema's ticket booth was designed to replicate the frontage of a train station, and inside, the auditorium functioned like a carriage.[18] Phillippe Gauthier describes how uneven rails, fans, train whistles and bursts of steam aided the 'passengers' interpolation in the simulated environment.[19] The films shown inside the theatre-carriage were also produced to enhance the spectators' travel experience. Filmmakers shot moving images (literal tracking shots) on cameras attached to locomotives and subsequently the images were projected onto the auditorium's screen.

Fig 1: Inside a Hale's Tours screening.

Through emulating the railway using cinematic apparatus, Hale's Tours played

upon the symbiotic relationship between the cinema and the train. The rail network had conveyed portable film equipment to temporary screenings; now the cinema transported spectators to the railway.

Hale's Tours was popularised across the United States and Europe. In 1908, a similar initiative was suggested in Italy. Bruno writes that film magazine *La Lanterna* featured an article entitled 'Even Cinema on the Train'. The publication proposed that cinema coaches might one day exist alongside traditional dining cars on rail journeys.[20] Thus the possibilities for the train and the moving image's physical intersection were acknowledged early in cinema's history. However, the film carriage's actualisation was not realised, amid changing exhibition practices that saw Hale's Tours decline in popularity and completely disappear between 1913 and 1915.[21]

The rise of permanent cinema spaces in Britain preceded a decline in both phantom rides and mobile theatres: Toulmin cites 'the growth in popularity of the cinema' as the main reason for diminishing numbers of mobile screenings.[22] However, the 1909 Cinematograph Act also logically contributed to the diminishing numbers of mobile shows, as government legislation insisted all commercial cinemas adhere to safety regulations (including fire-resistant casing around the highly flammable celluloid) that were inspected by local authorities. By 1914, Britain was home to 3,800 permanent, registered cinemas.[23] The emergence of narrative film, a new cultural understanding of onscreen space (enhanced by cross-cuts and linear editing) and longer shows also furthered the rise of cinema's architectural permanence. Inside these static spaces, movies continued to borrow from the train journey's aesthetics, as the travelogue still proved a successful genre with audiences. Viewers remained in their seats but visually were transported to exotic locales beyond the screen. More nuanced filmic language rendered the physical signifiers of transport—the steam, whistles and fans—obsolete, as audiences learned to vicariously travel through images alone.

Yet mobile cinemas regained popularity during the First World War. In 1914, the government equipped the British army with a series of 'travelling cinemas' to show information and propaganda films to the public.[24] Civilian travel was restricted throughout the war and the movie van helped overcome communication problems. Temporary cinemas showing fiction films also appeared where there were army bases, catering for the soldiers and their families. The rail network, historically exploited by the film industry to deliver entertainment, was not sufficient for spreading propaganda. In Britain, only the roads reached those who were unable to visit the soaring numbers of permanent exhibition sites.

In 1920, the commercial benefits of the 'Motor Cinema' were realised when the proprietors of a new company called for investment to tour films in mining districts where '[m]otion [p]icture [e]ntertainments [did] not exist'.[25] Investors were invited to pay one pound per share in the company and the total sum to be raised was estimated at £100,000.[26] Burrows contends that during the war, an estimated seven-to-eight hundred out of 4,500 cinemas were closed down in Britain.[27] Taxation, lack of raw materials and decreased manpower all likely contributed to the auditorium's shrinking numbers. The renewed interest in mobile cinema responded to this problem, as moving movie theatres offered a practical solution to the entertainment industry's needs. The cinema was no longer an innovation for the few, but a serious news and entertainment source for many (although the 1921 screening of the first in-flight movie, *Howdy Chicago*, as part of Chicago's 'Pageant of Progress' exposition shows that novelty still played a part in film exhibition). The cinema industry, and access to it, was expanded for its potential to generate revenue. A national company and its shareholders had supplanted one man and his camera.

In Russia, meanwhile, the mobile cinema was adapted for the railway: with vast distances to cover between provincial audiences, the truck was not a viable option. Income was the determining factor in accessing movies in Britain; in Russia, geography was limiting. The agit-train (so-called because it showed 'agitational' films), established by the Military Department of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in the early 1920s, was the first mobile movie theatre on rails.[28] The trains travelled throughout the Soviet countryside to disseminate news and propaganda to those who lived in villages. Tickets for the shows, which took place inside static carriages, totalled 300million in one year.[29] The agit-trains constituted advancements in both rail and film technologies, as the coaches housed not only projectors and screens for viewings, but also cameras and printing equipment. The realisation of Russia's technological prowess, the agit-train was the production site, as well as the screening space, for the Soviet government's multimedia propaganda campaign.

The radio offered a more efficient alternative to the agit-train because it dematerialised communication practices. However, in Britain, the movie coach was made to suit a different agenda, for the rail companies were interested in profit, rather than propaganda. In Britain, the British Broadcasting Corporation began radio transmissions in 1922. Two years later, in 1924, the monarch's voice sounded on the airwaves for the first time when George V opened the British Empire Exhibition at the Empire Stadium. Yet the bodily experience of modernity continued to fascinate

audiences, and the cinema carriage was born in Britain precisely as the agit-train died.

The Russian model initially proved successful and was indicative of the country's modern 'surface culture'. Kenez notes that 'the Bolsheviks coined the term *kinofikatsiia*, "cinefication," to denote this campaign'. He argues that this was analogous to *elektrifikatsiia*, or 'electrification,' another facet of modernity.[30] But the project failed because it did not prove economically viable, as permanent cinemas and radio networks were cheaper to run. While Dziga Vertov, another agit-train proponent, used film to serve both 'local government agencies and private enterprise wishing to advertise,' the project was about state control rather than industry.[31] The British movie coach was made to suit a different agenda: profits, rather than propaganda, called for novel entertainment.

The train in the 1920s was an integral mechanism in Britain's empire because innovation on the railway was central to the nation's global representation. British-built rail networks were established across Asia (through India and Burma), and Africa (through Egypt, Uganda and South Africa) in the nineteenth century. The British also financed railways in both North and South America. Trains extended trade routes from ports to production sites, and so efficiently transported great quantities of goods. In countries exploited by imperial rule, the train symbolised Britain's superiority. However, the railway was also configured as an inclusive space that enabled people to rise above their social station. In March 1924, Mr J H Thomas, Secretary of State for the Dominions, praised the British constitution as one 'that enabled an engine-cleaner of yesterday to be a Secretary-of-State today'.[32] *The Times* article that reported Thomas's speech was headlined 'An Example to the World,' referring not only to the empire, but also to the Secretary, who had worked as an engine-cleaner in his youth before joining the Labour party. Thomas, who was Britain's representative to the colonies, thus alluded to both the nation's supremacy and the more American ideal of personal improvement in a speech that was fraught with tensions between tradition and social progression.

The railway's role in empire building was emphasised by the 1924 British Empire Exhibition (held at what came to be known as the Wembley Stadium), which featured displays put together by Britain and fifty-six of the dominion nations. The event featured a 'Never Stop Railway' to move visitors between each exhibition space, a novelty that mimicked Britain's international rail network.[33] A British Pathé film shows visitors departing from a station on the train service, which transports passengers between the countries' displays.[34] The Exhibition also incorporated stands promoting

Britain's business interests. Major railway companies, newspapers and manufacturers were invited to demonstrate their technological prowess to visiting foreign dignitaries. Ostriches, RAF airplanes and the LNER's 'Flying Scotsman' (an engine famed for its speed) jostled for space alongside one another. The movie coach's invention supported the on-going narrative of British supremacy and simultaneously helped further it, even as France, Germany and the United States were both economically, and technologically, surpassing Britain.[35] Two years later, the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), an initiative set up to encourage people to buy products from the colonies, also showcased mobile cinema's role in shaping Britain's economy. The EMB's film unit, headed by John Grierson, exhibited documentaries in schools to educate the young about Britain's international position.[36]

By 1924, the recently consolidated 'Big Four' rail companies (LNER, London Scotland and Midland, Great Western, and Southern) faced increasing competition from the road and air. The networks also had to contend with one another in a fight for custom. As Britain's tourism industry grew, these four institutions had to find new ways to improve and advertise their services. In an age when the railways predominantly were used for leisure rather than commuting, tourism was imperative to the railway companies' economic survival. Tourism historians John Beckerson and John K Walton describe how '[a] bracing British holiday was not only especially suited for refreshing the tired worker for new labours: it was patriotic and conducive to economic success'.[37] Potential customers were encouraged with utopian narratives about nationhood, as posters presented a nostalgic invitation to return to the past, featuring rolling green hills and sleepy market towns.[38] But the rail companies also made futuristic improvements to rolling stock.

The 1924 LNER film carriage was designed to modernise, and thus advertise, the company's cutting edge services in a saturated rail-leisure industry [figure 2]. That the cinematic was experienced on the move made this model (and so Britain by proxy) more advanced than its Soviet counterpart. The cinema carriage was attached to the 'Flying Scotsman' locomotive, enabling the LNER to combine speed (the engine), electricity (the projector) and the moving image. The train and the cinema, which both were manifestations of modernity, already had transformed experiences of time and space in the nineteenth century. The film carriage was a novelty and offered an even newer form of mobility to the visiting passenger-spectator. Audiences in the movie coach both watched and moved through two different spaces, simultaneously travelling in the coach and beyond the screen. The railway and the cinema, each with their own

well-established histories, set in motion a new way to experience the world through their architectural intersection.

On the down journey from London the cinema's audience of twenty watched the 1923 costume drama *Ashes of Vengeance*.[39] On the up route from York, the mobile movie theatre premiered Lloyd's
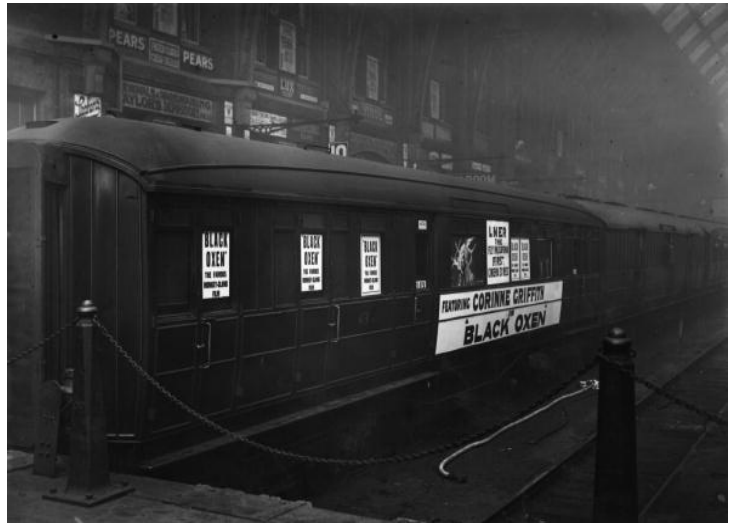

Fig 2: The 1924 LNER film carriage at King's Cross Station in London. Topical Press Agency, Getty Images.

Black Oxen (1924).[40] The audience comprised officials, the public, and journalists from national, local and trade presses. *The Manchester Guardian* lauded the 'experiment' as 'a first in the history of British railway enterprise'.[41] An article in *The Illustrated London News* was accompanied by two drawings that showed the coach's interior. The first detailed the lantern room, and the second showed the spectators turned toward the screen – the only source of light in the artificially darkened space. A reporter at a local newspaper described an auditorium complete with 'armchairs […] sensational posters advertising the film,' and a screen 'about half the size of a screen generally found in a small picture house.'[42] There were drawbacks to the railway cinema, for there was the 'oscillation inevitable in an end coach' that had to be overcome.[43] Also there was 'the difficulty of keeping the coach perfectly dark'.[44]

Yet despite the cinema's design flaws, one reporter remarked that '[h]itherto, railway travellers have had to be content with the moving pictures provided by nature through the carriage window,' however, with the movie coach's advent, art was 'to compete with nature.'[45] The comparison channelled the machine/agrarian dichotomy that characterised the early railway and was documented in J M Turner's *Rain, Steam, Speed*.[46] The film carriage's propensity to battle nature, and thus destabilise established experiences of time and space, was a familiar trope, but one that ensured publicity in the daily press.[47] The cinema train was couched in scientific terms; journalists for *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Illustrated London News* and *Railway Gazette*, among others, reported on the first moving cinema as an 'experiment'.[48] An LNER spokesperson also stated that the project was 'by way of an experiment' and its success was dependent 'upon the travelling public'.[49] While *The Railway Gazette* reminded its

readers that '[f]rom a railway operating point of view many matters have to be carefully considered before [public] travelling cinemas become possible,' overall the press lauded the enterprise as a forward march in progress.[50]

Modern technology invaded the train in a bid to lure new, and even old, customers to the railways, and the LNER led the way in its efforts to update passenger services. The Southern Railway invested heavily in both electrification and air travel (the company advertised its connections to airfields) while the Great Western relied on its Cornish Riviera Express service (from London to Devon and Cornwall) to entice customers. The rail companies also struck deals with movie producers in a bid to advertise their lines on the big screen. For example, *The Wrecker* (1929) made extensive use of the Southern Railway's lines and locomotives – a positive endorsement despite the film's multiple train crashes.[51] However, the modernisation that occurred inside trains was most extensively carried out in the London and North Eastern Railway's carriages.

The cinema train expanded possibilities for the leisure industry and Britain's political standing abroad. But while newspapers gave unanimously good reviews, the movie coach did not yet become a permanent fixture on the railway. The experience of watching a silent film (one suspects without any musical accompaniment) while on a train was likely to be a claustrophobic one that constantly reminded audiences of their rail-bound surroundings. Throughout the 1920s, other forms of transport were dominating the press: liners, airplanes and motorcars offered faster, more exciting diversions. The railway competed with the romantic thrill of the road as cars were glamorised in the daily press. *The Illustrated London News* ran a weekly feature entitled 'Chronicle of the Car' and in the edition preceding the cinema train article, there were twelve car adverts in its back pages (including those for Vauxhall, Wolsey and Rover).[52]

The film carriage was not only an advertising ploy for the LNER, but also a response to changing modes of transportation. The train journey had to be set apart: while Britain's roads were not yet ready for mass motoring, advertisers were doing their best to encourage it. The movie coach invited passengers to rethink the railway spaces they had grown accustomed to and showed there were still new ways to experience train travel. In the film carriage's wake, hybrid exhibition spaces were popularised across the British rail network as advertising, technology and the tourism industry became closer connected.

The LNER was the frontrunner in providing pioneering rail services. Radio was introduced on LNER trains in 1930 and continued until 1935: headphones were hired

for one shilling and connected passengers to 'the latest news and a selection of gramophone records, hosted by the world's first mobile DJ.'[53] On February 1, 1932, the 'Baird process' for transmitting images (television) was successful inside a train.[54] This referred to John Logie Baird's invention of television in 1925, seven years prior to the railway experiment. The broadcast took place on an LNER train that, even as it 'touched speeds up to seventy miles per hour,' still enabled spectators to observe an image.[55] Passengers were able to hire sterilised headphones 'for a nominal fee' to watch the broadcast.[56] These additions to the railway were short-lived, demonstrating the short lifespan for the shock of the new. But the feats served to advertise the rail company through the accompanying articles in broadsheet newspapers. The LNER's services were both cutting-edge and domesticated. Customers were offered the most-up-to-date technologies in homely comfort. With headphone hire at one shilling (or twelve pence, then more expensive than the cost of an ordinary cinema ticket), these were promotions that middle and upper-class passengers were invited to enjoy.

Other endeavours relied on corporate advertising, rather than public services, to help the railways hit the headlines. In 1934, prime minister James Ramsey Macdonald 'acted as guard to Britain's first "musical train"'.[57] This was a Great Western Railway (GWR) vehicle kitted out by British firm HMV to showcase 'a wide range of gramophone and radio instruments' while the train was on display at stations.[58] The vehicle embarked on a 3,000 mile tour around Britain. HMV was promoted both at home and overseas by the prime minister's celebrity endorsement, while MacDonald benefited from his association with technological enterprise. The 'Big Four' recognised media organisations as offering cheap publicity, just as train companies before them had seen potential in travelogues. Now, though, train travel was vicariously publicised through marketing HMV's products. In a similar case in June 1935, the Southern Railway was advertised for testing a new 'Radio-Phone' that allowed a two-way conversation to take place between the driver and the guard.[59]

In the same period, the LNER also introduced cocktail bars, hair salons and showers in their coaches.[60] The GWR modernised its services by setting up a joint venture with the Post Office in 1935. Messengers holding 'an illuminated button bearing the words "Telegrams Accepted"' stood on platforms at Paddington Station so passengers could send messages before their trains departed.[61] Sir Kingsley Wood, the postmaster general, 'hoped that railway travellers would more and more use this rapid method of communication,' signalled by boys with 'an illuminated button bearing the words "Telegrams Accepted"'.[62] Electric light, rail travel and the promise of speed

transformed an everyday task—sending a telegram—into something exciting. The London Midland and Scotland Railway (LMS), meanwhile, offered a door-to-door removal service that travelled by both truck and train; mundane '[f]urniture [r]emovals' were recast as '[m]odern [f]ashion'.[63] The railway companies adopted everyday activities and reinvented them, always mixing the old with the new.

Entertainment technologies transformed public transport spaces throughout the 1920s and 30s. The effects of the Great Depression on the working classes in particular in 1929, and the devaluation of the gold standard in 1931, both contributed to a narrative about the nation's economic decline, but stories about innovation represented Britain in a more positive light. On May 27, 1935, it was reported that the French *Normandie* would premiere *Pasteur* (1935) on the ship's maiden voyage to the United States.[64] Like the 1924 LNER movie coach, the *Normandie* garnered international publicity through claiming a debut film screening. The liner won the Blue Riband on her first Atlantic crossing.[65] The pressure on Britain to respond to technological advances from international counterparts including France, Germany, and the USA, was constant.

Later in 1935, Cunard-White Star furnished the liner *Queen Mary* with three separate cinemas.[66] The theatres were designed to accommodate passengers in first class, third class, and the ship's temporary visitors in the tourist lounge. Those on board could 'go to the pictures [while] the giant vessel [was] at sea,' with the contract to supply the cinema equipment awarded to Gaumont-British 'in the face of keen foreign competition'.[67] *Queen Mary* was an advertisement for Britain's technological proficiency, as well as for Cunard-White Star: thus the ship's owner, along with Gaumont-British, was the nation's representative to the world. Less than a year later, even non-commercial Royal Mail ships were fitted with projectors to screen films for the staffs.[68]

Not all cinematic transformations were successful. One project that did not come to fruition was the LMS's cinema-dining car.[69] In 1937, a report from the Research Department in the Engineering Section made a proposal that harked back to the idea in *La Lanterna* that a movie coach could exist alongside a dining carriage.[70] The report stated that '[i]n order to provide an illusion of travel to the occupants of a stationary dining car various schemes for projecting cinematograph films have been considered'.[71] The coach was likely to be located at a station, as an electricity supply was necessary to power both the kitchen and cinema facilities. Bruno, analysing the earlier invocation of the cinema train and dining car, argues that consuming images and food are similar, as

both are 'positioned on the threshold of interior/exterior'.[72] The LMS project conflated both actual and imaginary pleasures, and positioned passenger-spectators in a space that emulated the outside by transforming the inside. The convergence of the cinema and diner not only registered tensions between the inside and outside, but also elitist and inclusive spaces. Passengers that frequented dining cars were visible consumers in a hierarchical public space; spectators in darkened cinemas discretely consumed the visual in a communal environment. Ordinary railway and cinema sites already offered the experience proposed in the LMS report, albeit with more limited choices of passing landscapes. That the report referred to the carriage as an 'attraction' and an 'exhibit' point to the company's experimental agenda – but unlike the LNER's cinema train, a prototype was never revealed.[73]

The 1935 LNER-Pathé film carriage thus emerged from a history of mobile screens as an innovative technology that was particular to the nation's modernity.[74] The movie coach boosted railway revenue, encouraged the leisure industry's expansion, and demonstrated that Britain was creating innovative entertainment spaces. Screens sprang up in trucks, planes and ships, while television altered how images both literally and figuratively were received. Media and communication devices (including television and radio) were developing, and, when integrated into mobile spaces, enabled rail companies to modernise services. Furthermore, the connection between the railways and cinema was reciprocal, with representations of train permeating popular culture in the mid-1930s. Movies including *Cock o' the North* (1935), *The Silent Passenger* (1935) and *The 39 Steps* (1935) all depicted the railway.[75] Film sets replicated actual locomotives, real trains were used for location shoots, and cinema atriums became stations.[76] Newsreel theatres were popularised at major transport sites, including London Victoria and Waterloo.[77] Yet while the movie coach borrowed from the practices of the past, travelling in the movie coach was a new experience for the passenger-spectator.

Inside the Cinema Train

On June 3, 1935, during Britain's holiday season, the LNER and British Pathé unveiled the cinema coach. The cinema was attached to the 10.10am down train to Leeds, and the 3.15pm up train to London.[78] Throughout May, the national press publicised the train's impending launch. The 1924 film coach (the 'experiment' that spawned the 1935 model) was forgotten in both newspaper reports and the public imagination. The newsreel theatre, like other everyday spaces (including the hair salon and bar), was

made anew by LNER. *The Railway Gazette* announced that 'LNER is cooperating with Pathé Pictures Limited and Pathé Equipment Limited in providing a cinematograph van, fully equipped for exhibiting sound films'.[79] The joint venture between the rail and film companies introduced the public to a 'new' concept that was established by old firms. Customers were familiar with both LNER and British Pathé, two recognisable brands that assured quality in their respective fields. The cinema train offered passengers a novelty without risk, a strategy that proved successful for both parties.

The cinema train guaranteed British Pathé a regular audience. The LNER likely used statistics about daily passenger returns on long-distance routes to select a profitable service on which to run the new coach. Inside the train, the promise of an hour's entertainment was a sure way to lure in customers. Jeffrey Richards contends that '[c]inema-going was indisputably the most popular form of entertainment in Britain in the 1930s.'[80] As rail companies were looking to increase revenue from the leisure industry, film screenings made economic sense. Richard's figures attest that ticket sales at movie theatres in Britain were 917million in 1936.[81] This was in a country with a total population under 47million in 1935.[82] Hence innovations in cinema technologies were vital to the growing entertainment industry.

The movie coach was also predicated on an existing alliance between newsreel companies and the railways. Travellers were used to the presence of film theatres at major train stations, where the news was available to people on screen, as well as on paper. 'Cinemas at train stations have for some time been an accomplished fact,' wrote *The Manchester Guardian*. 'Now they have invaded the trains themselves'.[83] The Secretary of State for the Dominions, J H Thomas (whose presence signified the perceived importance of the new technology in projecting Britain's progress to the empire), attended the coach's inauguration. At the ceremony, Thomas congratulated the LNER for 'another great improvement in railway travelling'.[84] A 'remarkable achievement for the times,' the cinema train was nonetheless an 'improvement,' rather than an innovation.[85] In his speech, Thomas also referred to the coach as an 'experiment' – which suggests a discontinuity in development between the 1924 and 1935 projects. Nevertheless, his speech posited Britain as a leader in entertainment and travel technologies on a global stage, his position in government guaranteeing him an international audience.

Thomas's speech was filmed by British Pathé and included in a newsreel bulletin. Records do not indicate when the clip was screened, nor do we know if the item was shown on the movie coach's own programme. The short film, however, is the

only surviving footage in the public domain of the LNER-Pathé carriage – no other images, films or illustrations endure. The clip shows us the coach's exterior, on which wooden panels replaced windows; a programme board was placed to the right of the door [figure 3]. 'LNER-Pathe Cinema' was painted above the entrance. The accent noticeably was left from Pathé: this potentially was an aesthetic choice but may also have helped identify the once French-owned company as British when promoting the vehicle both at home and abroad. The inclusion of the item in newsreel sequences enabled British Pathé to advertise their new venture. However, it is

Fig 3: The LNER-Pathé newsreel coach in a still from *Cinema on Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1935).

newspaper publicity that now provides us with details about the carriage's interior. The daily press extolled the cinema train's virtues as a signifier of modernity and Britain's continuing innovation; mobile screens made the railway relevant in an age increasingly dominated by other, newer media and transport technologies.

Journalists were invited on the cinema train's trial run between London and Peterborough in May 1935. The film carriage was a converted passenger coach and brake van.[86] *Kinematograph Weekly* identified the carriage as a 'converted Pullman,' a name that denoted luxury to passengers.[87] The irony that both British Pathé, a company with French antecedents, and Pullman, an American business, were instrumental in British innovation appears to have gone unnoticed (or was at least ignored). In the cinema, 'two thirds of the space [was] equipped as an auditorium, and the remaining third utilised as the projecting room'.[88] Newsreels were screened using a Pathé-Natan 17.5 millimetre rear projector.[89] The coach's organisation differed from that in the 1924 film coach, which utilised a forward-facing projector (located at the rear), and a screen (positioned at the front).[90] Passengers sat in the middle, where '[b]etween the box and the screen there was sufficient room to seat about twenty people comfortably.'[91] The design changes wrought in the 1935 cinema train expanded the seating area to accommodate forty-four people.[92] The walls were covered in silver panelling and the space replicated a traditional movie theatre with raked, 'tip-up' seats that sloped down

toward the screen.[93] The two key problems faced by the designers for the 1924 coach—darkness and picture oscillation—were overcome by 1935. But new difficulties arose.

One challenge was to prevent external noise in 'a train travelling at speeds up to eighty-five miles an hour' from 'muffling the sounds of the films.'[94] W J Gell, who was involved in both the 1924 and 1935 movie coach projects, also acknowledged that the seating and ventilation required attention, although he claimed these issues did not detract from the overall experience.[95] A reporter from *The Manchester Guardian* did not bemoan sitting with his back to the engine on the outward journey.[96] Rather, he noted that '[f]ar stranger did it seem to be standing, because the apparatus was playing "God Save the King," while the train hurtled along at seventy miles an hour'.[97] Problems were experienced when cinematic and rail spaces collided: for example, noise leaked in, while heat could not be let out, so a tradition within the auditorium was out of place inside the train.

Despite these problems, the cinema train again received favourable reviews. The LNER found success with their Pathé coach for two reasons. First, the newsreel programme offered a varied show. Each item was short in duration so the passenger-spectators' attention was not lost. Second, the 1935 incarnation of the film carriage utilised sound. The technological advancement in cinematic apparatus helped interpolate the audience in a theatrical experience. The movie coach was no longer silent except for the noise of the train: instead, the auditorium was filled with diegetic sounds that accompanied what happened on the screen.

The décor in the film carriage, with its silver-panelled walls, was congruent with the opulence on display in contemporary British 'picture palaces'. For example, at the new Odeon's grand opening in Bolton, spectators were greeted by liveried officers, bagpipe music, 'gold paint, flowers [and] a bit of luxury'.[98] The theatre in the train was designed to match, if not exceed, the level of comfort in more traditional cinema auditoriums. British Pathé constructed the furniture in-house, the company having expanded its furnishings division in the mid-1930s, when Pathé chairs were installed in 'public institutions, concert halls, and borough councils,' as well as movie theatres.[99] The company's design experience suggests the cinema coach was furnished to at least the same standard as other public spaces supplied by Pathé.

The LNER, too, was known for the comforts incorporated in train services. Engineering drawings for a new 1937 LNER restaurant car illustrate bottle-holders, service-bells and coat-hooks that all were arranged to complement the diner's experience.[100] Double-glazing, swivel chairs and plump footstools also awaited
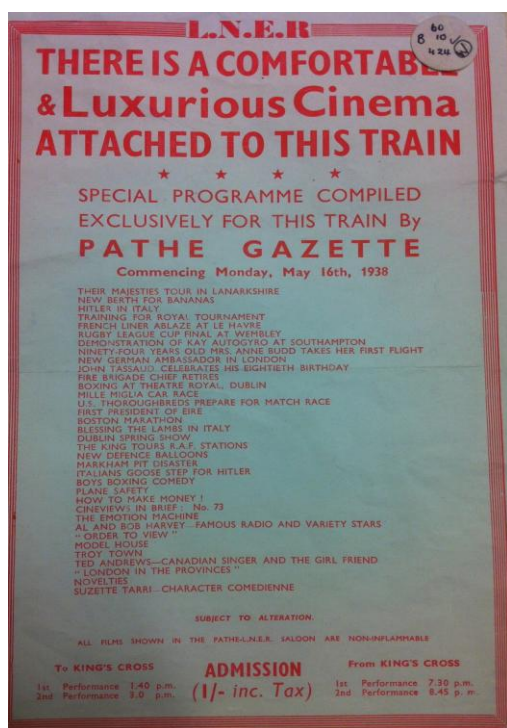
Fig 4: LNER film programme, May 1938.

customers, and were set between wooden partitions for added privacy.[101] *The Railway Gazette* described the dining coach, asserting that 'every point affecting the traveller's comfort has been studied both for ease in dining and relaxation.'[102] In keeping with the LNER's reputation, a 1938 film programme advertised 'a comfortable and luxurious cinema attached to this train' [figure 4].[103]

The newsreel carriage, an innovation designed to encourage both old and new customers to part with their money, was surely finished to excellent standards. The two companies involved were staking their reputations on the cinema train's success in a highly publicised campaign: it is unlikely that the coach's internal layout was left open to criticism. Both partners had an interest in producing an exceptional design. However, we can infer from descriptions of the silver panelling and raked seats that British Pathé was responsible for the interior elements. While the LNER boasted a certain luxury inside the company's trains, the finish was understated. Wooden panels adorned walls but retained their original colour; teak-framed seats were covered in patterned plum or blue fabrics.[104] The effect suggested domesticity rather than theatrical splendour. It is also doubtful that the LNER's standard white ceiling was kept intact in the movie coach. A white interior surface would have reflected the films above the audiences' heads – a distracting occurrence in an already less-than-perfect auditorium. A darker, non-reflective paint was likely to have been chosen.

The cinema space, then, was distinct from the rest of the train not only in function but also in design. That both the movie theatre and the train already shared characteristics helped in this endeavour. Both operated in similar ways: these were democratising spaces in that travel (whether physical or vicarious) was opened up to the masses. Anyone was a potential customer and was able to purchase a rail or movie ticket. Both locations also offered a variety of seats at different prices. As such, the film carriage was perhaps the most inclusive rail and cinema space in that the movie coach eliminated tiered-price seating, thus offering an economic incentive to attract as many

customers as possible. Any passenger from any class could pay for entry at the same cost. A ticket was one shilling, a price maintained into the late 1930s.[105] The entry fee was inflated from the national average for ordinary cinemas, which in 1937 was ten pence (a shilling was equivalent to twelve pence).[106] While the price remained close to constant for both static and mobile screenings, the above-average entry price for the film carriage (for a newsreel programme with no main feature) attracted a middle-class audience on a good wage with money to spare for entertainment. Therefore the movie coach remained a hierarchal space that privileged customers with disposable incomes, despite the non-class specific seating arrangement.

Inside the auditorium, newsreels ran for an hour and followed a routine pattern consisting of 'news, interest and short films'.[107] Attendants were on hand to sell tickets and announce the upcoming programme.[108] A typical audience in the newsreel coach comprised businessmen, who found the screenings a 'useful antidote to business cares and worries' on regular trips, alongside small children, Salvation Army officers, and holidaymakers.[109] Businessmen—regular, if not everyday, commuters—'never fail[ed]' to attend the shows on their journeys, pointing to both the cinema train's enduring appeal and repeat patronage, which transformed the experience from the novel to the everyday. On November 23, 1935, the cinema train celebrated its 1000th screening: in just five months, the movie coach had travelled 63,000 miles and had a total audience of over 16,000 people.[110] So popular was the service that in 1936, two further LNER-Pathé carriages were installed on new routes between London, Leeds and Edinburgh.[111] In 1936, Pathé announced in *Kinematograph Weekly* that the coming of the cinema train was 'an event in screen history'.[112]

In 1937, the cinema train internationally advertised Britain's technological prowess when the Belgian King became the coach's first royal visitor.[113] Accompanied by the Belgian Queen Mother and other dignitaries, including the British Princess Royal and the Duke and Duchess of Kent, King Leopold 'paid his shilling, the regular price of admission, and entered the Pathé cinema car'.[114] To mark the occasion, the newsreel programme featured a clip of the Belgian King inspecting his troops. Leopold, seeing himself on screen, reportedly turned to his mother to ask '[d]id you see me just then?' in a moment of self-referential inspection.[115] The royal celebrity guest inadvertently promoted the movie coach, while the film carriage advertised British modernity on a global stage. By the time King Leopold visited the cinema train, the film carriage was two years old and still attracting enough patrons that the movie theatre remained a

viable business, with the LNER-Pathé coaches having screened approximately 12,000 newsreel shows.[116]

LNER's 1935 partnership with British Pathé anticipated a change in viewing habits that now accounts for the cinema train's longevity. Newsreels typically were shown prior to features in traditional cinemas, so audiences were accustomed to consuming visual news. However, British film producer Jeffrey Bernerd lamented the fact the news was 'often regarded as a fill-up' in a 1935 article for *Kinematograph Weekly*.[117] Yet he anticipated that the newsreel would become 'a decided "feature".'[118] Indeed, the 1937 Bernstein report (an extensive audience survey) found that cinemagoers wanted more newsreels.[119] Film's role in facilitating communication was by this time recognised by the state (for example, the government adopted cinema as a medium to disseminate propaganda in the First World War), religious groups and political parties.[120] While newsreels were not as popular as feature films, or indeed as immediate in their reach as the daily press, the short documentaries enabled people to see events that previously were confined to print. The mobile film theatre introduced an alternate news source, and the consumption of information was as crucial to the coach's success as entertainment and travel. Watching the news was no longer a preamble to a Hollywood musical, or a way to the pass time at a train station. Mobile newsreels transformed the experience into an event enjoyed by both adults and children, and Bernerd foresaw a time when the newsreel would be as popular as the main picture.

The newsreel companies in the 1930s promoted their products in print and yet distanced themselves from the obvious political stance taken by the newspapers. On one hand, the *Daily Mail* was conservative, or right wing, in its approach. On the other hand, *The Manchester Guardian*, with its working-class roots, was biased to the left. The newsreel purported to be more objective, which harked back to *The Illustrated London News*'s regular wartime feature, 'The Camera as Correspondent'.[121] The implication was that the camera was a neutral observer, not prone to the same bias as the subjective human.

British Movietone posited the same argument in 1935, when Gerald F Sanger, the company's editor, announced that propaganda was 'banned' from the company's output.[122] He stressed that 'British Movietone News never has and never will abuse its influence as a news publishing medium to distort the significance of events or to give them propagandist flavour'.[123] Newsreel producers insisted that filmic representations of the news were more accurate, and thus more authentic, than print. Furthermore, the newsreel was imbued with an immediacy that rivalled the newspaper: images recorded

on any given day might be edited and distributed within hours. The cinema train lent the news even greater urgency; with bulletins available to watch on the journey to, or from, work. That newsreel theatres invaded both stations and trains was evidence of a growing appetite for onscreen news.

While the newsreel gained in popularity throughout the 1930s, evidence to support Sanger's assertions was not forthcoming. And the newsreels, for all the producers' representations to the contrary, were as politically biased as any report in print. In 1926, the *Daily Mail* argued that film provided effective propaganda 'for the economic prosperity of the country [… and] also for its prestige.'[124] The article suggested that a 'lack of British films [would be] most detrimental to the prosperity and delight of Great Britain abroad'.[125] Newsreels were crucial to British interests because the films offered subjective accounts about actual events; yet the films were marketed as objective. That the state did not intervene in onscreen news censorship for seven days after a clip's initial screening further bolstered the suggestion that the newsreel provided unbiased reporting.[126]

However, newsreel producers had both personal and political agendas that were likely to influence the companies' films. In the interwar period, the newsreel production units were dominated by leaders who were connected to political groups: the Topical Budget distribution controller, the head of Gaumont British, the director of Pathé, and indeed Gerald Sanger at British Movietone News, all were affiliated with the Conservatives.[127] That British Pathé's newsreels inside the cinema train supported a conservative ideology, and devoted programming to stories about the empire, industry and Britain's modernity, was congruent with the newsreel producers' political persuasions.

The flyer dated May 16, 1938, is the most recent extant evidence of the LNER-Pathé film carriage. The leaflet is the only publically archived LNER-Pathé programme. The document lists all thirty-seven films 'compiled exclusively for this train by Pathé Gazette'.[128] The selection commenced screening on a Monday in mid-May, indicating a weekly, or bi-weekly, programme rotation. The flyer's materiality made it an ideal souvenir to take home from the film carriage, a physical remnant of the movie coach alluding to the bodily experience of visiting the space. These individually printed leaflets let audience members share something of their visit with others – a cheap, yet effective, commodity. For regular patrons, the programme may even have contributed to a collection. One wonders if there are more examples buried in private archives: that only one remains belies the service's popularity.

The leaflet denotes that by 1938, there were alterations to the film carriage screenings. In 1935, three hour-long screenings took place on each journey.[129] But three years later, despite the project's continued success, the timetable indicates just two shows were given (at 1.40 and 3pm on the up service, and 7.30 and 8.45pm on the down).[130] Removing a screening on each journey resulted in losses of up to eighty-eight shillings (equivalent to four pounds and forty pence in imperial currency) each day. The justification for the decision to reduce performances is not documented in any surviving evidence. However, there are three potential explanations. First, the film carriage was declining in popularity, although this is contrary to contemporary press reports. Second, the screenings' timing clashed with the train's own timetable: minutes counted more than frames per second when one was approaching a destination midway through a show. Passengers preparing to exit the train would disrupt the film. However, we know the service was an express one, with few stops. Third, and most probable, one of the stations *en route* did not facilitate the changing over of the audience, perhaps due to lack of space on the platform.[131] Start times for the 1938 programme account for a fifteen to twenty-minute break between shows; a practical amendment to the timetable that enabled audiences to switch over at an appropriate stop and attendants to clean the theatre.

The date on the surviving programme is not imbued with any particular significance (the cinema train was still three weeks from its anniversary) and the 'special' newsreel selection refers to the unique location, so the chosen films probably represent a typical screening on the cinema train. An analysis of the films reveals a programme that now archives the contradictions between tradition, empire and hierarchy, and innovation, modernity and inclusivity. The opening item was *Their Majesties Tour in Lanarkshire* (all films on the programme were produced in 1938), in which the royal couple were filmed on a visit to Scotland.[132] In the film, the King (George V) and Queen (Mary) watch the production of steel plates in a factory. Molten metal spills from vast furnaces and machines continuously whir. The Queen then 'works the lever that starts one of the machines,' cutting steel 'like scissors cutting paper,' demonstrating the manufacturing processes that make Britain prosper. The visit keeps Scotland 'proud and happy' – happy, no doubt, to boost its international reputation as a producer of raw materials, as well as the country's tourism industry through association with the royal family.

The second item, *New Berth for Bananas*, takes the audience on a tour around a new merchant ship bound for the West Indies [figure 5]. The camera, panning and

tilting upward, mimics the machine that rotates and lifts the imported bananas, as if to proclaim the film's own imperial credentials. Toward the sequence's end, the footage speeds up to signify the rapidity with which the naval technology works. The newsreader's overt racism ('[w]hen we say West Indies we mean fruit, and particularly bananas – you know, the little yellow-skinned fellows')

Fig 5: *Eros* docks to unload produce from the colonies in a still from *New Berth for Bananas* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

established Britain's imagined superiority and set the nation apart from a colony it relied upon for produce. As in the first film, this second one posited Britain on a world stage and referred to the country's industrial growth, while also alluding to imperial supremacy. In *New Berth for Bananas*, mass production was represented onscreen as benefitting the whole nation. But while Britain reaped the rewards of international trade, the film failed to acknowledge the exploitation on which the transaction was predicated.

Within the thirty-seven news items on the programme, some thirty-six per cent featured new technologies. Other prevalent themes included transport (twenty-four per cent), industry (twenty-one per cent), and social changes (eighteen per cent). Three films explored Hitler's activities in Europe. *New German Ambassador in London* was the most serious and anachronistic of the three, depicting the ambassador's arrival at Buckingham Palace in a State Landau, where he was to be received by the King 'in the white and gold throne room'.[133] Here, traditional British pomp was displayed for a foreign visitor. *Hitler in Italy* and *Italians Goose-Step for Hitler*, meanwhile, treated the leader with humorous contempt.[134] In the latter feature, the Italian army marches through Rome on display for their guest. Hitler's imposition in the ancient city is signified through the juxtaposition between mounted guns rolling past ancient monuments, including the Coliseum. 'If he [the marching soldier] don't do it right, chop his head off!' the newsreader exclaims, neutralising external threats to British power with comedy.

That three films featured Hitler, and five concerned Italy, alludes to on-going political anxieties about the potential for war in Europe. Thus the newsreel was not providing objective information, but rather news with a marked agenda, which also

inflected *French Liner Ablaze at Le Havre*.[135] Aerial shots taken from a plane above a gutted ship granted the clip journalistic authority over both the landscape and the developing story. From a bird's-eye perspective, the British literally were looking down on France. The newsreader also refers to the 'hoodoo of fire' that has engulfed other French ships in recent months, implying that France's naval hopes are cursed; as the country is dealt 'another staggering blow,' Britain's own military, passenger and merchant ships (as evidenced in *New Berth for Bananas*) remain unharmed, and also unrivalled.

Even the items on the programme that focused on innovation were committed to a nationalistic cause. In *Ninety-Four Years Old Mrs Anne Budd Takes Her First Flight*, Britain was represented as having both a traditional past (the ninety-four year old woman) and also the desire to adopt new technologies (through flight).[136] The film carriage had emerged from modernity's facilitation of media, speed and machines, and these were themes that dominated the programme's stories about Britain. For example, *New Defence Balloons* and *Demonstration of Kay Autogyro at Southampton* showcased new technologies.[137] The helicopter that featured in *Demonstration of Kay Autogyro at Southampton* had a top speed of one hundred miles per hour, and gave 'the sort of demonstration that proves the future is in the air'.[138] If the autogyro was the future, then Britain was designing and manufacturing it.

The Emotion Machine featured a contraption invented outside Britain at the University of Turin.[139] The film reported that scientists claimed to record human emotion using various instruments that measured a subject's response to loud noises, which were graphically displayed as an oscillating line on a rotating drum. While the film strayed outside Britain for its topic, the sequence touched on a modern fascination for mediating interiors externally (as did *Model House*, which filmed the interior of a doll's house). In *The Emotion Machine*, human feeling was registered on a graph; thus the invisible was rendered visible, and the clip referred to that same threshold between inside and outside, public and private, which resided within the movie coach. The cinema train itself was a medium through which passenger-spectators received the news. The outside world was represented inside the train, but the cinema auditorium's interior was mediated through an exterior railway space.

Aside from *The Emotion Machine* and one or two sporting items (for example, *Boston Marathon* from the United States) the programme set its sights firmly on British invention.[140] While Britain made steel, designed new transport and improved its military capabilities, the nation's foreign counterparts were shown in rural idylls.

Blessing the Lambs in Italy follows a spring procession that culminates with villagers in traditional peasant costume carrying lambs on decorative floats.[141] *Dublin Spring Show* focuses on livestock and agriculture at the city's fair.[142] The films demonstrated that compared to rivals who were stuck in the past, Britain was a leading global power, thus countering negative discourses (for example, about economic depression) that implied the nation's industrial decline.

The programme's final section was given over to travelogues and entertainment items. Whereas the earlier films had a technological emphasis that vicariously referred to the cinema train's own part in Britain's modernity, the travelogues were more obviously designed to sell the railway experience. Both *Troy Town* and *Novelties* were moving image guidebooks that respectively transported the audience to Cornwall and York [figure 6].[143] Architecture, wildlife and history were all addressed in these brief cinematic tours. The films' spectators figuratively visited the locations on the train as they watched the films, and might actually travel to the destinations by railway. The cinema train was not only used to promote tourism through innovation, but also through the films screened inside the space. Any passengers enticed into the LNER-Pathé carriages as holidaymakers soon found themselves invited to part with their money on the railway for a third time – having already paid to use the train and the railway cinema.

Fig 6: Selling holidays in *Troy Town* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

The end of the May 1938 programme also marks the end of the cinema train's life in print, for (to my knowledge) the programme is not followed by any further newspaper articles or company documentation. Both the LNER and British Pathé went their separate ways and no record of the film carriages survives in public archives. Like other LNER projects, including the cocktail bars and hair salons, the cinema train probably was discontinued in 1939 at the war's outbreak. The bodily experience of watching and moving while simultaneously in a cinema and a train was a manifestation of modernity and indicative of contemporary British preoccupations with technology. The mobile newsreel theatres also altered the ways people connected with the world:

inside film carriages passengers might leave aside their newspapers to watch, rather than read, current affairs. But, as the country went back to war, entertainment media—including inventions like the film carriage—were forgotten.

The Cinema Train's Afterlife

Two movie coaches were still in use throughout the Second World War and after. One was built in a converted London and South West Rail passenger coach.[144] The other was launched in 1940. Designed by Southern Rail (SR), this film carriage had a more utilitarian function than its LNER predecessors [figure 7]. The brown exterior was made from riveted metal sheets, while the interior featured plain white walls, exposed electric bulbs and cloth-covered benches.[145] A portable projector screened moving images from the aisle beside the seats.[146] The SR cinema carriage travelled the country and showed training films to the railway workers: while the movie coach was still a propaganda machine, the space was no longer used to promote British modernity, tourism and leisure. Instead, the railway film theatre was operated as a communication device that helped train staffs

Fig 7: Inside the Southern Rail cinema coach, 1941. Private collection of Alan Wilmott.
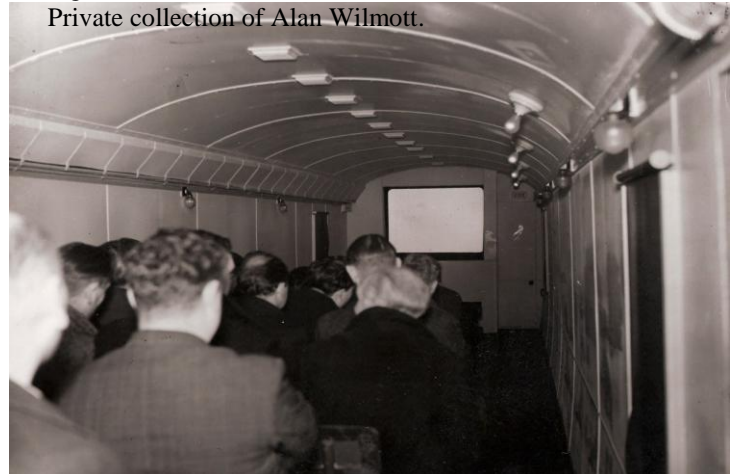
to cope with the national emergency. The SR cinema carriage travelled the country showing training films to railway workers, sharing more in common with the Russian agit-train than the LNER-Pathé models. Like the agit-train, the SR cinema train gave static performances; mobile screenings were impossible in an auditorium with a portable projector, due to oscillation. The movie coach, changed from a recreational space into an entirely educational one, was representative of a shift that saw the leisure industries enter public service in Britain.

In 1941, the government commissioned Sir William Beveridge to investigate the potential for state-led social reforms. Clement Atlee's Labour government used the 1942 Beveridge Report to set up the 'Welfare State'. Historians Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe document how in 1948, five legislations came into effect: the National Health Service; the National Insurance and Assistance Acts; the Children Act; and the Town and Country Planning Act.[147] The nation set about improving conditions for

ordinary citizens, redistributing wealth and reconstructing broken infrastructures. The Town and Country Planning Act signified a radical change in political ideology: the Act favoured public over private ownership rights to 'ensure that the community as a whole […] profit[ed] from land sales'.[148] Of course, while disparities between living standards were addressed, the Welfare system still was predicated on exploitation, as the state provided aid to those who were vulnerable to poverty within a capitalist economy. Capitalism was, and is, a system that thrives upon both corporate investment and the rise of individualism. However, the Second World War provoked political attempts to rebalance British society and make the nation more inclusive.

That same year, the leisure industries also were transformed. The railways were nationalised (due in part to their role in the mining industry) and the once private train companies dissolved. The British Tourist and Holidays Board was established to attract foreign tourists through a coherent, national marketing campaign. Economic competition, the rail companies' incentive for improving services, disappeared. With it went the technological advancements that distinguished the 1920s and the hybrid functionality that sped up life in the 1930s. The expanding service industries in the 1920s and 30s made train travel and cinema attendance relevant to ordinary citizens whose leisure was increasingly commoditised.[149] Both rail and film technologies were products of modernity that, when converged, fractured time and space and altered experiences of everyday travel. But in post-war Britain, where even the 1948 London Olympics were labelled the 'Austerity Games,' time and space were ever-more valuable commodities. While the railway and film industries were by no means redundant (both are continually remade to suit each new generation's agendas) their significance as transformative technologies was depleted.

In 1930, the biggest picture house in Europe opened at London's Elephant and Castle, seating 6,000 people.[150] But by the 1950s, movie theatres faced 'closure and demolition'.[151] Television's increasing ubiquity played a role in this, although continuing petrol and food rationing also fuelled the cinema's decline, as the leisure industries slipped down the national agenda. One could not see a film without the means to visit the theatre. Britain was no longer in a position to innovate: with a shrinking empire and in debt to the United States, the country had more fundamental concerns. Throughout the post-war period, the SR movie carriage continued to distribute educational films for British Rail, and three further coaches were added to the rolling stock. The first was a converted LMS coach, and the second (built in 1955) was

an old GWR dining saloon.[152] Both the new railway auditoriums remained static during screenings.

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, critics voiced concerns about the movie coaches' viability. In 1958, a British Rail manager complained that the cinema carriage was a drain on resources. He declared that public interest was so small 'tickets were distributed to all and sundry in order to get some sort of audience.'[153] Nevertheless, the third new film carriage, built by British Rail in 1978, was designed once again to project moving images while the train was in motion.[154] The decision to create an additional, mobile cinema on the railway was perhaps in response to the normalisation of inflight movies on airplanes.[155] Even in 1978, reintroducing a cinema train onto Britain's railways was likely to garner publicity, and thus customers, for the rail network; indeed, Princess Margaret was one of the movie coach's first passengers.[156] However, the venture was not successful, and by 1989, all the film carriages were retired from service. Where the LNER-Pathé carriage had garnered large crowds, the British Rail movie coach failed to attract demand.

Aside from the LNER-Pathé programme, there is no physical evidence of the early movie coaches left. What promised to be 'an event in screen history' was all but forgotten by film and railway scholars.[157] However, the trains that housed moving images were revisited onscreen in two post-war movies, and thus the vehicle was given an afterlife. Both the 1946 *Brief Encounter* and 1948 *Letter from an Unknown Woman* examine the interconnections between railway passengers and cinematic viewers: the films both reinvented the passenger-spectator and self-reflexively archived cinema's own obsolete practices. The movies explore railway spaces that double as auditoriums, and focus on the same thresholds that characterised actual cinema trains.

In *Brief Encounter*, Laura and Alec, the film's protagonists, first meet at a rail cafe and thereafter embark on an affair, enjoying trysts at the station, restaurants and a movie theatre. Their relationship is based on consumption: they buy rail and cinema tickets, eat food, watch films, hire cars and listen to barrel organ music. On two occasions the couple argue as to who will pay the bill, each insisting they will pay their share. Both the moving image and rail transport are luxuries afforded by middle-class customers with spare income – precisely the audience targeted by the LNER-Pathé cinema train. The film thus depicts the thriving leisure industry that existed before, rather than during, the war.

A mutation of the cinema carriage is represented as part of this nostalgia. Laura and Alec kiss in the subway beneath the station's platforms, and Laura runs to catch her

train. Her affectionate partings from Alec take place underground, in a private space beneath polite society. As Laura sits in a carriage on her way home, she externalises the feelings that she represses in a cinematic display that crosses the threshold between public and private. She looks through the window to her left and we see her face doubled in the shot, as her image is reflected in the glass. Laura stares beyond her translucent image at the passing scenery – the telegraph poles and wires that Schivelbusch identified as mediating the natural landscape.[158] She then projects onto this moving imagery her visual fantasies. There are four layers imposed one on top of the other in front of her: the window; her reflection; the landscape; and her dreams. Laura's animated musings are not only externalised on the train window/screen, but also are thrown out into the world and exposed on the passing countryside. Laura and Alec waltz beneath a chandelier, they visit an opera in Paris, and take a gondola ride in Venice [figure 8]. Their private relationship is screened for all to see. In each scenario, the couple go out into the world and are accepted. 'I saw us travelling far away together,' she says, 'to all the places I've longed to go'.

Fig 8: Laura's dream is projected onto the train window in *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1946).

Laura's projection is like the travelogue in the cinema train: it offers a kind of tourism that is not real, but vicarious. Andrew Thacker, in his analysis of modernity in literature, contends that we need to 'consider how the interiority of psychic space is […] profoundly informed by exterior social spaces.'[159] The cinema train—in actuality a space that exposed the thresholds between the public and private— is here the means by which Laura externalises her internal thoughts. She is both a passenger and a spectator, travelling home while watching the window/screen. Laura's experience in this illusory film carriage makes her a tourist in her own fantasy. However, the world cannot accommodate her wishes. When the couple watch films together, Laura always looks to her left to speak to Alec, who is positioned on her right, an action mimicked by her turning toward the window in the carriage. Her relationship with Alec is no more likely to last than the fantasies she projects. *Brief Encounter* thus offers the afterlife not only of the cinema train, but also Laura's affair.

The cinema train encouraged awkward viewing positions. Passenger-spectators were invited to substitute the real for the imaginary, and the interior for the exterior. Laura falls victim to the technology's illusory powers and cannot separate her fantasy from her reality. Alec is not party to Laura's imaginary movie coach experience, and it is his practical outlook that ends their affair; even after they have parted, she cannot help but go back to look for him one last time, perpetuating the illusion that he will return. Made in 1945, the film refers to a period before the Second World War disrupted everyday life in Britain. Dolly's allusion to conventional English values, and Alec's forthcoming departure to the colonies, alludes to a nation beset by tradition and yet striving to be modern. There is time and space for Laura to dream in a sequence that registers cinematic entertainment on the railway, a pastime made obsolete by conflict. *Brief Encounter* borrows from the past to imply Britain's continued dominance in the future, evidence of the nation's aspirations in a time of economic uncertainty and declining global political control.

Letter from an Unknown Woman, set in *fin de siècle* Vienna, features a primitive attraction not unlike Hale's Tours. While the film does not specifically refer to a British model, the sequence exposes the tensions between fantasy and reality that permeate cinematic railway spaces. Lisa, the 'unknown woman,' visits the mock-rail carriage with her lover, Stefan. The couple sit inside a compartment and watch painted scenes of European landmarks scroll past their window [figure 9]. The rotating cyclorama, which is reminiscent of nineteenth-century panoramas, is selected by pulling levers borrowed from a signal box, and is powered by an old man pedalling a bike. The attraction creates the illusion of luxurious travel, but the proto-cinematic train is troubled by the very tricks that make it function.

The space promised new sights and so commoditised vision, and yet, like the later cinema trains, also borrowed from nascent technologies (the bike and the theatre). The device was new, but also old, and the onscreen carriage uneasily hovered on the threshold between public and private space. Lisa is thrilled to be outside, associating with Stefan in public. When the couple are inside the

Fig 9: Lisa and Stefan in a proto-cinematic carriage in *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Max Ophüls, USA, 1948).

train, anyone might invade their private carriage (indeed, if this were a railway drama, someone invariably would). However, the coach belongs to them alone, for Stefan has paid for the couple's solitude. Thus the proto-cinematic train relies on illusion. Lisa is deceived by the space's simultaneous public and private function, and while Stefan sees the contraption's cogs and levers, the machination is never revealed to her.

In both *Brief Encounter* and *Letter from an Unknown Woman* the movie coach only figuratively takes the passenger-spectators for a ride, but even inside the actual cinema train, movement was vicarious and vision was mediated. Therefore while no extant footage remains (to my knowledge) of the movie coaches' interiors, the passengers' experiences of watching films inside trains are archived in the two motion pictures. In representing the hybrid space, the two films' self-referentially explore the cinema and the train's convergent histories onscreen. *Brief Encounter* and *Letter from an Unknown Woman* capture the conflicting sensations of motion and stasis, and the old and the new, which were described by reporters who travelled in actual movie coaches. Thus both films preserve for audiences today the experience of simultaneously being passengers and spectators.

Conclusion

While fiction films allude to the complex viewing positions offered inside movie coaches, we can now only imagine what film carriage interiors looked like, and only speculate as to what caused the vehicles' disappearance. I propose there were three determining factors in the film carriage's obsolescence. First, practical outcomes of war changed how new cinema trains were designed and used because the leisure industry, the cinema train's economic beneficiary, was no longer a primary concern in an altered political landscape. Second, the space exposed the differences between both the movie theatre and the train's functions, creating a conflicted position for the passenger-spectator to inhabit. Third, the movie coach's complex viewing positions and connections to modernity proved problematic, rather than innovative, in austere post-war Britain. Here, I explore the reasons as to how, and why, the film carriage disappeared from histories of both the cinema and the railway. Finally, I examine the legacy of the cinema train. The physical convergence of the two technologies was short-lived, but both our mobile media and consumption of news (which emerge from the tradition of portable screens) were preceded by the LNER-Pathé experiment.

The cinema train's failure to survive in post-war culture was due in part to its redundancy in austerity Britain – yet there were other, practical reasons for the space's

declining popularity. I have outlined the various ways in which the railway and the moving image's histories intersected. Both technologies altered the experience of time and space and produced motion that passed by the static passenger/spectator. Both also relied on one another for business. But the cinema offers virtual movement—it is stillness that moves—and the cinema train provided movement within a mobile space. On the threshold between the cinema and the train, the differences between the two were exposed. Journeys in the movie theatre were not the same as those taken by train. Standing to sing the National Anthem (a custom widespread in the cinema) was performed with difficulty in the moving carriage, and the noise from the train was never entirely eliminated from the auditorium.

Movie theatres and rail travel both visually mediate the world through windows and screens. Schivelbusch contends that on the railway, '[t]he traveller perceived the landscape as it was filtered through the machine ensemble.'[160] In the cinema, the outside world was mediated through the screen. However, the hybrid space of the film carriage presented a new experience of time and space. Visitors were neither passengers looking through windows, nor spectators travelling through screens, but both. The *outside* world, always 'filtered' by the window and the screen, suddenly appeared to the passenger-spectator *inside* the train. Design historian Penny Sparke examines how, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, designers applied strategies from outside architectures to interior spaces.[161] The movie coach not only integrated the design of two public spaces, but also supplanted the interior with an exterior, the physical with the psychological. Passenger-spectators were both inside and out, tourists in two lands.

Bruno, in her work on early cinema, contends that moving images 'provided a form of access to public space' as viewers vicariously travelled through places explored by the camera.[162] In the cinema train, this 'public space' was opened up when the film began to play. But the spatial practices associated with the railway also dictated that this was a private space. When in motion, the movie carriage was sealed to the outside world; only those already on board could embark on either the real, or imaginary, journeys that were taking place inside the train. The film carriage was open to the railway's customers, but once inside, visitors were encouraged to embark on a private journey. Train carriages, divided into compartments, and cinemas, in their darkness, were both social spaces that accommodated an individualised crowd. Private pastimes— watching, reading—were performed singularly, even as the journey (either imagined in

the movies or literal on the railway) was shared. The movie coach existed on the peripheries between public and private, interior and exterior.

Passenger-spectators were thus simultaneously drawn to, and divorced from, the screen: the world was mediated to them through moving images but the moving vehicle interrupted their experience of the film. The film carriage was a liminal space in which the imaginary and the real both figuratively (through the geographies projected on the screen), and materially collided (through the vehicle-as-auditorium). Travelling through real space destroyed, rather than augmented, the passenger-spectator's interpolation in the imaginary. Viewers were dis-located inside the cinema carriage: they could not inhabit the space as *either* passengers or spectators. Lynne Kirby asserts that '[i]t is in the spectator/passenger that the train and the cinema converge most closely, as each creates its tourist, its visual consumer […] out of a fundamental instability.'[163] The two technologies mediated one another in the cinema train as viewers travelled through the screen and watched inside the carriage. A literal, if unstable, passenger-spectator was formulated in this space. But while the movie theatre and the railway coach singularly offer multiple viewing positions to 'visual consumers,' the cinema train revealed the impossibilities of the experience to its clientele. Moving and watching was simultaneous, but not the same.

The 1935 movie coach, LNER-Pathé determined the customers' views from inside the train. A *Kinematograph Weekly* journalist visiting the movie coach questioned whether this level of control was necessary. 'Why not,' he asked '[instead] show glimpses of the beautiful English countryside covered by the route of the train?'[164] The writer drew attention to the cinematic quality of the views already on offer through the vehicle's windows. Motion pictures on trains arbitrated the passenger's experience of the railway. But carriage windows had already framed exterior landscapes before the introduction of screens.[165] The movie coach offered a new way to experience time and space in motion. However, emerging as it did from a long history of mobile screens, the cinema train ultimately was replicating what had gone before. Thus film carriage's obsolescence was confirmed not only by the changing cultural landscape, but also the space's complex response to a new idea that was always, already old.

Britain posed a Janus figure in this period, for like the passenger-spectator, the nation inhabited two worlds – one defined by tradition and past glories, the other insistent on progress and technology. Beatriz Colomina, in an essay on media and architecture, explores 'a world not so much freshly built as on the threshold of undoing itself […] like modern architecture, which starts to fall apart the moment it is built.'[166]

The movie train, the architecture of Britain's particular modernity, became old even as it was made new. Out-dated cinema practices were refashioned to create a novel viewing experience and this, too, was destined to unravel. But the film carriage, even as it waned in popularity, spawned other mobile entertainment technologies that continue to resonate in our lives today. Bruno argues that the media we consume influence our perceptions of everyday places.[167] The cinema train altered railway architecture with moving images and encouraged viewers to travel through motion pictures. Now, the portable media devices we carry in our bags enable us to visit those same un-mappable spaces that the movie coach presented to us. Cinema trains could not halt Britain's decline in a changing political landscape. But the mobile screen lives on, and the convergence between the moving image and the railway continues to impact on our everyday lives.

The cinema, posits Rosen, offered 'models for other, subsequent media with which it has become intertwined'.[168] The 'subsequent media' Rosen refers to are televisions and digital devices. The film carriage pre-empted a spatial convergence of the cinema and the railway that continues into our digital age. Moving images now adorn train station walls where once there were posters. Screens announce departures and arrivals at platforms. Smart phones and tablet computers give us access to mobile motion pictures while we travel – albeit as individuals, rather than an individualised crowd. But our digital devices emerge from an established fascination with mobile media, not the forgotten history of the cinema train. I argue the film carriage's legacy lies instead in the ways we consume information.

From the nineteenth century, information, like leisure, increasingly was commoditised. As noted in Chapter One, Karen Chase and Michael Levenson refer to the period as 'the first great age of information' in which '[t]he flotilla of newspapers with the flagship *Times* brought the early conditions of a mediated society'.[169] The selling of news fuelled an industry that incorporated both print and motion pictures, and competition between print and film increased during the First World War. For example, in Chapter Two, I discussed how Pathé Frères promoted newsreel's immediacy in a print advertisement that referred to a filmed air raid on the East Coast in 1915, when images were available to audiences 'less than 24 hours after the event'.[170] Pathé Frères argued the newsreel was as efficient at disseminating information as its rival the newspaper: filmed news, too, could reach the public in less than a day. Print's dominance in the information industry therefore was challenged by the simultaneous publication of onscreen reports.

The 1935 LNER-Pathé cinema train made visual news consumption exciting. The film carriage presented the news as a feature in its own right in an unusual setting. But the movie coach also made pictorial news mobile. The setting of the news in motion enabled newsreel companies (and later television, Internet and other visual news broadcasters) to contest the easily distributed, individually printed, newspaper. Benedict Anderson suggests that the newspaper, 'one of the earlier-mass-produced commodities,' becomes useless the morning after its printing.[171] This, he argues 'prefigure[d] the inbuilt obsolescence of modern durables.'[172] The cinema train inevitably was as ineffective as a daily newspaper. However, the architectural convergence of the railway and the cinema shaped the cultural practices that we continue to perform in our everyday lives, as the movie coach actualised the possibilities for mobile news media consumed by audiences of individuals. The rolling, twenty-four hour news broadcasts that we watch on portable screens have emerged from a history of mobile, visual news reports that began when LNER-Pathé built a cinema in a rail carriage.

Endnotes

[1] *New Berth for Bananas* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[2] For example, in motion pictures produced by the Crown Film Unit. See Martin Stollery, "The Last Roll of the Dice: *Morning, Noon and Night*, Empire and the Historiography of the Crown Film Unit" in *Film and the End of Empire*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCabe (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 35-54.

[3] *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train," May 24, 1935, p.380.

[4] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows on Scots Express. Mayor Inaugurates New Pathé Service," March 5, 1936, p.29.

[5] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Railway Kinema's 1000th Show. Pathé LNER Experiment a Success," November 21, 1935, p.39.

[6] John Beckerson and John K Walton, "Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, Conflict*, ed. John K Walton (Clevedon, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005), 56.

[7] The cinema carriage was recorded in *Cinema on Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1935).

[8] The 1942 Beveridge Report was a government-instigated investigation into the population's living conditions that resulted in the formation of the Welfare State in 1948. See Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe, *Beveridge to Blair: The First Fifty Years of the Welfare State, 1948-98* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[9] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Periodicals. A Record-Breaking Year," January 9, 1936, p.68.

[10] *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1948); *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Max Ophüls, USA, 1948).

[11] Jon Burrows, "Penny Pleasures II: Indecency, Anarchy and Junk Films in London's 'Nickelodeons', 1906-1914," *Film History* 16, no. 2, (2004): 173.

[12] Vanessa Toulmin, "Telling the Tale: The Story of the Fairground Bioscope Shows and the Showmen Who Operated Them," *Film History* 6, no. 2 (1994): 219.

[13] *The Manchester Guardian*, "The World's Phonograph Company, Amsterdam," advertisement, June 23, 1896, p.1. The 'vitascope' was an early projection apparatus manufactured by Thomas Edison. Charles Musser argues that in the United States the invention was 'outclassed' by the contemporaneous discovery of the x-ray, and also suffered due to the lack of compatible films made for projection. See Charles Musser, *Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 77-81.

[14] *The Manchester Guardian*, "The World's Phonograph Company, Amsterdam," advertisement.

[15] Simon Popple and Joe Kember, *Early Cinema: From Factory Gate to Dream Factory* (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), 50.

[16] Charles Musser, "The Travel Genre in 1903-1904: Moving Towards Fictional Narrative" in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Charles Musser (London: BFI, 1990), 123.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Philippe Gauthier and Timothy Barnard, "The Movie Theatre as an Institutional Space and Framework of Signification: Hale's Tours and Film Historiography," *Film History* 21 (2009): 326.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Giuliana Bruno, "Streetwalking Around Plato's Cave" in *Feminisms in the Cinema*, eds. Laura Pietropaolo and Ada Testaferri (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 152.

[21] Gauthier and Barnard, "The Movie Theatre as an Institutional Space and Framework of Signification," *Film History*, 326.

[22] Toulmin, "Telling the Tale," *Film History,* 234.

[23] Luke McKernan, "Diverting Time: London Cinemas and Their Audiences, 1906-1914," *The London Journal* 31, (2007): 130.

[24] *British Army Travelling Cinema in WW1, 1914-1918* (British Pathé, UK, 1914-1918).

[25] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Motor Cinemas Ltd." advertisement, February 2, 1920, p.2.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Burrows, 'Penny Pleasures', *Film History*, 193.

[28] Cristina Vatulescu, *Police Aesthetics: Literature, Film, and the Secret Police in Soviet Times*, (Stanford, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 92.

[29] Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society: From the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*, (London: I B Tauris, 2001), 69.

[30] Ibid., 68.

[31] Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, trans. Kevin O'Brien (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 29.

[32] *The Times*, "An Example to the World," March 8, 1924, p.6.

[33] *Never Stop Railway* (British Pathé, UK, 1925).

[34] Ibid.

[35] Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1968).

[36] Tom Rice, "Exhibiting Africa: British Instructional Films and the Empire Series (1925-8)" in *Empire and Film*, eds. Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 116.

[37] John Beckerson and John K Walton, "Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, Conflict*, ed. John K Walton, (Clevedon, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005), 61.

[38] For example, Great Western Railway, *Torquay, the English Riviera*, c.1920s.

[39] *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train," March 14, 1924, p.380.

[40] Ibid.

[41] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Kinema on Train", March 12, 1924, p.9.

[42] *The Horsham Times*, "Cinema Show on Train," May 23, 1924, p.5.

[43] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Kinema on Train".

[44] *The Times*, "Films in a Train". *The Horsham Times* noted that the auditorium was darkened using blinds and curtains, suggesting that the carriage used for the movie theatre was not structurally altered to remove the windows. See *The Horsham Times*, "Cinema Show on Train".

[45] *The Illustrated London News*, "The 'Flying Scotsman' as a Cinema: The First Film in a Train," March 22, 1924, p.497.

[46] J M Turner, *Rain, Steam, Speed* (1844).

[47] That *The Horsham Times* reported on the cinema train attests to the invention's far-reaching public appeal. Horsham is a town located in Sussex in the south of England; the movie coach's route ran north from London and so was not local to the publication.

[48] *The Times*, "Films in a Train", March 13, 1924, p.12; *The Manchester Guardian*, "Kinema on Train"; *The Illustrated London News*, "The 'Flying Scotsman' as a Cinema: The First Film in a Train"; *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train".

[49] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Kinema on Train".

[50] *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train".

[51] *The Wrecker* (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929).

[52] *The Illustrated London News*, "Vauxhall," "Crossley and Ruston-Hornsby," "Wolsey," "Lincoln," "Lancaster," "Bean," "Standard," "Overland," "CAV," "Armstrong Siddeley," "Rover," "Bayliss Thompson," advertisements, March 15, 1924, pp.471-476 and 479. The paper also incorporated a weekly feature entitled "Chronicle of the Car."

[53] Christian Wolmar, *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), 236.

[54] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Television on a Train," February 2, 1932, p.11.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] *Daily Mirror*, "Premier as Rail Guard. Britain's First Musical Train," April 28, 1934, p.12.

[58] Ibid.

[59] *Daily Mirror*, "2-Way Speech with New Radio-Phone. Talk, Switch Over – Then Listen. Train Test," June 28, 1935, p.2.

[60] *The Times*, "Cinema on Express Train," May 25, 1935, p.9.

[61] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Telegram from Train," May 23, 1935, p.11.

[62] Ibid.

[63] *The Railway Gazette*, "LMS Furniture Removals – Modern Fashion," advertisement, April 12, 1935, supplement p.33.

[64] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Film Premier in a Liner," May 27, 1935, p.11.

[65] The Blue Riband was the international prize awarded to the ship with the fastest time for an Atlantic crossing.

[66] *Daily Mirror*, "Talkies in the Queen Mary," June 25, 1935 p.7.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Royal Mail Goes G-BE," January 2, 1936, p.13.

[69] LMSR, Engineering Section, *Research Department Report*, November 17, 1937, p.1.

[70] Bruno, "Streetwalking Around Plato's Cave," 152.

[71] LMSR, Engineering Section, *Research Department Report*, p.1.

[72] Bruno, "Streetwalking Around Plato's Cave," 152.

[73] LMSR, Engineering Section, *Research Department Report*, p.1.

[74] So far, I have been unable to find any evidence of mobile cinema trains in the USA, Germany or France (which then were Britain's main industrial rivals) in the period, which suggests the technology was at that point unique to Britain.

[75] *Cock o' the North* (Oswald Mitchell, UK, 1935)*; The Silent Passenger* (Reginald Denham, 1935); *The 39 Steps* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935).

[76] An article in *Kinematograph Weekly* reported the atrium of the Shepherd's Bush Pavilion was turned into a tube station to promote *Bulldog Jack*. See *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Kinema Vestibule as Tube Station," September 26, 1935, p.47.

[77] Ken Roe, "ABC Baker Street," http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/13070 (accessed November 5, 2013).

[78] *The Times*, "Cinema on Express Train".

[79] *Railway Gazette*, 'Films on Express Trains,' May 24, 1935, p.1045.

[80] Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-1939* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), 11.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Populstat, *United Kingdom, Historical Demographical Data of the Whole Country*, 2003, http://www.populstat.info/Europe/unkingdc.htm (accessed July 1, 2012).

[83] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Talkies on Trains," May 25, 1935, p. 12.

[84] *Cinema on Train* (British Pathé, UK, 1935).

[85] Ibid.

[86] *The Manchester Guardian*, "Talkies on Trains".

[87] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows for Train Travellers. Pathe-LNER Experiment a Success," May 30, 1935, p.37.

[88] *Railway Gazette*, "An LNER Travelling Cinema," May 31, 1935, p.1085.

[89] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows for Train Travellers. Pathe-LNER Experiment a Success".

[90] *Railway Gazette*, "Films on an Express Train".

[91] *The Times*, "Films in a Train".

[92] *The Manchester Guardian,* "Talkies on Trains".

[93] *Railway Gazette*, "An LNER Travelling Cinema".

[94] *The Times*, "Cinema on Express Train".

[95] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows for Train Travellers. Pathé -LNER Experiment a Success".

[96] *The Manchester Guardian,* "Talkies on Trains".

[97] Ibid.

[98] Mass Observation, *Bolton Odeon Opening*, August 28, 1937.

[99] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Equipment's New Premises," June 17, 1937, p.42.

[100] LNER, *First Class Dining Car Engineering Drawing*, 1937.

[101] Ibid.

[102] *The Railway Gazette,* "New LNER Restaurant Cars," April 12, 1935, p.679.

[103] LNER, *LNER-Pathé Cinema Train Programme*, May 1938.

[104] For example in the 1935 LNER vestibule open third, or the 1937 vestibule buffet.

[105] LNER, *LNER-Pathé Cinema Train Programme*.

[106] Terra Media UK, *Cinema Average Ticket Price*, Media Statistics, 2008 ed., http://www.terramedia.co.uk/reference/statistics/cinema/cinema_ticket_prices_2.htm (accessed July 1, 2012).

[107] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows for Train Travellers. Pathe-LNER Experiment a Success".

[108] *Railway Gazette*, "An LNER Travelling Cinema".

[109] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Railway Kinema's 1000th Show. Pathé LNER Experiment a Success".

[110] Ibid.

[111] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Periodicals. A Record-Breaking Year," and *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Film Shows on Scots Express. Mayor Inaugurates New Pathé Service," March 5, 1936, p.29.

[112] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Periodicals. A Record-Breaking Year".

[113] *Railway Gazette*, "Belgian King in Train Cinema," December 17, 1937, p.1154.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Jeffrey Bernerd, "Trust the Newsreel as a Feature," *Kinematograph Weekly*, January 9, 1936, p.40.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Mass Observation, *Bernstein Questionnaire Report*, February 20, 1937.

[120] For example, the Salvation Army used magic lantern slides and films to spread their teaching to the public. See Popple and Kember, *Early Cinema*, 50.

[121] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Camera as Correspondent: News of Friend and Foe", February 12, 1916, p.196.

[122] Gerald F Sanger, "British Movietone News – Kinema Patrons Welcome New Movie-tone Make-up," *Kinematograph Weekly*, November 14, 1935, supplement.

[123] Ibid.

[124] *Daily Mail*, "The Film Deadlock," August 5, 1926, p.8.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Nicholas Pronay, "British Newsreels in the 1930s: 2. Their Policies and Impact" in *Yesterday's News: The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. Luke McKernan (London: British Universities Film and Video Council), 150-151.

[127] Philip M Taylor, *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century: Selling Propaganda* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 92.

[128] LNER, *LNER-Pathé Cinema Train Programme*.

[129] *The Times*, "Cinema on Express Train".

[130] LNER, *LNER-Pathé Cinema Train Programme*.

[131] The film *Cinema on Train* shows passengers entering the auditorium through a side door on the station platform, suggesting that audiences did not access the space using a through corridor.

[132] *Their Majesties Tour in Lanarkshire* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[133] *New German Ambassador in London* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[134] *Hitler in Italy* (British Pathé, UK, 1938); *Italians Goose-Step for Hitler* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[135] *French Liner Ablaze at Le Havre* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[136] *Ninety-Four Years Old Mrs Anne Budd Takes Her First Flight* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[137] *New Defence Balloons* (British Pathé, UK, 1938); *Demonstration of Kay Autogyro at Southampton* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[138] Ibid.

[139] *The Emotion Machine* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[140] *Boston Marathon* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[141] *Blessing the Lambs in Italy* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[142] *Dublin Spring Show* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[143] *Troy Town* (British Pathé, UK, 1938); *Novelties* (British Pathé, UK, 1938).

[144] The LSWR Company had ceased to exist in 1923, when the network was incorporated into the GWR. It is thus likely that the surviving company used the coach in the 1940s.

[145] Private Collection of Alan Wilmott, *Photograph SR Coach*, 1941.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Jones and Lowe, *Beveridge to Blair*, 3.

[148] Ibid., 4.

[149] Beckerson and Walton, "Selling Air" in *Histories of Tourism*, ed. Walton, 56.

[150] *The Daily Telegraph*, "Biggest Cinema in Europe," December 16, 1930, p.8.

[151] Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace*, 18.

[152] Alan Wilmott (former projectionist and cinema train designer for British Rail), in discussion with the author, March 2011.

[153] British Rail, *Letter from the Manager for the Eastern Region of British Transport to the Director of Industrial Relations*, May 2, 1958.

[154] Private Collection of Alan Wilmott, *British Rail Correspondence*, 1955 and 1978.

[155] British Overseas Airways Corporation (now known as British Airways) began screening films during flights in 1971. See *Kinematograph Weekly*, "BOACS Jumbo Jets to Show Films," March 13, 1971, p.4.

[156] Wilmott, discussion.

[157] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Periodicals. A Record-Breaking Year".

[158] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 31.

[159] Andrew Thacker, *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 5.

[160] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 24.

[161] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 17.

[162] Bruno, "Streetwalking Around Plato's Cave," 157.

[163] Lynne Kirby, *Parallel Tracks: The Railroad and Silent Cinema* (London: Duke University Press, 1997), 250.

[164] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Films in Train…" June 13, 1935, p.5.

[165] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 31.

[166] Beatriz Colomina, "Media as Modern Architecture" in *Architecture between Spectacle and Use*, ed. Anthony Vidler (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 69.

[167] Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (London: Verso, 2002), 36.

[168] Philip Rosen, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), xix.

[169] Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7.

[170] *Kinematograph Weekly*, "Pathé Frères Cinema," advertisement, January 29, 1915, p.368.

[171] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 35.

[172] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

From a history of cameras observing royalty in carriages, to the architectural convergence of the train and the auditorium, this thesis has interrogated the railway and cinema's intersections between 1895 and 1948. In doing so, the project has rediscovered how people experienced Britain's particular modernity in carriages and auditoriums. Here, I provide an overview of the main arguments within the thesis and outline the research's response to relevant literature. In the second section, I reflect on the project's limitations and my research experience, while referring throughout to ways in which the thesis might be expanded for publication. Third, I offer an afterword that concludes on the train and the cinema's resonances in British culture.

Throughout the work, I have demonstrated how the converging histories of the railway and the moving image both registered, and contributed to, transformations of space in British culture. The project has archived the changes in three ways. First, my examination of the two technologies' convergences has exposed tensions between public and private space, and inclusivity and hierarchy, which affected how people interacted with the world around them. Second, the research has uncovered not only specific historical narratives about the train and the cinema's machinated spatiality, but also the connections between the technologies and the nation's broader social, political and economic trajectory in the period. Third, the thesis has combined material evidence and conceptual analysis in order to provide readers with a theoretical framework for understanding film as an archive.

As such, the project has investigated three spaces in which the railway and cinema intersected. The first example is railway sites utilised as sets, evidenced by the trains and stations that appear in the movies discussed in Chapters One to Three. The second instance is the movie theatre's emergence inside the carriage (the subject of Chapter Four, and also alluded to in my analysis of the 1945 *I Know Where I'm Going!*, in the third chapter).[1] Both the railway-as-set and the train-as-cinema were physical sites that now provide evidence of people's material occupations of public space. Thus my analysis of the two environments is dominated by archival research that considers how passengers and spectators inhabited actual carriages and auditoriums. As a result, this thesis has examined the railway and the moving image as sites that inform us about how spatiality and temporality were configured in the everyday lives of ordinary people.

The project has also examined the convergence of the railway and the cinema in a third space: that of onscreen representation. Establishing connections between everyday and filmic sites was vital to the thesis's goal to marry histories of people's actual experiences with broader, conceptual narratives. Movies including *actualités*, news items and main features—from *Royal Train* (1896), via *Care of Our Wounded* (1918) to *Brief Encounter*—all offer historical records that reveal to us now how people negotiated space through motion and vision.[2] As such, my work responds to literature by film scholars, including Giuliana Bruno and Mary Ann Doane, about the moving image's connections to space and time.[3] This thesis has acknowledged both the medium's spatiality (recognising film's architectural quality as a 'site') and the motion picture's predilection for storing time.[4] In doing so, the project presents a theoretical rationale that underpins the practical application of film as a primary source in historical study.

Furthermore, the thesis has articulated a reconceptualization of the public and private spheres. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries '[p]ublic was not really public and private not really private despite the potent imagery of "separate spheres".'[5] My work draws on their assertion, and consequently reframes the two distinct realms as overlapping, and even congruent. Thinking about two dichotomous spheres has useful applications. The public and private organised people's lives in tangible ways – for example, in dividing workers' industrial and leisure time. However, the thesis has demonstrated that there were tensions between these areas. For instance, Chapter One explores how the camera's increasing proximity to royal bodies on railway transport now exposes the monarchy's reconfiguration as a public institution in the wake of the more private, Victorian era. Moreover, in Chapter Three, movies about women travellers reveal anxieties about females' appearances in communal spaces by positioning women characters on the thresholds (such as carriage doorways) between public and private.

The thesis has determined that throughout the period, space was contested both as an inclusive arena predicated on mass consumption, and an exclusive realm that privileged private individuals. The advent of the railway in 1825, and the cinema seventy years later in 1895, revealed contradictions in configurations of communal and hierarchical space, as both technologies altered how people interacted with the world. Passengers used public transport and spectators visited public movie theatres, with both sites inviting consumers to participate as equals in the mass commoditisation of space and time. Yet, carriages and auditoriums were owned by private organisations; inside

the spaces, there remained disparities between how people of different classes and genders were organised.

Variations in people's access to public sites not only were registered in actual spaces, but also onscreen. For example, Chapter One examined how filmmakers crossed literal and visual thresholds, such as shooting inside a royal train in *Canadian Tour* and exposing George V in his private carriage for *The King's Health Tour* (both films were released in 1925).[6] As a result, the boundaries between inside and out, and the private and the public, were eroded in the newsreel clips. Furthermore, the royal family's depictions in onscreen trains blurred the distinctions between communal and exclusive space. The films not only undermined the sovereign's authority by positioning the monarch within a mode of transport used everyday by ordinary people, but also framed the train as an exclusive site that served an elite clientele. Consequently, how the monarch's rail travel was represented onscreen reveals tensions in the ways that space was conceived of and negotiated.

While Chapters One and Four examine frictions between inclusivity and exclusivity throughout the whole period (with the latter focusing on the contradictory experiences of passenger-spectators in the cinema train), Two and Three investigate temporally narrower case studies. As a result, the two chapters concentrate on the experiences of particular demographics. The ambulance chapter centres on class, and draws on cinema and personal testimonies to scrutinise the disparities between actual, and celluloid, railway spaces. In both media, there are allusions to classlessness, with people from all walks of life inhabiting the ambulance coaches. Yet, onscreen and in diaries, there were gaps between the represented and actual sites. Filmmakers and staffs created whitewashed portrayals of the vehicles that concealed the nature of the war from those on the home front, and in doing so created hierarchical narratives about the trains that belied notions of inclusivity.

Chapter Three concentrates on discourses about gender in the interwar and Second World War years by investigating women's occupations on railways, in cinemas and onscreen. Throughout the period, female characters that undertook work on cinematic railways were ubiquitous in fiction films ranging from comedic thrillers (*The 39 Steps*, 1935) to transcendent dramas (*A Canterbury Tale*, 1944).[7] In portraying female labourers, the corpus registers transformations to women's work in the public sphere. Within the films, females are invited into onscreen railway spaces but at the male characters' discretion. Representations of women's work, alongside their treatment

as parcels couriered about on trains, are together indicative of frictions between both the train and the cinema's inclusive and patriarchal tendencies.

In the canon, discourses about female characters' mobility and vision are crucial to the movies' narratives. For example, Iris in *The Lady Vanishes* (1938) has the accuracy of her sight undermined, and her movements restricted by the criminal doctor.[8] However, depictions of women's traversals and perceptions of space were not static, but rather evolving, throughout the era. Later in the wartime period (in movies including *A Canterbury Tale* and *Brief Encounter*), films portray female characters with greater autonomy than those in the earlier pictures. The other three chapters also have investigated changes in the ways that people moved and looked. For example, in Chapter One, I examined how the appearance of motion was crucial to the monarch's authority as the nation's figurehead. In Chapter Two, my research indicated that during the First World War, the right to look was a privileged endeavour. In the case of the movie coach, movement and sight ostensibly were framed as inclusive acts available to all, with customers of any class admitted to the railway cinema.

The films analysed in the thesis all contribute to a narrative about how mobility and vision were configured throughout the period. Changes to motion and sight transformed how people materially interacted with their environments. Throughout this thesis, the connections between, and evolutions of, mobility and vision have provided material evidence about the changes wrought by modernity on everyday life. Advertising and an expanding leisure economy in the nineteenth century, followed by a growing market for mass consumables in the 1920s, revolutionised how ordinary people travelled and looked out on the world. The train and the cinema, which sold passengers and spectators visual movement, therefore were essential to such alterations. In carriages, the pictures seen through windows mediated travel; in auditoriums, audiences watched images that moved. Consequently, the railway and the cinema are crucial to our understanding how the British public tangibly experienced the nation's particular modernity.

As well as examining specific instances in which the two technologies intervened in everyday life, the thesis has also established connections between trains, films and Britain's broader historical trajectory. Onscreen, the railway was a metaphor not only for the nation's modernity, but also for anxieties about people's transformed experiences of space and time. Furthermore, there are physical connections between the technologies and wider narratives about British culture. For example, in Chapter Four, ever-more luxurious trains, opulent picture palaces and a simultaneous increase in films

about the railways evidence the nation's growing entertainment economy in the 1920s and 30s. The cinema train's popularity peaked in the late 1930s, with the innovative space a facet of the nation's self-projected modernity.[9] However, by the 1940s the movie coach was redundant, and reduced to an austere vehicle that functioned as an educational, rather than a leisure-oriented, site. Hence the historical narrative about intersections between the railways and film is congruent with Britain's changing economy, and relative decline, in the first half of the twentieth century.

The thesis, then, has framed discourses about motion and vision, public and private space, and inclusivity and hierarchy, in an investigation into the specific, material changes to everyday life brought about by the railway and the cinema. Both the train and moving images transformed in tangible ways how people moved through, and looked out on, the world as either actual or vicarious tourists. Moreover, the project has situated the particular narrative of the technologies' intersections within a broader account about Britain's historical trajectory in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In doing so, the research has contributed not only to scholarship on how visual and kinetic technologies intervened in everyday life, but also an interdisciplinary approach to studying both history and film.

Reflections and Further Questions

The objectives of my methodology have been met throughout this thesis, for the work is interdisciplinary, and marries both material and conceptual evidence. However, the scope of research proved ambitious for a three-year project, and as such there are ways in which my approach might be enhanced in future. My background in film studies (which concentrated on theory) had not alerted me to the time-consuming, and often complex, processes involved in archival research. Nor was I aware how much I did not know about the diverse methodologies applied in relevant disciplines including history, sociology and geography. I had never before worked with historical documents, personal testimonies or large data sets, so the research presented a steep learning curve. While there are areas of knowledge that warrant further attention (for example, investigating how historians and geographers conceive of modernity and speed), the thesis has mapped out a narrative that intertwines various disciplinary elements, drawing on literature from multifarious fields.

Nevertheless, in extending the project for publication I aim to reduce the gaps in my learning by undertaking a broader survey of the main subject areas, including theoretical approaches to using personal testimonies, documents and films as primary

sources. I also intend to make more tangible the analogy of the railway timetable I discussed in the Introduction. In preparing the thesis for publication, my goal is to cross-reference the chapters with clear signposts, so as to alert readers to the work's divergent narrative pathways. Alongside attending to structural alterations, there are historical and comparative topics that I will endeavour to expand upon. For example, I will further analyse how the railway films are situated within a broader history of British cinema. In addition, I hope to conduct research that develops comparisons between Britain and other nations (as in Chapter Four's discussion about Russian agit-trains), including other industrial powers such as Germany and the USA.

Furthermore, I propose to revisit some of the subjects that I was unable to include in the thesis owing to temporal, and other, restrictions. The chapters so far incorporated in my written work offer particular examples about how transformations of space were manifested in the railways and cinemas. The topics were chosen because they best evidenced moving and looking, public and private space, inclusivity and hierarchy, and broadly spoke to issues about gender and class. The chapter's defining subject areas (for example, royal trains) were also congruent in crucial ways with the nation's broader historical trajectory. However, there are other topics that I initially considered when refining the thesis. Subjects that were excluded—such as railway accidents, camping coaches and wartime evacuees—might offer useful intersections with the existing chapters, which already refer to criminal accidents, railway living spaces and people mobilised by war.

The decision to focus on what arguably are *unusual* railways spaces in a project about everyday life was borne from frustrating archival work. The kinds of records I anticipated uncovering frequently were lost, or even un-archived. For example, I initially expected to find sources that provided evidence about how ordinary people inhabited regular passenger trains. However, aside from a selection of engineering drawings and fabric samples pertaining to a specific railway company at the National Railway Museum, such materials were not extant in major archives. Stories I found in the daily press, which allude to the destruction of rail company records, go some way to clarifying why there are limited resources on early-twentieth century carriage interiors.[10] Moreover, research I carried out at the New York Transit Museum indicates that poor lighting might explain the dearth of newsreel films shot inside trains during the period.[11] The project constantly evolved and adapted according to the materials available.

Conducting work in local archives would perhaps have offset some of the issues I experienced carrying out research in national archives. While I would have relished the opportunity to explore local records, there were two main reasons that prevented me from doing so. First, I had to ensure that the research enabled me to articulate the broad narrative about British culture that I envisioned when planning the project. Second, the research I conducted on the railways had to intersect with my filmic investigation. The movies included in the thesis's corpus represent geographically diverse areas across Britain. For example, *The Ghost Train* (1941) is set in the southwest of England, while *A Canterbury Tale* is located in the southeast.[12] However, the variations in locales are so great that the films lend themselves to a general, rather than a local, history. Through telling a national story, the thesis situates both the railway and the cinema in wider narratives about modernity and space that might have otherwise been lost in more localised discourses.

Although archival research was vital in informing how the thesis was constructed, conceptual analysis was also necessary. The thesis is first historical, yet theory, too, is essential in enabling us to understand how and why life changed in Britain throughout the period. The thesis might exist in two forms – one that is a straight historical account of the intersections between the technologies, and another that conceptualises them. On one hand is a practical method that relies on varied archival sources, and that does so by drawing on different disciplines. On the other is an approach that is more reflective, and contemplates how we access bygone spaces. But the two methods are connected, as theory enables us to impose order on the past, and so to understand the patterns that emerge from history.

Throughout the thesis, I aimed to ensure that the historical was foregrounded and that the conceptual always was developed from the actual. For example, in Chapter Four, I turned to film theory to consider why the cinema train declined in popularity. In this case, theory enabled me to speculate about a technological history for which there is little extant material evidence. Of course, there are questions about this kind of methodology that need further attention. For example, how do we ensure theory does not get in the way of, or even eclipse, material history? In what ways might one incorporate conceptual analysis (which, in my experience, tends to suit a thematic arrangement) into the historical (for which a chronological approach is more apt)? And how do we overcome the inevitable contradictions between methodologies and literatures in different fields when conducting interdisciplinary research? The thesis has so far offered a rudimentary solution to these questions, and there is definite need for

further contemplation about such issues when expanding the project. Nevertheless, the thesis seeks an effective model in synthesising varied materials and approaches that contribute to a coherent narrative about the railways, cinema and transformations of space.

Afterword

Finally, I conclude by offering an overview about the railway and cinema's material and conceptual resonances in British culture. Here, I provide a reflection on the train and the moving image that extends beyond 1948. I reflect on how the railways and cinema— once the arbiters of modernity—became old, and new technologies emerged that offered people yet newer ways of both moving and looking, and experiencing space and time.

In the nineteenth century, the train variously was conceived as a monstrous machine (for example, in Charles Dickens's *Dombey and Son*) and also as a technology that was beyond the realms of the scientific.[13] The locomotive was a mystical thing that transported passengers '[f]aster than fairies, faster than witches'.[14] Even in the 1930s, the train offered 'a blissful retreat from reality.'[15] Similarly, early cinema was conceived as a medium that brought the dead back to life in shadowy apparitions. Maxim Gorky described the 'curses and ghosts [and] evil spirits' that inhabited the images projected onscreen as 'terrifying to watch.'[16] Later, the film camera was depicted in popular culture as a scientific instrument that surpassed humans' abilities to observe the truth.[17] Thus the two technologies evoked innovation, the modern and the sublime. Indeed, the train and the moving image helped shape 'Britain's [m]ost "[s]pacious [t]imes."'[18]

But the sense of newness conjured by both the railway and the cinema was altered by the close of the 1940s. Airplanes, automobiles and televisions were transforming how people moved and looked. Television broadcasts offered more immediate visual records of world events than cinema-bound newsreels, and, more conveniently, were available in the home. The representation of the locomotive was also transformed in the second-half of the twentieth century. Movies including *The Titfield Thunderbolt* (1953), *Quadrophenia* (1979) and the more recent *Harry Potter* series (2001-2011) depict trains that variously are old, derelict and nostalgic relics from a past age.[19] Onscreen railway carriages no longer were referents for Britain's particular modernity, but rather for the nation's history.

Trains and cinemas faced closures throughout the 1950s. The 1951 Festival of Britain showcased newer technologies, relegating the train to a museum piece and

assigning the moving image an educational function. In his opening speech at the event, the King remarked that '[s]pacious times are no more; the island sea is no longer inviolate'.[20] While George VI also hoped that Britain might '"restore and expand"' former territory, his previous comment acknowledged the nation's depleted spatiality, and so an end to Britain's modernity.[21] Space was both demolished at home (with cities destroyed by wartime aerial bombardment) and diminished abroad (as British colonies gained independence).[22] The train and the film once were vital technologies in transforming space and time, and so enabled people to experience modernity in material ways. But by the mid-twentieth century space was differently conceived, and both traversed, and looked out on, from newer technological perspectives, which consigned the railway and the cinema to narratives of the past.

Endnotes

[1] *I Know Where I'm Going!* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1945).

[2] *Royal Train* (R W Paul, UK, 1896); *Care of Our Wounded* (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918); *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, UK, 1946).

[3] Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (London: Verso, 2002); Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, The Archive* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[4] Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 15; Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*, 223.

[5] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 33.

[6] *Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales* (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925); *The King's Health Tour* (Gaumont Graphic, UK, 1925).

[7] *The 39 Steps* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935); *A Canterbury Tale* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressberger, UK, 1944).

[8] *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1938).

[9] Within the corpus used for the thesis (including all films known to feature scenes on the railways, whether watched or unavailable), onscreen representations of trains peak in the 1930s, with twelve rail movies made in the decade.

[10] For example, in 1937 the Southern Railway lost a large collection of data in a warehouse fire. *Daily Mirror*, "10,000 People Watch Huge Blaze," May 5, 1937, p.28.

[11] During the 1930s, the New York High Line, a network of aerial trains, was a popular subject in documentaries shot by the transport authorities. In a number of films, for example, *9th Ave Local El to South Ferry 1930s*, shots were taken from inside the trains – a camera position that is infrequently seen in British newsreel from the same period. In the sequences, the trains' interiors are too dark to see the passengers, or the carriages, with any clarity, suggesting that filmmakers avoided the space for practical reasons. See *9th Ave Local El to South Ferry 1930s* (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1930s).

[12] *The Ghost Train* (Walter Forde, UK, 1941).

[13] Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (1848; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[14] Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885; repr. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1992), 41.

[15] E W Bligh, "Back to Good Old Trains!" *Daily Mirror*, February 6, 1930, p.7.

[16] Maxim Gorky, "The Lumière Cinematograph" in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Documents 1896-1939*, eds. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie (London: Routledge, 1988).

[17] *The Illustrated London News*, "The Camera as War-Correspondent: Notes by Photography", December 4, 1916, p.720.

[18] *The Illustrated London News*, "Consort of the Sixth George in Britain's Most 'Spacious Times,'" May 15, 1937, p.859.

[19] *The Titfield Thunderbolt* (Charles Crichton, UK, 1953); *Quadrophenia* (Frank Roddam, UK, 1979); *Harry Potter* (Various, UK, 2001-2011).

[20] *The Times*, "Festival Summer," May 3, 1951, p.5.

[21] *The Times*, "The Festival," May 4, 1951, p.7.

[22] Lee Grieveson discusses how wars in Southeast Asia and Africa led to 'decolonialisation'. See Lee Grieveson, "Introduction" in *Film and the End of Empire*, eds. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCabe (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 2.

FILMOGRAPHY

<u>Fiction films:</u>

Britain
The 39 Steps (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1935)
A Canterbury Tale (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, UK, 1944)
The Adventures of Dick Dolan (UK, 1918)
A Hard Day's Night (Richard Leicester, UK, 1964)
A Kiss in the Tunnel (George Albert Smith, UK, 1899)
*Billy Liar (*John Schlesinger, UK, 1963)
Blackmail (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1927)
Brief Encounter (David Lean, UK, 1946)
Bulldog Jack (Walter Forde, UK, 1935)
Cemetery Junction (Ricky Gervais and Stephen Merchant, UK, 2009)
Children of Men (Alfonso Cuarón, UK, 2006)
Contraband (Michael Powell, UK, 1940)
Cool It, Carol! (Pete Walker, UK, 1970)
Fahrenheit 451 (Francois Truffaut, UK, 1966)
Flying Scotsman (Castleton Knight, UK, 1929)
The Ghost Train (Walter Forde, UK, 1941)
The Halfway House (Basil Dearden and Alberto Calvacanti, UK, 1944)
Harry Potter (Various, UK, 2001-2011)
I Know Where I'm Going! (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, UK, 1945)
I See a Dark Stranger (Frank Launder, UK, 1946)
Kate Plus Ten (Reginald Denham, UK, 1937)
The Lady Vanishes (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1939)
The Love Match (David Paltenghi, UK, 1955)
Millions Like Us (Frank Launder and Sidney Gilliat, UK, 1943)
Mrs John Bull Prepared (UK, 1918)
The Midnight Mail (Warwick Buckland, UK, 1915)
Murder, She Said (George Pollock, UK, 1961)
Night Train for Inverness (Ernest Morris, UK, 1960)
Night Train to Munich (Carol Reed, UK, 1940)
Number Seventeen (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1932)
Oh, Mr Porter! (Marcel Varnel, UK, 1937)
Passport to Pimlico (Henry Cornelius, UK, 1949)
Quadrophenia (Frank Roddam, UK, 1979)
Train of Events (Sidney Cole, Charles Crichton and Basil Dearden, UK, 1949)
The Railway Children (Lionel Jeffries, UK, 1970)
The Third Man (Carol Reed, UK, 1949)
The Titfield Thunderbolt (Charles Crichton, UK, 1953)
Sabotage (Alfred Hitchcock, UK, 1936)
Seven Sinners (Albert de Courville, UK, 1936)
Sleeping Car to Trieste (John Carstairs, UK, 1948)
When the Devil Drives (Charles Urban, UK, 1907)
The Wrecker (Géza von Bolváry, UK, 1929)

France
La Bête Humaine (*The Human Beast*, Jean Renoir, France, 1938)
La Roue (*The Wheel*, Abel Gance, France, 1923)

Germany
Der Stahltier (*The Steel Animal*, Willy Otto Zielke, Germany, 1935)
Nosferatu (F W Murnau, Germany, 1922)
Metropolis (Fritz Lang, Germany, 1927)
Spione (*Spies*, Fritz Lang, Germany, 1927)

Russia
Chelovek s Kinnoapparatom (*Man With a Movie Camera*, Dziga Vertov, Russia, 1929)

USA
A Romance of the Rail (Thomas Edison, USA, 1903)
Ashes of Vengeance (Frank Lloyd, USA, 1923)
Asleep at the Switch (Roy del Ruth, USA, 1923)
Black Oxen (Frank Lloyd, USA, 1924)
The General (Buster Keaton, USA, 1927)
The Jazz Singer (Alan Crosland, USA, 1927)
Letter from an Unknown Woman (Max Ophüls, USA, 1948)
The Lonedale Operator (D W Griffith, USA, 1911)
North by Northwest (Alfred Hitchcock, USA, 1959)
Shadow of a Doubt (Alfred Hitchcock, USA, 1949)
Strangers on a Train (Alfred Hitchcock, USA, 1951)
The Switch Tower (D W Griffith, USA, 1911)
Union Pacific (Cecil B De Mille, USA, 1939)

Documentaries and *actualités*:

Britain
A Switchback Railway (R W Paul, UK, 1898)
Corridor Third (Roy Lockwood, UK, 1949)
Enginemen (Michael Grigsby, UK, 1959)
Express Train on a Railway Cutting (Cecil M Hepworth, UK, 1898)
The House in Which You Live (Hugh W Baddeley, UK, 1947)
Main Line Diesel (UK, 1946)
Night Mail (Henry Watt and Basil Wright, UK, 1936)
Rottingdean Electric Railway (R W Paul, UK, 1897)
Royal Train (R W Paul, UK, 1896)
View from an Engine Front - Barnstaple (UK, 1898)
View from an Engine Front - Ilfracombe (UK, 1898)
Workers Leaving Brighton Railway Station (George Albert Smith, UK, 1897)

France
L'Arrivée d'un Train en Gare de la Ciotat (*The Arrival of the Train at Ciotat Station*, Lumière Brothers, France, 1895)
Le Train en Marche (*The Train Rolls On*, Chris Marker, France, 1971)

USA
3rd Avenue El (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1950s)
9th Ave. Express El Northbound on Lex Ave. 1930s (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1930s)
9th Ave. Local El to South Ferry 1930s (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1930s)
From Horse Car to Subway in NYC: Parts 1 and 2 (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1930s)

Third Avenue Railway System 1930s (New York Transit Authority, USA, c.1930s)
Vanishing El (New York Transit Authority, USA, c. 1952)

<u>Newsreel films:</u>

Britain
100 Years of Railways (Topical Budget, UK, 1925)
1947 Royal Tour (British Pathé, UK, 1947)
Abyssinian Heir Here (British Paramount News, UK, 1932)
A Classroom Film – The Engine Driver (British Pathé, UK, 1947)
A Classroom Film – Underground Journey (British Pathé, UK, 1940)
A Hospital Train (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1939)
Al and Bob Harvey – Famous Radio and Variety Stars 'Order to View' (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Ambulance Train in Scotland (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
Anglo-Soviet 20-Year Alliance (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
A One Woman Job! (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
A Quaint Little Railway (British Pathé, UK, 1930)
A Zephyr Pullman (British Pathé, UK, 1934)
Babies, George V and Mary on Train (British Pathé, UK, 1920-1930)
Baden Powell Christens Train at Euston (British Movietone, UK, 1930)
Battle Scarred… But Smiling (British Pathé, UK, 1941)
Behind the Big Top (British Pathé, UK, 1945)
Behind the Lines with Our French Ally (Pathé Frères, UK, 1917)
Blessing the Lambs in Italy (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Bon Voyage! (British Pathé, UK, 1939)
Boston Marathon (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Boxing at Theatre Royal, Dublin (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Boys Boxing Comedy (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Britain Prepared (Charles Urban, UK, 1915)
Britannia is a Woman (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
Britain's First Streamlined Rail Car (British Pathé, UK, 1933)
British Army Travelling Cinema (British Pathé, UK, 1914)
British Receives More of Hitler's Victims (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
British Train Sets New Mark (British Movietone, UK, 1936)
Canadian Tour Plus Other Prince of Wales (British Pathé, UK, 1911-1925)
Care of Our Wounded (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918)
Centenary of the Train Post Office (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
'Cheltenham Flyer' Beats Canadian Record (British Movietone, UK, 1931)
Chesire Farm Goes by Train to New Home (Universal News, UK, 1932)
Children Evacuated (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
Children Go Happily (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
Children Re-evacuated (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
Christmas Mail Under London (British Paramount News, UK, 1934)
Churchill Flies Home (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
Churchill Home on Queen Mary (British Movietone, UK, 1944)
Cinema on Train (British Pathé, UK, 1930)
Cineviews in Brief: No. 73 (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
The Circus Moves Again (British Pathé, UK, 1935)
Coronation of Ras Tafari (British Movietone, UK, 1930)
Coronation Scot Embarked (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
'Coronation Scot' for America (British Movietone, UK, 1939)

Coronation Visitors (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
Crowded Excursion Train Disaster (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
Cup Final Smash (British Pathé, UK, 1924)
Demonstration of Kay Autogyro at Southampton (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Desolation (Topical Budget, UK, 1919)
Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria (British Pathé, UK, 1897)
Disastrous Train Collision (British Movietone, UK, 1935)
Dublin Spring Show (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
The Duke of Connaught Visits Farnborough (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1922)
Duke of Connaught Winters in Britain (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
Duke of Kent at Ramsgate (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
Duke of York at Ashford (Empire News Bulletin, UK, 1926)
Éclair Animated Journal No. 35 (UK, c.1915)
Edward and Simpson Record A (British Pathé, UK, 1930-1939)
Elevated Railway to Go (British Movietone, UK, 1938)
Empire's Shop Window (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
The Emotion Machine (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
The End of a Tragic Chapter in British Imperial History (British Movietone, UK, 1936)
England's American Queen? (British Pathé, UK, 1936)
Evacuated Children for Pastures New (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
Evacuees Leave London (British Movietone, UK, 1941)
Exhibition Train Visits Manchester LNER (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Fairs for the Fair - Eve and Everybody's Film Review (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
Feathered Fliers Arrived on Special Trains (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1924)
Film Star's War Effort (British Movietone, USA, 1942)
Fire Brigade Chief Retires (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
First Glass Only! (British Paramount, UK, 1937)
First President of Eire (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
The First Italian Hospital Train for the Front (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1918)
First Streamlined Diesel Train (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
The Fleet Prepares for the Great Jubilee Review (Gaumont British News, UK, 1935)
Fluffies (British Pathé, UK, 1944)
Flying Scotsman to Beat Timetable (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
Flying Trains (British Pathé, UK, 1932)
For the Empire (UK, 1916)
Forty Children Escape in Railway Collision (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
Fourfold Train Collision (British Pathé, UK, 1935)
France's Derby Hopes (British Pathé, UK, 1924)
France is Ready for Battle (Gaumont British, UK, 1940)
Freak Train (Gaumont British News, UK, 1938)
French Liner Ablaze at Le Havre (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
From Cologne to Harwich (British Pathé, UK, 1926)
From Trinidad to Serve the Empire (Topical Budget, UK, 1916)
Funeral of HM Queen Victoria of Sweden (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1930)
General Pershing – With Members of His Staff On Board His Special Train (British Pathé, UK, 1914)
The German Retreat and the Battle of Arras (War Office, UK, 1917)
Glass Train (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Glass Train Christened at Doncaster (Gaumont British, UK, 1937)
God Speed! (Topical Budget, UK, 1927)
Goods Train Wreck Blocks Mainline (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
GPO Centenary (British Movietone, UK, 1938)

Gracie Fields Back from the States (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
The Great British Offensive (War Office, UK, 1918)
Great Western Railway Special (British Movietone, UK, 1941)
Harwich to Zeebrugge – Prince George Inaugurates New LNER Train Ferry (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1924)
Hatfield Rail Crash (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
Heir to Ethiopia Gets a Royal Welcome (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
Her Majesty Inspects a Casualty Train (British Pathé, UK, 1939)
Her Majesty's Coronation Train (British Pathé, UK, 1937)
Hey Ho! Come to the Fun Fair! (British Pathé, UK, 1931)
His Majesty Greets Guests from Iraq (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
His Majesty's Home (British Pathé, UK, 1936)
His Majesty's Tour (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1920)
His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales (British Pathé, UK, 1927)
The Historic Royal Visit to the USA (British Movietone, UK, 1939)
History in Trains (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
Hitler in Italy (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Holiday Season Train Disaster (British Pathé, UK, 1931)
The Home-coming of the Duke and Duchess of York (Topical Budget, UK, 1927)
Home on Leave (War Office, UK, 1916)
Honeymoon Express? (British Pathé, UK, 1937)
Hospital Offered by the Americans in France (Gaumont Pathé, France, 1920)
How to Make Money! (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
HRH The Prince of Wales (British Pathé, UK, 1927)
Hunt on Train (Empire News Bulletin, UK, 1928)
International Red Cross (British Movietone, UK, 1944)
Is Your Journey Really Necessary? (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
Italians Goose-Step for Hitler (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Jazz Rhythm Invades the Railway Coach (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
John Tussaud Celebrates His Eightieth Birthday (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Journey of Sorrow (British Movietone, UK, 1936)
Kaye Don Gets Big Welcome Home (British Movietone, UK, 1931)
The King (British Pathé, UK, 1936)
The King Abdicates Version 1 of 2 (British Pathé, UK, 1936)
King and Queen Go Aboard Royal Yacht (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
King and Queen Return to Town (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
King Carol Arrives in England (British Movietone, UK, 1938)
King George V's Visit to the British Forces at the Western Front 8-5 August 1916 (War Office, UK, 1916)
King Leopold in England (British Movietone, UK, 1938)
King of Siam in London (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
King of the Belgians Arrives on State Visit to Britain (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
The King's Health Tour (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1925)
The King Tours RAF Stations (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Latest US Ambulance Train (UK, 1917)
Lilian Harvey Sobs on Leaving Berlin (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
Liverpool Railway Centenary (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
Loading Locomotives at Liverpool for India (British Movietone, UK, 1930)
London to Brighton Line is Electrified (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
London Train Smash (British Pathé, UK, 1937)
Madame Tetrazzini Leaves Euston (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1921)
Mail Train Disaster (British Pathé, UK, 1936)

Markham Pit Disaster (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Mille Miglia Car Race (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
The Military Power of France (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1917)
Model House (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Moving Farm Train (British Pathé, UK, 1943)
Mr Justin Godard Inaugurates an American Hospital Train Offered to Our Wounded (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1916)
Mr Macdonald Has Warm Homecoming (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
Mrs Simpson and Belvedere (British Movietone News, UK, 1936)
Never Stop Railway (British Pathé, UK, 1924)
New Berth for Bananas (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
New Defence Balloons (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
New German Ambassador in London (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
New LNER Electric Train (British Movietone, UK, 1941)
New Streamline Super Engine (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
New Streamline Trains (British Movietone, UK, 1935)
New Washing Machine for Trains (British Pathé, UK, 1927)
New Zealand Ambulance (UK, c.1917)
Ninety-Four Years Old Mrs Anne Budd Takes Her First Flight (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Novelties (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Official End of the War – the Last Ambulance from the Rhine (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1921)
On the Road to London (Topical Budget, UK, 1928)
Our Boys Coming and Going (British Movietone, UK, 1943)
Our Empire's Fight for Freedom Part Two (War Office, UK, 1918)
Our English Allies (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1939)
Our Royal Ambassador (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1920)
Pathé Gazette Northern Edition (British Pathé, UK, 1915)
Pathé Old Negative Collection 15 (British Pathé, UK, 1915
Pathé Old Negative Collection 17 (British Pathé, UK, 1915)
Pictures of the Royal Train (Gaumont Mirror, UK, 1927)
Pit Ponies Holiday Ends (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1921)
Plane Safety! (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Post Office Holds Its Own Exhibition (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
The Premier's Return Journey (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
The Prince Flies Home (British Pathé, France, 1930)
Prince George and Prince of Wales Tours (British Pathé, UK, 1920)
Prince of Wales (British Pathé, UK, 1914)
Prince of Wales in Canada, Parts One - Four (British Pathé, UK, 1919)
Prince of Wales Returns, AKA Welcome Home! (British Pathé, UK, 1922)
Prince of Wales Tour of South Africa (British Pathé, UK, 1925)
Prince's 800 Mile Hustle (British Pathé, UK, 1926)
The Prince Starts Yorkshire Tour (Topical Budget, UK, 1926)
Princess Marina Greeted in Britain (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
Princess of Teck Opens Ideal Home Exhibition (British Pathé, UK, 1914)
Queen Alexandra (British Pathé, UK, 1911)
The Queen Inspects Ambulance Train (British Paramount, UK, 1939)
Queen Inspects Hospital Train (Gaumont British, UK, 1939)
Queen Marie (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1929)
Queen Mary Visits New Gallery Cinema (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1917)
Queen Visits Evacuation Red Cross Train (British Movietone, UK, 1939)

Radio and Clinic Train (Gaumont British, UK, 1939)
The Railplane (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
Railway (British Movietone, UK, 1930)
Railway Accident (British Pathé, UK, 1910)
Railway Anniversary AKA The LNER Celebrates an Anniversary (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Railways Find Women's Help Invaluable (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
Railway Station (British Pathé, UK, 1939)
The Railway Strike (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1919)
Railway Train Passes Through Streets of Newhaven (Universal, UK, 1932)
Railway Travelling (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1917)
The Railway Queen (British Pathé, UK, 1928)
Red Cross Ambulance Train Used by Germans for Ammunition (UK, 1918)
Red Cross Train Brings Wounded From Darwin (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
Result of Cinema Day (UK, 1916)
Romania's King and Queen State Reception (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1924)
Royal Praise (British Pathé, UK, 1933)
Royal 'Scot' Train is to Visit Chicago Fair (British Movietone, UK, 1933)
Royal Tourists at Wembley (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1925)
Royal Visit to the Battlefields of France (War Office, UK, 1917)
The Royal Wedding (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
Rugby League Cup Final at Wembley (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Russia Welcomes Anthony Eden (British Movietone, UK, 1935)
Save Fuel (British Pathé, UK, 1942)
Sea-borne Train (Universal, UK, 1932)
Should We Need Them (Universal, UK, 1939)
'Silver Jubilee' Train Runs at 104mph LNER (British Movietone, UK, 1935)
Speed on the Iron Road (British Movietone, UK, 1936)
Steam Trains 1940s (British Movietone, UK, 1940)
Suzette Tarri – Character Comedienne (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Ted Andrews – Canadian Singer and the Girlfriend (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Their Majesties in London Again (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
Their Majesties Tour in Lanarkshire (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Their Majesties Visit Scotland (British Movietone, UK, 1937)
There'll Be Enough Shells This Time (British Paramount, UK, 1939)
To Canada and United States (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1919)
Tom Campbell Black Arrives by Train (British Pathé, UK, 1930)
Topical Budget - Ambulance for Horses (War Office, UK, 1917)
Topical Budget 250-2 (War Office, UK, 1915)
To the Land of the Southern Cross (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1920)
To the Meet by Train (British Pathé, UK, 1921)
Tragic Railway Crash at Glasgow (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
The Train Crash at Warrington (British Movietone, UK, 1934)
Train Ferry Inaugurated (Universal, UK, 1936)
Train Fire Brigade (News Series Pictorial, UK, 1936)
Training for Royal Tournament (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Train Smash Near Bedford (British Movietone, UK, 1938)
Train Super Cavalry! (British Paramount, UK, 1932)
Transport Minister Goes by Train (British Movietone, UK, 1932)
Troy Town (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Tube Snacks (British Pathé, UK, 1940)
Two-Decker Train (British Movietone, UK, 1936)

US Signal Corps, Royal Engineers and QMAAC on the Western Front (UK, 1918)
US Thoroughbreds Prepare for Match (British Pathé, UK, 1938)
Untitled [Red Cross Train] (British Paramount, UK, 1943)
Unusual Train (Empire News Bulletin, UK, 1930)
Unwilling Recruits (British Pathé, UK, 1943)
Victory Train (British Pathé, UK, 1942)
War Neuroses Version A and *Version B* (British Pathé, UK, 1917-1918)
Weed Killer Train on Southern Railway (British Pathé, UK, 1937)
Welcome to England! (Topical Budget, UK, 1927)
What Modern Movies Owe to First Flicks (British Movietone, UK, 1936)
Wireless Installation On Train (British Pathé, UK, 1914-1918)
With Indian Troops at the Front Part One (War Office, UK, 1916)
With Our Territorials at the Front (UK, 1916)
Women Railway Workers (British Movietone, UK, 1942)
Women Railway Workers (British Pathé, UK, 1943)
Women Transport Workers in Wartime (British Pathé, UK, 1910)
Women's Royal Army Corps Recruitment Trailer (1941)
The Wonderful Organisation of the RAMC (British Topical Committee for War Films, UK, 1916)
World's Fastest Train (British Pathé, UK, 1935)
The World Waits with Wally (British Pathé, UK, 1936)
WRNS Recruiting Trailer (British Pathé, UK, 1949)
York – Sheffield Express Train Smash and Cuts (British Pathé, UK, 1926)

Fiction films lost or unavailable:
Cock O' The North (Oswald Mitchell and Challis Sanderson, UK, 1935)
The Ghost Train (USA, 1901)
Rome Express (Walter Forde, UK, 1930)
The Ghost Train (Walter Forde, UK, 1931)
The Last Journey (Bernard Vorhaus, UK, 1936)
John and the Ambulance (UK, 1914)
The Private Secretary (Henry Edwards, UK, 1935)
Red Cross Pluck (Ethyle Batley, UK, 1915)
Roses of Life (Gaumont Pathé, UK, 1915)
The Silent Passenger (Reginald Denham, UK, 1935)
Suspected Person (Lawrence Huntington, UK, 1942)
Through Enemy Lines (US, 1915)
Tommy Atkins, Esq (UK, 1915)
Tommy's Locomotive (Percy Stow, UK, 1910)
Under the Red Cross (UK, 1914)
The Wreck (USA, 1914)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives
Army Medical Services Museum
British Film Institute
British Library
British Library Newspaper Collection
British Movietone Film Archive [Online]
British Pathé Film Archive [Online]
British Postal Museum and Archive
British University Film and Video Council Archive [Online]
The Cinema Museum
Colonial Film Database [Online]
Gaumont Pathé Film Archive [Online]
Imperial War Museum
Mass Observation Collection
New York Public Library
New York Transport Museum and Archive
National Archives
National Railway Museum
Private Collection of Alan Wilmott
Transport for London Archives

Journals and Newspapers
On average, I have read 2.5 months of newspapers per year (137 months in total covering a 54 year period).
Newspapers and journals marked * have been read 1-3 months (1 month for daily and 3 months for weekly publications) at least once every 4 years throughout the period.
Other reading is highlighted in parentheses.

The Bioscope (3 months per year, 1915-1916)
British Medical Journal (online search, 1914-1918)
Daily Mail
Daily Mirror
The Daily Telegraph
Electric Tramway and Light Railway Journal (3 months per year, 1914-1918)
The Evening Standard (1 month per 10 years)
Financial Times (3 months)
The Horsham Times (online search)
The Illustrated London News
Kinematograph Weekly
The Manchester Guardian
Meccano Magazine (online search)
Pall Mall Gazette (2 months)
Railway Gazette
The Railway News (6 months per year, 1914-1918)
Sight and Sound
Sunday Express (2 months)
The Times
Woman's Own (6 months)
Woman's Weekly (3 months)

Secondary Texts

Adorno, Theodor and Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso, 1997. First published 1947.

Adorno, Theodor. *The Culture Industry*. London: Routledge, 2001. First published 1963.

Aguir, Marian. "Making Modernity Inside the Technological Space of the Railway." *Cultural Critique* 68 (2008): 66-85.

All Stations: A Journey Through 150 Years of Railway History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Ardener, Shirley, ed. *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1993.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Arnold, Dana, ed. *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Baer, Ulrich. *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma*. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2005.

Baillie Scott, M H. *Houses and Gardens*. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1906.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. Translated by Richard Howe. London: Vintage Books, 1980.

Baynes, H G. *Analytical Psychology and the English Mind*. London: Methuen and Co., 1950.

Bazin, André. *What is Cinema? Volume 1*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968.

BBC News. "Rail Travel at Highest Peacetime Level Since 1928." January 31, 2011. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-12320817 (accessed October 13, 2013).

Beaumont, Matthew and Michael Freeman, eds. *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space and the Machine Ensemble*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007.

Bennett, E N. *With Methuen's Column on an Ambulance Train*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1900.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. London: Penguin Books, 2008. First published 1936.

Benjamin, Walter. *Walter Benjamin's Archive*. Translated by Esther Leslie. London: Verso, 2007.

Beller, Jonathan. *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle.* Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2006.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books, 1972.

Berridge, Virginia. "Health and Medicine." In *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950 Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, edited by F M L Thompson, 171-242. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1990.

Bradley, Ian. *Believing in Britain: The Spiritual Identity of Britishness*. Oxford: Lion, 2007.

Brown, Bill. "Thing Theory." *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1-22.

Bruno, Giuliana. "Streetwalking Around Plato's Cave." In *Feminisms in the Cinema*, edited by Laura Pietropaolo and Ada Testaferri, 147-163. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.

Bruno, Giuliana. *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film*. London: Verso, 2002.

Buckle, G E, ed. *Letters of Queen Victoria Vol. 1 1886-1901*. London: John Murray, 1930.

Burnette, Joyce. *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Burrows, Jon. "Penny Pleasures II: Indecency, Anarchy and Junk Films in London's 'Nickelodeons,' 1906-1914." *Film History* 16, no. 2, (2004): 172-197.

Butler, Judith. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso, 2004.

Carter, Ian. *Railways and Culture in Britain: The Epitome of Modernity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Casey, Emma and Lydia Martens, eds. *Gender and Consumption: Domestic Cultures and the Commercialisation of Everyday Life*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2007.

Charney, Leo and Vanessa R Schwartz. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*. Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1995.

Chase, Karen and Michael Levenson. *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*. Penguin: London, 2005. First published c.1400.

Clark, Anna. *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Clover, Carol. *Men, Women and Chainsaws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film*. New York, NY: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Cohen, Deborah. *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939*. Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2001.

Cohen, Deborah. *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*. London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Conley, Tom. *Cartographic Cinema*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Conor, Liz. *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IA: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Cook, Patricia. "Albany Ward and the Development of Cinema Exhibition in England." *Film History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 294-307.

Cowman, Krista and Louise A Jackson, eds. *Women and Work Culture: Britain c.1850-1950.* Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2005.

Cherry, Steven. *Medical Services and the Hospital in Britain 1860-1939*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996.

Crafts, Nicholas, Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell, eds. *Work and Pay in Twentieth Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Daley, Caroline, and Melanie Nolan, eds. *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1994.

Daunton, Martin, and Bernhard Rieger, eds. *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late Victorian Era to World War II*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.

Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit, MI: Black and Red, 1967.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. London: University of California Press, 1984.

Dennis, Richard. *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Dethier, Jean. *All Stations: A Journey Through 150 Years of Railway History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.

Dickens, Charles. *Dombey and Son*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. First published 1848.

Dickens, Charles. "The Signalman." In *Complete Ghost Stories*, Charles Dickens, 260-271. London: Wordsworth Classics, 1998. First published 1866.

Dillon, Steve. "Victorian Interior." *Modern Language Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2001): 83-115.

Dimendberg, Edward. "The Will to Motorization: Cinema, Highways, and Modernity." *October* 73 (1995): 90-137.

Dimendberg, Edward. *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Doane, Mary Ann. *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, The Archive*. London: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Duff, David. *Victoria Travels: Journeys of Queen Victoria between 1830 and 1900, with Extracts from Her Journal*. London: Fredrick Muller, 1970.

Duff, David, ed. *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*. Exeter: Webb and Bower, 1983.

Dyer, Richard. *White*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Ellis, Hamilton C. *The Royal Trains*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Ekins, Ashley and Elizabeth Stewart, eds. *War Wounds: Medicine and the Trauma of Conflict*. Wollombi, Australia: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2011.

Eliot, T S. *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*. London: Faber and Faber, 2001. First published 1939.

Eliot, T S. *Collected Poems 1909-1962*. London: Faber and Faber, 2002.

Engel, Matthew. *Eleven Minutes Late: A Train Journey to the Soul of Britain*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2010.

Esbester, Mike. "Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading." *Book History* 12 (2009): 156-185.

Evans, A K B and J V Gough. *The Impact of the Railway on Society in Britain: Essays in Honour of Jack Simmons*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2003.

Forty, Adrian. *Objects of Desire*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Fraser, Alistair H, Andrew Robertshaw and Steve Roberts, eds. *Ghosts on the Somme: Filming the Battle, June-July 1916*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2009.

Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text*, no.25/26 (1990): 56-80.

Ford, Ford Maddox. *Parade's End*. London: BBC Books, 2012. First published 1924-1928.

Foucault, Michel. *Aesthetics: Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984 Volume 2*. Edited by James D Faubion. London: Penguin Books, 1994.

Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-76*. Translated by David Macey. London: Penguin Books, 1997. First published 1976.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. London: Wordsworth, 1997. First published 1900.

Freud, Sigmund. "The Uncanny." In *The Penguin Freud Library, Vol. 14, Art and Literature*, edited by Richard Wollheim, 339-76. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990. First published 1919.

The Friends' Ambulance Unit. *A Train Errant: Being the Experiences of a Voluntary Unit in France, and an Anthology from their Magazine*. Hertford: Simson and Co., Limited, 1919.

The Friends' Ambulance Unit. *Lines of Communication*. London: Wightman and Co., Ltd., 1919.

Fujii, James A. "Intimate Alienation: Japanese Urban Rail and the Commodification of Urban Subjects." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 11, no. 2 (1999): 106-133.

Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Freedgood, Elaine. *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*. London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Friedland, Roger and Deidre Boden, eds. *NowHere: Space, Time and Modernity*. London: University of California Press, 1994.

Gauthier, Philippe and Timothy Barnard. "The Movie Theatre as an Institutional Space and Framework of Signification: Hale's Tours and Film Historiography." *Film History: An International Journal* 21, no. 4 (2009): 326-335.

Giles, Judy. *Women, Identity and Private Life in Britain, 1900-50*. London: Macmillan, 1995.

Gleason, Arthur H. *With the First War Ambulance in Belgium: Young Hilda at the Wars*. New York, NY: A L Burt, 1915.

Gledhill, Christine, ed. *Stardom: Industry of Desire*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Gledhill, Christine, and Gillian Swanson. *Nationalising Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Gledhill, Christine. *Reframing British Cinema, 1918-1928: Between Restraint and Passion*. London: British Film Institute, 2003.

Glucksmann, Miriam. *Women Assemble: Women Workers and the New Industries in Interwar Britain*. London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1990.

Glucksmann, Miriam. *Cottons and Casuals: The Gendered Organisation of Labour in Time and Space*. Durham: SociologyPress, 2000.

Gordon, Eleanor and Gwyneth Nair. *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Britain*. London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Gorky, Maxim. "The Lumière Cinematograph." In *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Documents 1896-1939*, edited by Richard Taylor and Ian Christie. London: Routledge, 1988.

Graves, Pamela M. *Labour Women: Women in British Working-Class Politics 1918-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Green, F H W. "Bus Services in the British Isles." *Geographical Review* 41, no. 4 (1951): 645-655.

Gregory, Ian N and Jordi Martí Henneberg. "The Railways, Urbanization, and Local Demography in England and Wales, 1825-1911." *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (2010): 199-228.

Grieveson, Lee and Peter Kramer, eds. *The Silent Cinema Reader*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Grieveson, Lee and Colin McCabe, eds. *Film and the End of Empire*. London: British Film Institute, 2011.

Gunning, Tom. "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, its Spectator and the Avant-Garde." In *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, edited by Thomas Elsaesser, 56-62. London: British Film Institute, 1990.

Gunning, Tom. "Non-Continuity, Continuity, Discontinuity: A Theory of Genres in Early Films. " In *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, edited by Thomas Elsaesser, 86-94. London: British Film Institute, 1990.

Gunning, Tom. "'Primitive' Cinema: A Frame-Up? Or, The Trick's On Us." In *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, edited by Thomas Elsaesser, 95-103. London: British Film Institute, 1990.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1989. First published 1962.

Hall, Catherine. "Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire." In *Cultures of Empire: A Reader*, edited by Catherine Hall, 1-33. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000.

Hall, Stuart and Ben Gieben. *Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

Haller Jr, John S. *Battlefield Medicine: A History of the Military Ambulance through the Napoleonic Wars through World War 1*. Carbondale and Edwardville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011.

Hammilton, Ellis. *British Railway History: An Outline from the Accession of William IV to the Nationalisation of the Railways, 1877-1947*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959.

Hammond, Michael. *The Big Picture Show: British Cinema Culture in the Great War, 1914-1918*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006.

Hansen, Miriam. "Early Cinema – Whose Public Sphere?" In *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, edited by Thomas Elsaesser, 228-246. London: British Film Institute, 1990.

Harris, Jose. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914*. London: Penguin Books, 1993.

Harvie, Christopher. "The Politics of German Railway Design." *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 3 (1988): 235-247.

Harvey, David. *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*. London: Profile Books, 2010.

Haste, Cate. *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War*. London: Penguin Books, 1977.

Heffer, Simon. *Power and Place: The Political Consequences of King Edward VII*. London: Phoenix Giant, 1998.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Industry and Empire*. London: Penguin Books, 1968.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Behind the Times: The Decline and Fall of the Twentieth Century Avant-Gardes*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

Hodge, James. *Richard Trevithick: An Illustrated Life of Richard Trevithick, 1771-1883*. London: Osprey Publishing, 1973.

Homans, Margaret. *Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876*. London: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Huneault, Kristina. *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2002.

Huntley, John. *Railways in the Cinema*. London: Ian Allen, 1969.

Hutchinson, Sikivu. "Waiting for the Bus." *Social Text* 18, no. 2 (2000): 107-120.

"The Inception of the British Railway Station." *Architectural History* 4 (1961): 63-76.

Janes Yeo, Eileen, ed. *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Jameson, Frederic. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act*. London: Routledge, 1981.

Jameson, Frederic. *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*. London: BFI Publishing, 1992.

Johnson, Peter. *An Illustrated History of the Travelling Post Office*. Hersham: Ian Allan Publishing, 2009.

Jones, Atherley and Llewellyn Archer. *The Grievances of Railway Passengers*. London, 1894.

Jones, Helen. *British Civilians in the Front Line: Air Raids, Productivity and Wartime Culture, 1939-1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Jones, Margaret and Rodney Lowe. *Beveridge to Blair: The First Fifty Years of the Welfare State, 1948-98*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Kain, Peter. "The Reform of Rail Transport in Great Britain." *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*, 32, no. 2 (1998): 247-266.

Kardish, Laurence, ed. *Junction and Journey: Trains in Film*. New York, NY: Museum of Modern Art, 1991.

Kenez, Peter. *Cinema and Soviet Society: From the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*. London and New York: I B Tauris, 2001.

Kepley Jr, Vance. "'Cinefication': Soviet Film exhibition in the 1920s." *Film History* 6, no. 2 (1994): 262-277.

Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Kirby, Lynne. *Parallel Tracks: The Railroad and Silent Cinema*. Exeter: The University of Exeter Press, 1997.

Kittler, Friedrich. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Translated by Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986.

Kuhn, Annette. *Women's Pictures: Feminisms and Cinema.* London and New York, NY: Verso, 1982.

Kuhn, Annette. *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory*. London: I B Tauris, 2002.

Lahmeyer, Jan. "United Kingdom: Historical Demographical Data of the Whole Country." http://www.populstat.info/Europe/unkingdc.htm (accessed October 13, 2013).

Lawrence, Christopher. *Medicine and the Making of Modern Britain, 1700-1920.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Lawrence, D H. *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* London: Penguin, 1997. First published 1928.

Leach, John. *British Film.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Lee, Julia H. "Estrangement on a Train: Race and Narratives of American Identity." *English Literary History* 75, no. 2 (2008): 345-365.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 1.* Translated by John Moore. London: Verso, 1991. First published 1947.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 2: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday.* Translated by John Moore. London: Verso, 2008. First published 1961.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1974.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life 3: From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life).* Translated by John Moore. London: Verso, 2008. First published 1981.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life.* London: Continuum, 2004. First published in 1992.

Letherby, Gayle, and Gillian Reynolds. *Train Tracks: Work, Play and Politics on the Railways.* Oxford: Berg, 2005.

Leys, Ruth. *Trauma: A Genealogy.* London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Lindsay, Lisa A. "No Need… to Think of Home? Masculinity and Domestic Life on the Nigerian Railway, c.1940-1960." *The Journal of African History* 39 (1998): 439-466.

Lloyd, Fran and Catherine O'Brien, eds. *Secret Spaces and Forbidden Places: Rethinking Culture.* London: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Loft, Charles. *Government, the Railways and the Modernization of Britain: Beeching's Last Trains.* London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.

Loiperdinger, Martin and Bernd Elzer. "Lumière's Arrival of the Train: Cinema's Founding Myth." *The Moving Image* 4, no. 1 (2004): 89-118.

Long, Philip and Nicola J Palmer, eds. *Royal Tourism: Excursions Around Monarchy.* Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2008.

Longmore, Surgeon-General Sir T. *A Manual of Ambulance Transport.* London: Harrison and Sons, 1893.

Lovegrove, Keith. *Railway Identity, Design and Culture*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004.

Maggs, Collin G and Gerry Beale. *The Camerton Branch*. Upper Bucklebury, Berks: Wild Swan Publications, 1985.

Marquand, David. *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2008.

Martin, Jack. *Sapper Martin: The Secret War Diary of Jack Martin*. Edited by Richard van Emden. London: Bloomsbury, 2009.

Mass Observation. *The Original Mass Observation*. http://www.massobs.org.uk/original_massobservation_project.htm (accessed June 17, 2013).

Matlock, Jann. "Vacancies: Registered Passing in American Cinema, 1929-1964." In *Moving Pictures/Stopping Places: Hotels and Motels on Film,* edited by David B Clarke, Valerie Crawford Pfannhauser, and Marcus A Doel, 73-142. Lexington, KY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009.

Matus, Jill L. "Trauma, Memory and the Railway Disaster: The Dickensian Connection." *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2001): 413-436.

McEwen, Yvonne. *'It's a Long Way to Tipperary': British and Irish Nurses in the Great War*. Dunfermaline: Cualann Press Limited, 2006.

McKenna, Frank. "Victorian Railway Workers." *History Workshop* 1 (1976): 26-73.

McKernan, Luke, ed. *Yesterday's News: The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*. London: British Universities Film and Video Council, 2002.

McKernan, Luke. "Diverting Time: London Cinemas and Their Audiences, 1906-1914." *The London Journal* 31, (2007): 125-144.

Megonnell, William H and Edmund C Garthe. "Dining Car Sanitation in the United States." *Public Health Reports* 70, no. 1 (1955): 25-34.

Mencken, August. *The Railroad Passenger Car: An Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years, with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Miller, Daniel. *The Comfort of Things*. London: Polity Press, 2009.

Millward, Liz. *Women in British Imperial Airspace, 1922-1937*. London: McGill University Press, 2008.

Minca, Claudio and Tim Oakes, eds. *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*. London: Duke University Press, 2011.

Mort, Frank. "Fantasies of Metropolitan Life: Planning London in the 1940s." *The Journal of British Studies* 43, no.1 (2004): 120-151.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16, no.3 (1975): 6-18.

Mulvey, Laura. *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*. London: Reaktion, 2006.

Murphy, Paul Thomas. *Shooting Victoria: Madness, Mayhem and the Rebirth of the British Monarchy*. London: Open Road Media, 2012.

Musser, Charles. "The Travel Genre in 1903-1904: Moving Towards Fictional Narrative." In *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, edited by Thomas Elsaesser, 123-132. London: British Film Institute, 1990.

Musser, Charles. *Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991.

Nead, Lynda. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Nicol, J F, et al. "Comfort Studies of Rail Passengers." *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* 30 (1973): 325-244.

Noakes, Lucy. *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907-1948*. London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.

Nord, Deborah. *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.

O'Neale, D H. "The National Railway Exposition." *Science* 2, no. 34 (1883): 417-422.

Osborne, Peter D. *Travelling in Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Paris, Michael, ed. *The First World War and Popular Cinema: 1914 to the Present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Patmore, J A. "The Contraction of the Network of Railway Passenger Services in England and Wales 1836-1962." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, no. 38 (1966): 105-118.

Perrot, Michelle, ed. *A History of Private Life IV: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Piggot, Peter. *Royal Transport: An Inside Look at the History of Royal Travel*. Toronto, Canada: Dundurn Books, 2005.

Pile, John. *A History of Interior Design*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2009.
Pimlott, Mark. *Without and Within: Essays on Territory and the Interior*. Rotterdam: Episode Publishers, 2007.

Plumridge, John F. *Hospital Ships and Ambulance Trains*. London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1975.

Pope, Norris. "Dickens's 'The Signalman' and Information Problems in the Railway Age." *Technology and Culture* 42, no. 3 (2001): 436-461.

Popple, Simon, and Joe Kember. *Marketing Modernity: Victorian Popular Shows and Early Cinema*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2009.

Pratt, Edwin, A. *British Railways and the Great War Vol. I: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements*. London: Selwyn and Blount Ltd., 1921.

Pratt, Edwin, A. *British Railways and the Great War Vol. II: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements*. London: Selwyn and Blount Ltd., 1921.

Prokhovnik, Raia. "Public and Private Citizenship: From Gender Invisibility to Feminist Inclusiveness." *Feminist Review*, no. 60 (1998): 84-104.

Rappaport, Erika. *Shopping for Pleasure*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Reeves, Nicholas. *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?* London: Cassell, 1999.

Rendell, Jane. *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*. London: Athlone Press, 2002.

Rendell, Jane, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden, eds. *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London, Routledge, 2000.

Reznick, Jeffrey S. *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Rice, Charles. *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Richards, Jeffrey. *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-1939*. London and New York: Routledge, 1984.

Richards, Jeffrey. *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Richards, Rashna Wadia. "Loose Ends: The Stuff that Movies are Made Of." *Arizona Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2007): 83-118.

Richter, Amy. *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity*. London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Rieger, Bernhard. *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Robb, George. *British Culture and the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.

255

Robbins, Michael. *The Railway Age*. Manchester: Mandolin, 1965.

Roe, Ken. "ABC Baker Street." http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/13070 (accessed November 5, 2013).

Rose, Kenneth, *King George V*. London: Phoenix Press, 1983.

Rosen, Philip. *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Rosler, Martha. "In the Place of the Public: Observations of a Frequent Flyer." *Assemblage*, no. 25 (1994): 44-79.

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977.

Scribner, Charity. *Requiem for Communism*. Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2005.

Sennett, Richard. *The Fall of Public Man*. London: Penguin Books, 2003. First published 1974.

Sennett, Richard. *Flesh and Stone: The Body and The City in Western Civilisation*. London: Penguin Books, 2002.

Shail, Andrew. "The Motion Picture Story Magazine and the Origins of Popular Culture." *Film History: An International Journal* 20, no. 2 (2008): 181-197.

Sinclair, M Thea, ed. *Gender, Work and Tourism*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Singer, Ben. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Smith, Martha J and Ronald V Clarke. "Crime and Public Transport." *Crime and Justice* 27 (2000): 169-233.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. London: Penguin Books, 1977.

Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. London: Penguin Books, 2004.

Sparke, Penny. *The Modern Interior*. London: Reaktion, 2008.

Stamp, Shelley. *Movie-Struck Girls: Women and Motion Picture Culture After the 1910s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

"Standard Railway Sanitary Code." *Public Health Reports* 35, no. 30 (1920): 1749-1761.

Steedman, Carolyn. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *A Child's Garden of Verses*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1992. First published 1885.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, The Gigantic, The Souvenir, The Collection*. London: Duke University Press, 1984.

Street, Sarah. *British National Cinema*. London, New York: Routledge, 1997.

Summerfield, Penny. *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Taylor, James. "Business in Pictures: Representations of Railway Enterprise in the Satirical Press in Britain 1845-1870." *Past and Present*, no. 189 (2005): 111-145.

Taylor, Philip M. *British Democracy in the Twentieth Century: Selling Propaganda*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Terra Media UK. *Cinema Average Ticket Price*. Media Statistics, 2008 edition. http://www.terramedia.co.uk/reference/statistics/cinema/cinema_ticket_prices_2.htm (accessed July 1, 2012).

Thomas Cook. *Thomas Cook History*. http://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-history/ (accessed November 27, 2013).

Tinkler, Penny and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh. "Feminine Modernity in Interwar Britain and North America: Corsets, Cars and Cigarettes." *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 113-143.

Thacker, Andrew. *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

Thorpe, Andrew. *Britain in the 1930s.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Toulmin, Vanessa. "Telling the Tale: The Story of the Fairground Bioscope Shows and the Showmen Who Operated Them." *Film History* 6, no. 2 (1994): 219-237.

Vatulescu, Cristina. *Police Aesthetics: Literature, Film, and The Secret Police in Soviet Times*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

Vidler, Anthony. *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism.* London: MIT Press, 2008.

Vidler, Anthony, ed. *Architecture between Spectacle and Use*. London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Vertov, Dziga. *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*. Translated by Kevin O'Brien. London: University of California Press, 1984.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. London: Virago Press, 1992.

Walleans, Anne. *Designing Liners: A History of Interior Design Afloat*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Walton, John K, ed. *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, Conflict*. Clevedon, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005.

Ward, Janet. *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*. London: University of California Press, 2001.

Ward, Simon. "The Passenger as Flaneur? Railway Networks in German-Language Fiction Since 1945." *The Modern Language Review* 100, no. 2 (2005): 412-428.

Watkins, Alfred. *Exposure Notes For Use with the Watkins Exposure Meter*. Birmingham: Kimberley Press, 1898.

Watkins, Alfred. *Some Particulars Concerning the Watkins Exposure Meter*. Birmingham: Kimberley Press, 1898.

Weaver, Cynthia. "Enid Marx: Designing Fabrics for the London Passenger Board in the 1930s." *Journal of Design History* 2, no. 1 (1989): 35-46.

Weintraub, Jeff. "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction." In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, edited by Jeff Weintraub and Krishnan Kumar, 1-42. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1997.

Westwood, John. *Railways at War*. London: Osprey, 1980.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana, 1976.

Wolmar, Christian. *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*. London: Atlantic Books, 2007.

Wood, Robin. *Hitchcock's Films Revisited (Revised Edition)*. Columbia, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Wolfe, Alan. "Public and Private in Theory and Practice: Some Implications of an Uncertain Boundary." In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, edited by Jeff Weintraub and Krishnan Kumar, 182-203. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1997.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. London: Penguin, 2000. First published 1928.

Youngblood, Gene. *Expanded Cinema*. New York, NY: E P Dutton and Co., 1970.

Zeigler, Philip. *King Edward VIII*. London: Harper Collins, 1990.